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SEVERAL

TRACTS

Collected into

One Volume.

VIZ.

I. *A Treatise in Confutation of the Latin Service*, &c.
II. *The Fallibility of the* Roman *Church as to Worship of Images.*
III. *A Treatise of Tradition*, Part 1.
IV. ——————— Part 2.
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Rev. Daniel Curry's
SERMONS
TRACTS
Collected into
One Volume.

IMPRIMATUR,

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Guil. Needham, Reverendissimo in Christo P. ac D. D. *Wilhelmo* Archiep. *Cant.* à Sac. Dom.

A TREATISE IN CONFUTATION OF THE Latin Service PRACTISED,

And, By the

Order of the *TRENT* COUNCIL, Continued

IN THE

CHURCH of *ROME.*

Optandum autem esset ut totus Cultus divinus, qui tribus potissimum constat, hymnis, doctrina, & precatione linguâ toti populo notâ perageretur, quemadmodum olim fieri consuevit, omniâque sic explanatè, distinctéque sonarentur, ut ab attentis possent intelligi. Erasmus *de modo orandi, p.* 70.

LONDON,
Printed by *M. Flesher*, for *Walter Kettilby* at the *Bishop's Head*, in St. *Paul's* Church-yard. 1687.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

THE *Doctrine of the* Infallibility *of the* Church *seems somewhat plausible, whilst men do view it onely in the general, and do not compare it with the* Decrees *established, the practices observed by that* Church, *which alone claims the Title to Infallibility, the Right* to have Dominion over our Faith, *and will be call'd the*

the Guide of Christians, *in the old* Pharisaich *Import of that swelling Title, though* Christ *hath so appropriated it to himself, as to exclude all others from it, by saying,* Be not
Mat. 23. 10. ye called Guides, for one is your Guide, even Christ.

But whosoever will give himself the trouble to peruse the Doctrines and Decrees of these pretended Judges *of our* Controversies, *these* Infallible Directours *of our Faith; to consider what* Definitions *they have made of* Articles *of Faith, with an* Anathema *to the* Dissentour, *what practices they have imposed on all* Christians, *as the Conditions of Communion, that they have evidently wrested plain Scripture to reconcile it to their half Communion, to the Bowing, to* the similitude of things in Heaven, and in Earth, *to the Reading of the* Scripture, *and of their* publick Liturgies *in a Tongue not understood by those that hear it: But that, if by* interpreting *of any* Scripture *is meant the making the sense of it plain to the apprehension of others, so that they easily may discern their Interpretation to be the certain import of the words, it is even certain to common sense, and the* experience *of all that reade them, that these* infallible Interpreters, *even from the second* Nicene Council, *to that of* Trent, *inclusively, have not interpreted one text of* Scripture, *or made their sense more clear to any rational* Enquirer *than it was before: And so according to the expres words of* Christ *must have this*
Mat. 25. 29. Talent *taken from them long ago, supposing that they ever had it, I say, whosoever will compare this Title which they challenge, this privilege they usurp, with their* Decrees *and* Practices, *will be abundantly convinced, that the Dispute about Infallibility applied to the* Roman Church, *is like that of* Zeno *against Motion, of the* Academicks *against certainty of Knowledge, or of* Carneades *against the natural* Ideas *of Vice and Virtue; that is, he will be satisfied that Infallibility is claimed by them against plain matter*

ter of fact, and full and manifold conviction, that they have actually erred in interpreting of Scripture, *defining* Articles of Faith, *asserting Doctrines as* Catholick Traditions, *handed down from* Christ *and his* Apostles: *And whosoever will give himself the trouble to peruse those* Councils *which by our* Adversaries *are stiled* General, *will be satisfied beyond all farther possibility of doubting, that they have erred already in all these particulars.*

Of the truth of this Assertion the Reverend *and* Learned *Dr.* Cousins, *hath given one signal Instance in reference to the* Canon *of the* Holy Scripture. *For whereas the* Trent Council *hath declared, that* Tobias, Judith, Baruch, the Book of Wisedom, Ecclesiasticus, *the 1st. and 2d. Book of* Mcacabees, *the whole Books of* Hester, *and* Daniel, With all their parts, are Canonical Scripture, *adding*, Whosoever doth not receive them for Canonical Scripture, let him be Anathema. *The aforesaid* Doctour *hath abundantly demonstrated, that neither those* Seaven Books, *nor the* Additions *to* Hester *and* Daniel, *were owned by the* Jewish Church *as such; and that by* Christians *they were rejected as uncanonical from the* Apostles *days, unto that very year in which that* Council *sate. That the very* Bibles, *published in that Age, declared them* Apocryphal, *or not belonging to the* Canon, viz. *that published in* Spain, *and named* Biblia Complutensia, *declaring, that* the Church received not those Books for confirming the Authority of any of her fundamental points in Religion, though for the edifying of the people she ordered them to be read. *That of* Lyra's Commentary, *and the* Ordinary Gloss, *published at* Basil, A. D. 1506. setting as great a difference between the twenty two Books that we have from the old Canon, and the six or

Si quis autem libros ipsos integros, cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia Cath. legi consueverint, & in v. vulgata latina Editione habentur, pro sacris & Canonicis non susceperit,—— Anathema sit. Sess. 4.

A. D. 1546.

A. D. 1502. *Conf. p.* 193.

nine that are now put into the new, as there is between things certain and dubious, and taxing them not onely with indiligence and ignorance, but folly alſo, who think all the books they ſee printed together in the common
p. 194. Volume of the Bible, to be of a like, or an equal veneration. *And that* the ſeveral Tranſlations of the Bible,
A. D. 1541. ſet forth at thoſe times, with ſpecial Prefaces before them,
1545. made as well by *Santes Pagninus*, the Dominican at *Lyons*, by *Antonius Bracciolus* in *Italy*, by the Authour of
p. 202. *Birkman's* Edition at *Antwerp*, as by *Robert Stephen* in the Edition of *Vatablus* at *Paris*, did every one declare the ſame diſtinction betwixt the Canonical, and the Apocryphal Books of Scripture.

A Second Inſtance of this nature may be taken from the ſecond Nicene Council, *Received by the* Church *of* Rome *as* General, *which frequently declares, defineth and decrees, that* Honorary Worſhip, or Adoration of the Images of Chriſt, and of his Saints, was a Tradition delivered to the Church by the Apoſtles, and practiſed even from their times by all good Chriſtians, *which as the Council of* Frankford *truly ſaith, is* impudentiſſima Traditio, *a very* impudent *pretenſe of* Tradition, *when it is clearer than the Sun, and even confeſt by many of their* * Learned Writers, *that for five or ſix hundred years the contrary was the received Doctrine of the* Church.

Αὐτὴ ἡ πίστις τῶν Ἀποστόλων, τῶν πατέρων, τῶν ὀρθοδόξων, *Act.* 7. p. 576. *Act.* 8. p. 592.

Præfat. p. 10.

* Caſſand. *Conſult. c. de Imagin.* Eraſm. *Vol.* 5. *Symb. Catech.* p. 989. *cum multis aliis.*

A Third Inſtance might be offered from the Decrees of
Concil. Conſt. *Seſs.* 14. Baſil. *Seſſ.* 30. Trident. *Seſſ.* 21. *the* Councils *of* Conſtance, Baſil, *and* Trent, *for defalcation of the Cup, and miniſtring the Sacrament* to the Laity, and to Prieſts not conficient in one *ſpecies* onely, *contradicting the whole ſtream of Fathers for a thouſand years*

years expresly, or in effect asserting that * neither the flesh without the bloud, nor the bloud without the flesh, was rightly communicated; *that the command, Drink ye all of this, concerned* † the rest of the Believers, *as well as the Priests, and that the* ‖ *practice and institution of our Lord was by no means to be varied from, but to be made the constant Standard of the Celebration and Reception of this Sacrament: And I desire any* R. Catholick *to shew me any one* Father, *who concurs with them in any one of the Interpretations or disguises which they have put upon those words,* Drink ye all of this, *or for a thousand years did ever say, that they concerned none but our Lord's* Apostles, *and* Consecrating Priests. *But these are instances which deserve to be more largely handled, as they have been already, and may farther be with undeniable conviction, and Triumphant Evidence, that some great* Boasters *of* Tradition, *may be most evident* Opposers *of it.*

* *Nec caro sine sanguine, nec sanguis sine carne jure communicatur.* Alger. *de sacr Euch. l.* 2. *c.* 8.

† *Tam Sacerdotes quàm reliqui credentes,* Paschas. *de Sacr. c.* 41.

‖ Cypr. *Ep.* 63. *Ed.* Ox. P. Julius, *apud* Ivo. *decret. par.* 2. *c.* 11. *Concil.* Bracarens. *quartum. Can.* 2. *Conc. sextum in* Trullo, *Can.* 32.

A Fourth Instance may be given in that Article *of the* Trent Council *determined with an* Anathema, *viz.* That the Sacraments of the New Law, instituted by Christ Jesus, and truly, and properly so called, are neither more nor less than seven; *a Doctrine delivered down from* Christ *and his* Apostles, *by* Peter Lombard, *who lived eleven hundred years after them, before whom, saith* Cassander, you shall shall scarcely find any one that defined the certain number of them. *The* Fathers, *after* Gregory *the* Great, *till the* Twelfth Century *unanimously Reckoning the Sacraments of the Church were* Baptisme, Chrisme, *the* Body, *and the* Bloud of Christ. *Pope* Gregory *attempts to prove that it was not the merits of the* Priest,

Sess. 7. *Can.* 1.

Consult. c. 12. *p.* 107.

but the Divine Virtue which ſanctifies the Sacraments, to ſatisfie them who feared their Impiety, might render the Sacraments received from their hands leſs beneficial to them. And as the foundation of his Anſwer he lays down the nature of a Sacrament, and tells them how many Sacraments there were in theſe words: Now the Sacraments are Baptiſme and Chriſme, the Body and Bloud of Chriſt, which therefore are called Sacraments, becauſe under the Covert of Corporeal things the Divine Virtue works the Salvation tendred in the ſame Sacraments: *And then he adds, that* theſe Sacraments are neither augmented by the merits of the good, nor diminiſhed by the faults of wicked Diſpenſers of them; *and that* this is to be held of the Body and the Bloud of Chriſt, and alſo of Baptiſme and Chriſme; *and why not alſo of* Penance, Matrimony, Extreme Unction, *had they as properly and truly by him been eſteemed Sacraments.*

Sunt autem Sacramenta Baptiſma, Chriſma, Corpus & Sanguis Chriſti. Decret. part. 2. Can. 1. q. 84.

Hoc de Corpore & Sanguine Domini noſtri, hoc etiam de Baptiſmate & Chriſmate ſentiendum eſt, & tenendum. Ibid.

In the next Century Iſidore Hiſpalenſis *expreſſes his Sentiments touching the number of the Sacraments in the very words of* Gregory: Now the Sacraments are Baptiſm, Chriſm, the Body and the Bloud of Chriſt, which are therefore profitably celebrated by the Church, becauſe the H. Spirit abiding in her doth ſecretly work the effect of the ſaid Sacraments, *of any other* Sacraments *celebrated by the* Church, *any ſecret Virtue of the* Spirit, *working the ſame effects by other* Sacraments, *he ſaith not a word.*

Quæ ideò fructuosè penes Eccleſiam fiunt quia ſanctus in ea manens Spiritus eorundem latenter Sacramentorum operatur effectum. Orig. l. 6. c. 19.

Paſchaſius Rathbertus, *in the 9th* Century, *having alſo told us what a Sacrament is, and why the Sacraments of the*

the Church *are ſo called, He adds,* Now the Sacraments in the Church of Chriſt are Baptiſm, and Chriſm, the Body and the Bloud of Chriſt.

Sunt autem Sacramenta Chriſti in Eccleſia Baptiſmus & Chriſma corpus quoque Domini & Sanguis. De Corp. & Sanz. Domini, c. 3.

Rabanus Maurus *his Cotemporary, in his Book* of the Inſtruction of the Clergy, *and the Chapter* of the Sacraments of the Church, *ſpeaks thus,* but concerning the Sacraments which are uſed in the Church in my following Diſcourſe, I muſt declare the Sacerdotal Cuſtome; *and then he tells us how many theſe Sacraments were, in the expreſs words of* Gregory, *and* Hiſpalenſis, *which make up that whole Chapter; and Chap.* 31. *he ſaith,* Having diſcourſed of two Sacraments, as much as God enabled me, *i. e.* of Baptiſm and Chriſm, it remains now that I diligently conſider of the other two, *viz.* the Body, and the Bloud of Chriſt, *where by the way obſerve how conſtantly that of which the* Laity *is now deprived, is reckoned as a diſtinct Sacrament.*

De Sacramentis autem quæ in Eccleſia fiunt, oportet ut ſequens Sermo exponat ritum ſacerdotalem ſunt autem ſacramenta, &c. l. 1. c. 24.

Quia de duobus Sacramentis, Baptiſmo & Chriſmate diſſeruimus, ſupereſt ut de reliquis duobus, i. e. Corpore & Sanguine Domini,——inveſtigemus.

In the 12*th Century* Algerus *ſaith, that* all the Sacraments are believed to be of God onely, which how gratuitous, how profitable, how magnificent they are, let us endeavour to weigh; *then he adds, that* all the Sacramental Species are of ſo little value, as to their nature and quantity, that they cannot ariſe to a Sacramental Dignity by any privilege of their own: *To prove this he ſaith, that* the Sacraments of the Church conſiſt in four *ſpecies, viz.* Water, Oil, Bread and Wine, all which are of little

Omnia Sacramenta ſolius Dei creduntur eſſe. de Euch. l. 3. c. 4.

Omnes ſacramentales ſpecies nullius æſtimationis ſunt in pretio, naturâ, vel quantitate ſuâ.

In quatuor ſpeciebus Eccleſiæ Sacramenta (magis) conſiſtunt, aquâ ſc. oleo, pane & vino. Ibid.

His tribus Sacramentis Baptiſmus ritè perficitur.

value.

value. *You ſee he was obliged by his very undertaking to enumerate* all the Sacraments, *which were then judged of Divine Inſtitution, and yet he numbers onely the ſame as others did before him, and which afterwards he ſtyles* three, *and which in truth were onely two,* Chriſm *being, as he there teacheth, always celebrated with Baptiſm, and eſteemed an Appendix of it. Lo here a Tradition fully contradicting the definition of the* Trent Council, *delivered for ſix hundred years from hand to hand, almoſt in the ſame words, and then let any reaſonable perſon judge, whe-*
Seſſ. 7. Proem. *ther that* Council *made this Canon,* Apoſtolicis traditionibus, & Patrum conſenſui inhærendo, *adhering to Apoſtolical Tradition or the Conſent of Fathers, when no ſuch number was ever mentioned by any man, till the* twelfth Century, *nor is there any colour or pretext for ſaying that any* Father *had at all declared that there were no more.*

Moreover R. H. doth in his Guide of Controverſies
Diſc. 3. c. 10. p. 316. *inform us, that theſe ſuppoſed Guides* decide thoſe Controverſies onely whereof they have a former Revelation, or Tradition, either in the formal Concluſion it ſelf, or in its neceſſary principles, *and that,* they of neceſſity diſmiſs unreſolved thoſe Controverſies whereof they have no former Revelation or Tradition. *And truly this of neceſſity they muſt doe, or muſt pretend to ſome* new Revelations, *and* new Articles of Faith, *never delivered to the* Church *before, either by writing, or* Tradition.

Hence therefore I infer that any Scholar *muſt have as great aſſurance, that the* Church *of Rome, and her ſuppoſed* General Councils, *have actually erred in ſome of their received* Tenets *and* Deciſions, *as he hath that they are neither written in the* Word of God, *nor derived from the* Apoſtles *by the tradition of the* Univerſal Church *throughout all Ages. Wherefore beſides the former heads already mentioned, let him impartially enquire what* Scripture *or*

Tradi-

Tradition *she is able to produce for these ensuing* Articles.

1. That in the Ministers, whilst they do consecrate or confer Sacraments, is required an intention of doing as the Church doth, *which is defined with an* Anathema, *and, as they do pretend,* following the Apostolical Traditions and Consent of Fathers, *though not one Father can I find cited for it by* Bellarmin, *or any other of the* Romish Doctours. *Concil. Trid. Sess. 7. Can. 11.*

2. That by virtue of Concomitance the Body of Christ is under the *Species* of Wine, and his Bloud under the *Species* of Bread, and his Soul under both, *as is defined by the* Trent Council *with an* Anathema, *and said to be* the faith perpetually received in the Church, *though not a word of it can be found in any* Father *for a thousand years.* *Semper hæc fides in Ecclesia Dei fuit. Sess. 13. cap. 3. & Can. 3.*

3. That Christ, by saying these words, *Doe this in remembrance of me,* made his Apostles Priests, *as is defined under* Anathema *by the same* Council, *and delivered as that which* the Church always understood and taught, *though no man can tell where.* *Uti semper Catholica Ecclesia intellexit & docuit. Sess. 22. c. 1. & Can. 2.*

4. That the R. Institution to pronounce some things in the Mass with a low, and other things with a loud voice, proceeded from the Apostolical Discipline and Tradition, *which is sufficiently refuted in this Treatise.* *Ex Apostolica Doctrina & Traditione. Ibid. cap. 5.*

5. That the H. Fathers, and the Tradition of the universal Church, have always taught, that Marriage was to be numbred amongst the Sacraments of the new Law. i, e. *that it by* Christ *was made a Sacrament, and was not so before his Institution, as much as after. Let I say any man enquire into these Assertions, and if he do not find them void of all Countenance from* Scripture, *and of all colour of* Tradition Universal, *I fear he must be either a man of a weak judgment, or of strong prejudice, or* id quod dicere nolo. *Inter novæ legis Sacramenta annumerandum sancti Patres nostri, & universalis Ecclesiæ traditio semper docuerunt. Sess. 24. p. 356.*

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In fine, Let a man honestly peruse this present Treatise, and he will find the Definition of the Trent Council *concerning* Latin Service, *plainly repugnant to the full Tradition of the* Church, *and to that sense of* Scripture *which she approved for* Twelve Centuries.

Farewell.

A TREA-

A

TREATISE

IN

CONFUTATION

OF THE

Latin Service

Practiſed in the

CHURCH of *ROME.*

CHAP. I.

The CONTENTS.

The ſtate of the Queſtion, viz. *What the* Trent Council *hath determined concerning the performance of the Publick Service in the* Latin *Tongue*, § 1. *What is the Doctrine of the* Church *of* England *with reſpect unto it. Four Propoſitions laid down for juſtification of all that in this matter is aſſerted by the* Church *of* England. *ibid. The Confeſſions of Romiſh Doctours that in the Primitive Church the Publick Service was performed in a Tongue underſtood by the People*, § 2. *The proof of that Aſſertion.* Cent. 2. *From the Teſtimonies of* Juſtin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, *and the* Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, § 3. Cent. 3. *From the Teſtimonies of* Origen, Tertullian *and St.* Cyprian,

prian, § 4. Cent. 4. *From the Teſtimonies of* Athanaſius, *St.* Baſil *and St.* Ambroſe, § 5. Cent. 5. *From the Teſtimonies of St.* Jerome *and* Chryſoſtome, § 6. Cent. 6. *From the Teſtimonies of* Caſſiodorus *and* Cæſarius Archbiſhop *of* Arles, § 7. *That the Prayers were read in a Tongue underſtood by the People in the following Centuries, is proved from the* Liturgies *both of the* Eaſtern, *and the* Weſtern Churches, § 8. *That the* Epiſtles *and* Goſpels *were read in a Tongue underſtood by the People, is proved,* § 9. *That the Pſalmody and Hymns were underſtood by them,* §. 10. *That the* Armenians, Habaſſins, Muſcovites, Ruſſians *and* Sclavonians *have their* Liturgies *in the Vulgar Tongue,* § 11.

§ 1. *THE ſtate of the Queſtion touching the performance of Publick Service in* Latin *where it is not underſtood by the Common People.*

The [a] *Trent Council* hath determined, that *albeit the Maſs containeth great inſtruction of the faithfull people, yet doth it not ſeem expedient to the Fathers that it ſhould every-where be celebrated in the Vulgar Tongue: wherefore the Ancient Cuſtome of every Church being every-where retained, and the Cuſtome approved by the R. Church, which is the Mother and Miſtreſs of all Churches, leſt the ſheep of Chriſt ſhould hunger, and the little ones deſire bread, and there be none to break it to them, the holy Synod commands Paſtours, and all that have the care of ſouls, by themſelves, or others, whilſt the Maſs is celebrated, to expound ſomewhat of that which in the Maſs is read.* Where

[a] *Etſi Miſſa magnam contineat populi fidelis eruditionem, non tamen expedire viſum eſt Patribus, ut Vulgari paſſim Linguâ celebraretur, quamobrem, retento ubique cujuſque Eccleſiæ antiquo, & à ſancta R. Eccleſia omnium Eccleſiarum Matre & Magiſtra, probato Ritu, nè oves Chriſti eſuriant, neve parvuli panem petant, & non ſit qui frangat, eis mandat ſancta Synodus Paſtoribus, & ſingulis curam animarum gerentibus, ut frequenter, inter Miſſarum celebrationem, vel per ſe, vel per alios, ex iis quæ in Miſſa leguntur, aliquid exponant,* Seſſ. 22. cap. 8.

1. Obſerve that the cuſtome then uſed, and *approved by the R. Church*, and other *Churches* then ſubject to her, was that of celebrating Maſs in *Latin* onely, ſo that this *Council* doth in effect decree, that every-where the cuſtome of *celebrating Maſs onely in the Latin Tongue*, ſhould be retained in the whole *Weſtern Church*. Accordingly the *Authour* of *Popery Miſrepreſented, and Repreſented*, knowing what had been ever ſince the practice of the *Church*, ſpeaks thus, *It nothing concerneth his*

(*i. e.* the R. Catholicks) *devotion that the Maſs is ſaid in* Latin, *if the Church* N. B. *hath ordered it thus, ſo to preſerve unity as in Faith, ſo in the external Worſhip of God, and to prevent alterations and changes which it would be expoſed to, if in vulgar Languages.* Cap. 24. p. 61.

2. Obſerve that not onely the *Leſſons* are read, but alſo all the *Prayers* and *Praiſes* which are uſed in the publick Service of the *Church* of *Rome*, are ſaid in *Latin*, that is in a Tongue no where vulgarly underſtood, the cuſtome therefore of performing the whole *publique Service* of that *Church* in *Latin*, muſt be that cuſtome which by this definition of the *Trent Council* is to be retained.

3. Obſerve that 'tis confeſſed by theſe Fathers that *the Maſs contains matter of great Inſtruction to the faithfull people*; ſo that were it celebrated in a Tongue known unto them, it would certainly miniſter great inſtruction to them, when pronounced audibly; 'tis alſo certain, that the *Maſs* celebrated in *ſo low a voice as it is not poſſible they ſhould hear it*, as a great part of it is, and in a Tongue unknown to the *Vulgar*, who moſt need Inſtruction, (as the *Latin* is to the generality of them) can miniſter no Inſtruction to them. Theſe *Fathers* therefore muſt be ſuppoſed to determine,

That it was inexpedient to celebrate the *Maſs* to the people, ſo as that it might miniſter great Inſtruction to them, and that they judged it better ſo to celebrate it, as that to them, who did moſt need it, it could miniſter no inſtruction.

So far are the *Jeſuite* [b] *Fiſher* and Dr. [c] *Vane* from miſrepreſenting their *Church*, when they tell us that *the drift of the Church in appointing Liturgies, or ſet forms of publick prayer, and readings in the Maſs, was not for the Peoples Inſtruction*, ſo *Vane*; and that *the drift of the Church in appointing Liturgies at the oblation of the Euchariſtical Sacrifice, was not the Peoples Inſtruction, but for other Reaſons*; ſo *Fiſher*.

[b] White p. 374.
[c] Vane p. 353.

In the 9th *Canon* of that *Seſſion* it is thus decreed, [d] *If any man ſay that the cuſtome of the R. Church, which recites part of the Canon, and the words of Conſecration with a low voice, is to be condemned, or that the Maſs ought to be celebrated onely in the vulgar Tongue, let him be* Anathema.

[d] *Si quis dixerit Eccleſiæ R. ritum quo ſummiſſâ voce pars canonis & verba conſecrationis proferuntur damnandum eſſe, aut linguâ tantùm vulgari Miſſam celebrari debere, anathema ſit.* Seſſ. 22. Can. 9.

In

In opposition to these *Decrees*, and the concurring practice of the *Church* of *Rome*, the [e] *Church* of *England* hath declared, That *it is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custome of the Primitive Church, to have publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a Tongue not understanded of the people.*

[e] *Art.* 24.

The *Homily* concerning Common Prayer and Sacraments, beareth this Title. [f] *An Homily wherein is declared that Common Prayer and Sacraments ought to be ministred in a Tongue that is understood of the Hearers.* In the body of the *Homily* it is asserted, that [g] *of necessity it is required that the Common Prayer be had in a Tongue that the Hearers do understand.* And that should we administer it otherwise, *we should by that means bring all our Church Exercises to frivolous superstition, and make them altogether unfruitfull.* At the entrance upon this Question the Enquiry runs thus, [h] *Let us see whether the Scriptures, and examples of the Primitive Church will allow any vocal Prayer, or any manner of Sacrament, or other publick or common Rite or Action pertaining to the profit and edifying of the unlearned, to be ministred in a Tongue unknown, or not understood of the Minister or People*; to which *Question*, saith the Homily, *we must answer No*; and it ends thus. [i] *Let us therefore conclude with God, and all good mens assent, that no common Prayer, or Sacraments ought to be ministred in a Tongue that is not understood of the Hearers.*

[f] *Book of Homilies p.* 133.

[g] *p.* 137.

Ibid.

[h] *p.* 136.

[i] *p.* 140.

Now that it may be evident to all indifferent persons, how repugnant is that established practice of the *Church* of *Rome* to the avowed practice of the *Church* of *Christ* for many Ages, confirmed by *Scripture*, and by Reason. I shall endeavour to demonstrate.

" 1. That the publick Service of *Singing*, *Praying*, *Reading*, " was for the first six Centuries, and more, performed by " the *Church* of God, in a Tongue understood by the Peo- " ple.

" 2. That the *Fathers* do expresly teach, that it was ne- " cessary that the publick Service of Prayer, Singing and " Reading should be so performed.

" 3. That they condemned the contrary practice of cele- " brating the publick Worship in a Tongue not understood

" by

" by the common People, as oppoſite unto the Word of " God, and to the ends for which the publick Service was ap- " pointed.

" 4. That this practice may be diſproved by moſt evident " and cogent Reaſons, built upon the Aſſertions of the *Holy* " *Fathers*; in a word, that they moſt plainly do condemn " all that the *Church* of *Rome* doth practiſe, and hath decreed " in this matter, and juſtifie all that the *Proteſtants* aſſert in " oppoſition to her determinations.

§ 2. *Containing the Confeſſion of* Romaniſts, *that this was the practice of the* Primitive Church.

That the publick Service of Singing, Praying, Reading was for the firſt ſix Centuries, and more, performed by the Church of Chriſt in a Tongue underſtood by the people, is ſo extremely evident, that divers learned *Romaniſts* confeſs the thing, or at the leaſt do in the general acknowledge, that the practice of the *Primitive Church* was ſuitable to what the *Proteſtants* do practiſe and contend for.

John Beleth ſaith, [k] *It was forbidden in the Primitive Church that any man ſhould ſpeak in an unknown Tongue, unleſs there were ſome body to interpret. Hence that laudable Cuſtome obtained in ſome parts of the Church, that the Goſpel being pronounced according to the letter, it was preſently expounded in the vulgar Tongue.*

[k] *In primitiva Eccleſia prohibitum erat ne quis loqueretur niſi eſſet qui interpretaretur; quid enim prodeſſet loqui, niſi intelligeretur. Sum. de div. offic. in proœmio.*

Eraſmus [l] in his Book *de Modo Orandi* ſaith, *It were much to be deſired that the whole Divine Service were ſaid in a Language underſtood by all the people, as it was wont to be practiſed in ancient times.*

[l] *Has Sacerdos olim ſic pronunciabat ut totus populus & audiret, & intelligeret, eóque veluti pariter cum illo oraret, tacitis duntaxat affectibus, demùm voce clarâ accineret* Amen. De Modo Orandi, p. 64, & p. 70.

Caſſander in his *Liturgicks* ſaith, that [m] *The Ancients did ſo read the Canonical Prayer, and eſpecially the Conſecration of the Body and Bloud of our Lord, that the People might underſtand and ſay Amen to them*, and that *they* both *read and prayed in a Tongue underſtood by the people*, he proves by Teſtimonies of a much later date than I aſſign.

[m] *Canonicam precem ità veteres legebant ut à populo intelligi poſſit. Cap.* 28. *Cap.* 36.

We deny not, saith [n] *Johannes Hoffmeisterus, but that the publick Prayers in the Church were for a long time celebrated in the vulgar Tongue.* He adds, that *in the time of* Chrysostome *the solemn publick Prayers were made in the vulgar Tongue, that so the Christian people might imitate in their minds the prayer of the Priest.* And indeed the words of [o] *Chrysostome* upon the Subject are a convincing demonstration that in his time this practice every where obtained. *For,* saith he, *in the prayers you may observe the people introducing many things together with the Priest, for the prayers which are made for the* Energoumenoi, *the Penitents, are common to the Priest and to the People, and they all say the same prayer. Again, when we drive from the sacred Curtains them that partake not of the Holy Table, another prayer is to be made, and then we all do in like manner fall down upon the pavement, and do all rise up again. Our Thanksgivings are also common, for neither doth the Priest give thanks alone, but all the People with him.*

[n] *Com. in* 1. *ad* Cor. *p.* 272.

[o] Καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ὃ πολὺ τὴν λαὸν ἴδοι τις ἂν συνεισφέροντα, καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ κοιναὶ, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν γίνονται αἱ εὐχαί·— καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγουσιν εὐχήν— οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εὐχαριστεῖ μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἅπας. *In* 2. *Ep. ad* Cor. *Hom.* 18. *p.* 647. *Ed.* Savil.

§ 3. *Containing the expres's Testimonies of the* Fathers, *that the publick Service was by them celebrated in a Tongue understood by the People.*

Nor is it to be wondred that men of learning, who had perused the Writings of the *Ancient Fathers*, should thus ingenuously confess that which is with such frequency and plainness delivered by them, that he who runs may read it: For *Justin Martyr*, who lived in the second Century, declareth that it was the custome of the *Christians*, when any person was baptised, [a] *to bring him to their assemblies, where they were gathered together putting up common prayers for themselves, for the baptized person, and for all others throughout the World with an attentive mind.* And the same person describing the *Christians Sundays* Exercise, speaks thus; *We come together all into one place, and hear the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles read unto us, and when the Reader hath performed his part, the President of the Assembly exhorts us to the imitation and practice of the good things read. This being done, we all rise up together, and pour forth our supplications, and when we cease from praying, the Bread and Wine is brought, which the President taking, gives Praise and Glory to*

Cent. 2. [a] Ἐπὶ τοὺ ἀδελφοὺς ἄγομαι ἔνθα συνηγμένοι εἰσὶ κοιναὶς εὐχὰς ποιούμενοι ἐυτόνως, animo intento, *Iust. p.* 97.

God

God the Father by the Son and Holy Ghoſt. Which Prayers and Thankſgivings he having finiſhed, [b] *all the people approve of them, by ſaying* Amen. *And the Prieſt having finiſhed his Thankſgiving, and all the people having ſignified their approbation of it, the Deacons proceed to diſtribute,* &c. From which paſſages it is evident that all the *Chriſtians* then aſſembled did *pray together*, that they thus prayed *with a mind intent upon the things which they petitioned for*, ſaith the *Latin*; that all the *Chriſtians* preſent did *approve of*, or ſignifie their conſent unto the Prayers and the thankſgivings of the *Preſident*, by ſaying *Amen* to them, which, ſaith St. *Paul*, the man who underſtandeth not theſe Prayers, and theſe Thankſgivings, cannot doe; they therefore all did underſtand them, becauſe they all confirmed them with their approbation, or wiſhing *So be it*. And whoſoever will conſult even the moſt ancient forms of *Liturgie*, and compare them with the account this *Martyr* gives us of the joint practice of the *Chriſtians* of his Age, cannot doubt but that the *Chriſtians* joined in, and underſtood the prayers mentioned by the *Apologiſt*.

[b] Πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπιφωνεῖ λέγων Ἀμήν· ---ᾗ ἐπιφωνήσαντος τοῦ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ. Apol. 2. p. 97, 98.

1 Cor. 14. 15.

For whereas *Juſtin M.* ſaith, that when any one declared his belief of what the *Chriſtians* taught, and promiſed to live accordingly, [c] *the Chriſtians faſted and prayed together with him.* The *Conſtitutions Apoſtolical* declare in like manner, that before the prayer for the perſon to be baptized, the *Deacon* ſaid to the *Faithfull* thus, [d] *Let us all who are faithfull pray earneſtly for them, that the Lord would make them worthy, who by baptiſm are initiated into the death of Chriſt, to riſe with him, and to be made partakers of his Kingdom.*

[c] Συνεύχομάνων ἡμῶν, Apol. 2. p. 93.

[d] Ἐκτενῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρακαλήσωμεν, l. 8. c. 7.

Whereas *Juſtin* adds, that when ſuch perſons are baptiſed the *Chriſtians* aſſembled, [e] *put up common prayers for themſelves, for the baptized, and for all throughout the World*; the prayer for the *Faithfull*, extant in thoſe *Conſtitutions*, ſhews this punctually true: For there they are ſaid to pray for the *Holy Catholick Church* in general, and for her ſeveral Members, for the *newly baptized perſons* in particular, and for *thoſe that were without*; and that the people underſtood, and joined in this prayer is plain from theſe words uttered by the *Deacon*, to prepare them ſo to doe. [f] *Let all the Faithfull kneel, let us pray to God through Jeſus Chriſt, let us all earneſtly*, (or, with one voice) *call upon God through his Chriſt.*

[e] *Ibid. c.* 10.

[f] Ὅσοι πιστοὶ κλίνωμεν γόνυ· ἱκετεύσωμεν μὲν τὸν Θεὸν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ πάντες συντόνως τὸν θεὸν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ καλέσωμεν. cap. 9.

And lastly, Whereas *Justin* adds, that the Prayers and Thanksgivings made by the *President*, concluded with the *Approbation* and *Amen* of all the Faithfull. These *Constitutions* shew that the *Laity* had their share in those Prayers and Praises, that they used the same Responses which are in our *Liturgy* before the consecration of the Sacrament, that they all said together, * *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts*, &c. that they all answered † *Amen* at the conclusion of the prayer. So that it cannot in the least be doubted, but that in those times the *Faithfull* understood the sense and meaning of those prayers in which the *Deacon* called upon them to join with so much earnestness and Devotion.

* Cap. 11.

† Cap. 12. p. 349.

Clemens of *Alexandria* is a second witness of this Age, that in his time the *Church* of *Christ* used a Language known to the *Faithfull* in her publick Offices: For giving an account of the *Altars* of *Christians*, he saith, that [g] *The terrestrial Altar of the Christians is the Assembly of them who join in prayers, having as it were one voice, and one mind, or Sentence. That there may be properly said to be in the Church* [h] *σύμπνοια, one breath, or one consent, for the Sacrifice of the Church is the word that doth ascend as Incense from holy Souls, their whole minds together with their Sacrifice, being disclosed to God. But the Heathens*, saith he, *will not believe us when we tell them, that the truly holy Altar is the just Soul, and that an holy Prayer is the Incense which ascends up from it.* And again, *The Sacrifices we offer to God must not be sumptuous but acceptable to him, and the Incense composed in the Law*, viz. [i] *that of Prayer, composed of many Tongues and Voices, or rather of divers Nations and Customes.* Now how can they be properly said to have *one mind*, or *Sentence*, or properly even to join in prayer, who do not know the meaning of each others prayers? How can it truly be affirmed that there is *σύμπνοια ἐν ἐκκλησία, a consent*, or as it were, *a breathing together of the Church* in the prayer which most of them understand not? How can that prayer be said to *ascend from holy Souls*, and be *a disclosure of the mind to God*, of which the mind hath no conception, because no understanding? why must men be [k] *gathered together for praises with a pure mind*, why must they pray with *many Tongues* and *Voices*, if they may pray as well in a Tongue barbarous and unknown?

[g] Τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀναχειμένων μίαν ὥσπερ ἔχον φωνὴν τ κοινὴν καὶ μίαν γνώμην. Strom. 7. p. 717. A.

[h] Ἡ σύμπνοια ἡ ἐπὶ τ ἐκκλησίαι λόγε τ τ κυρίε, καὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ θυσία τ ἐκκλησίας λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ψυχῶν ἀναθυμιώμενος, ἐκκαλυπτομένης ἅμα τ θυσίας καὶ διανοίας ἀπάσης τῷ θεῷ. *Ibid.* P. 717.

[i] Τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν γλωσσῶν τε καὶ φωνῶν καὶ τ εὐχὴν συγκείμενον. p. 719.

[k] Κατὰ τὸν εἴνις συναγόμενον καθαρῷ μὲ τῷ νῷ. *ib.*

§ 4. Add

§ 4. Add to this the Teſtimony of his Succeſſour *Origen*, which will give light unto it, who to the accuſation of *Celſus* that the *Chriſtians* aſcribed Virtue to *barbarous Names*, thus anſwers, *Let him ſhew whom we name barbarouſly as calling upon him for help*; *No*, ſaith he, *Celſus* here *vainly objects theſe things to us, and unreaſonably applies that to Chriſtians which belongs to others, for we Chriſtians do not ſo much as uſe in our prayers the Scripture Names recorded there by God*; *but the* Greeks (in their prayers) *uſe the Greek, the* Romans *the Latin Tongue, and ſo* [1] *every one of us prays to God according to his own Dialect, and celebrates his praiſes as he can, and he who is Lord of all Dialects hears them praying in every tongue, hearing them as if it were one voice manifeſted from divers Tongues according to the things ſignified by them: For the great Goa is not one who hath choſen one Tongue, Greek, or barbarous, before others, as either not knowing, or not regarding what was ſpoken to him in other Languages*; ſo certain is it, that this *Ancient Rite of every Church*, as the *Trent Council* calls their *Latine Service*, was not yet come into the *Church* of *Chriſt*. Cent. 3.

[1] Ἔχας Θ χτ τὴν ἑαυτ διάλεκτον τυχέτω πρ θεῦ, χ ὑμνεῖ αὐτὸν ὡς δύνατα χ ὁ πάσης διαλέκτ κύριος, ἤδ ὑπὸ πάσης διαλέκτ εὐχομένων, ἀκούει ὡς μιᾶς ἐν ἅπες ὀνομάσω φωνῆς τ χτ τὰ σημαινόμενα ἀκούων διανοίας ἐκ τῶν ποικίλων διαλέκτων. *Lib. cont.* Celſ. p. 402.

[m] *Tertullian* in his *Apology* gives this account of the *Chriſtian* Aſſemblies, *We meet together, that with our prayers we may encompaſs God as with a band of Men*; now that this band of men all underſtood the things they prayed for, we learn from what elſewhere he teacheth, that prayer muſt be our [n] *reaſonable ſervice*, that it muſt be [o] *free from all confuſion of mind, and ſent from ſuch a Spirit as is that Spirit to whom it is directed*, and who looks upon, and [p] *hearkeneth not to the voice, but to the heart*: For ſure that ſervice cannot be duly ſtiled *rational* in which the Reaſon bears no part, there can be no *intention*, or *freedom from confuſion* in that prayer, where there is no perception of what things are pray'd for, nor can the heart join with the voice in ſuch petitions.

[m] *Coimus ut Deum quaſi manufacta precationibus ambiamus.* cap. 39.

[n] *Rationale Officium*, de Orat. c. 12.

[o] *Omni confuſione libera debet eſſe orationis intentio, de tali Spiritu emiſſa qualis eſt Spiritus ad quem emittitur.* c. 10.

[p] *Deus non vocis ſed cordis auditor eſt*, cap. 13.

St. *Cyprian*

St. *Cyprian* ſaith, that [q] *when we come together with our Brethren, and celebrate divine Sacrifices with the Prieſt of God, we muſt be like to* Anna, *who ſpake not with her voice, but with her heart; becauſe*, as he had learned from his Maſter *Tertullian*, *God is the hearer not of the voice, but of the heart.* He adds, [r] that *we muſt watch, and apply our ſelves to prayer with our whole hearts, that the heart then muſt think of nothing but what it prays for.* And that we may be ſure he ſpeaks this of the publick Service of the *Church*, He adds, that *for this end the Prieſt, before they betake themſelves to prayer, prepares the minds of the Brethren by ſaying, lift up your hearts; and when the People anſwer, we lift them up unto the Lord; they thereby are admoniſhed, that they ought then to think of nothing but the Lord; as conſidering, that then we ſpeak to God.* And *of this we ought to be more carefull, becauſe the Enemy oft diverts our minds from God,* [t] *ſo that we have one thing in our hearts, another in our mouth; whereas, it is not the ſound of the voice, but our mind and ſenſe which with ſincere intention ought to pray to God.*

[q] *Quando in unum cum fratribus convenimus & ſacrificia divina cum Dei Sacerdote celebramus, &c. de Orat. Dom. Ed.* Ox. *p.* 140.

[r] *Vigilare & incumbere ad preces toto corde debemus nec quicquam tunc animus quàm id ſolum cogitet quod precatur, p.* 152.

[t] *Ut aliud habeamus in corde, & aliud in voce, quando intentione ſincera Dominum debeat non vocis ſonus, ſed animus & ſenſus orare.* Ibid.

Cent. 4. § 4. *Athanaſius* informs us, that when his *Church* was beſet with the Army of *Syrianus*, he commanded the *Deacon* to recite that Pſalm, *For his mercy endureth for ever; and the People to hearken to it.* And he declares, [t] that "it is beſt for the People "to meet together in a place capable of them all, becauſe this "ſhews the concord of their ſouls, and will the ſooner procure "audience; for if according to our *Saviour*'s promiſe, *where "two concur in one petition, it ſhall be granted*; how much more, "when there is one voice of ſo great a multitude ſaying *Amen?*

[t] Ἐν αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν καὶ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μετὰ συμφωνίας τῶν λαῶν γίνεσθαι εὐχήν· τοῦτο βέλτιον ἦν, τοῦτο γὰρ τὴν ὁμοψυχίαν ἐδείκνυε τῶν πλήθους, ὅτω καὶ ταχέως ὁ θεὸς ἐπακούει, εἰ γὰρ, καὶ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπαγγελίαν, ἐὰν δύο συμφωνήσωμεν, &c. τί ἐὰν τοσούτων λαῶν συνελθόντων μία γένηται φωνὴ λεγόντων τῷ θεῷ τὸ Ἀμήν. *Apol. ad* Conſtant. *p.* 683.

St. *Baſil* in his Epiſtle to the *Clergy* of *Neocæſarea*, who were incenſed againſt him and his *Monks*, upon ſuſpicion that *they had* [v] *changed the Ancient way of Pſalms and Melody*, returns this Anſwer;

[v] Ψαλμὸς καὶ τρόπον μελῳδίας. —παρηλλαγμένον. *Ep.* 63. *p.* 95.

Anſwer; that [x] *the way they uſed was conſonant to the cuſtome of all the Churches of God. For the People riſing by night, go to the houſe of prayer, making confeſſion to God with affliction, and with a confluence of tears; then riſing up from prayers, they fall to ſinging, ſometimes alternately, thence ſtrengthning their meditations of the Oracles, and moving themſelves to* [y] *attention, and undiſtractedneſs of heart; at other times permitting one to begin the melody, the reſt ſing after him; and ſo betwixt praying and ſinging they divide the night. And the day dawning,* [z] *we all in common, as from one mouth and heart, offer a Pſalm of confeſſion to God, every one making the penitential words his own; And if,* ſaith he, *you avoid us for theſe things, you muſt fly alſo the* Ægyptians, *both the* Libyas, *thoſe of* Thebes, Paleſtine, Arabia, Phœnicia, Syria, *and them that dwell near* Euphrates; [a] *and in a word, all by whom Prayers, and Vigils, and Pſalmodies are prized.*

[x] Τὰ νῦν κατεστηκότα ἔθη πασῶν τῶν Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίας συνῳδά ἐστι καὶ σύμφωνα, p. 96.

[y] Ἵνα μὴν σκοπιὰν καὶ τὸ ἀμετατρέπτον τῆς καρδίας. Ibid.

[z] Πάντες κοινῇ ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος καὶ μιᾶς καρδίας, &c. p. 97.

[a] Καὶ πάντας ἁπλῶς παρ' οἷς ἀγρυπνίαι καὶ πεσουχαὶ καὶ αἱ κοιναὶ ψαλμῳδίαι τιμῶνται. Ibid.

The ſame St. *Baſil* ſaith, that [b] *from the prayers of men, women and children to God a mixed ſound was heard in the Church as it were of a wave daſhing againſt the ſhore.* Which words of *Baſil* St. *Ambroſe* almoſt tranſlateth; ſaying, that *the Church is well compared to the Sea,* becauſe [c] *in the prayer of all the common people ſhe makes a noiſe, as in the reflux of the waters;* then *both from the reſponſes of the Pſalms, and the ſinging of men, women and children reſults a ſound like that of waters.* The *Churches* Prayers were therefore uttered then in ſuch a Language as all the common people, yea even women and children were acquainted with.

[b] Ἐν Ἐκκλησίᾳ συμμιγὴς ἦχος, οἷον πνοῆς κύματος ἠόνι προσπεσόντος, ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ νηπίων καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν ὕμνον λιτανείας ἐκπεμπόντων, *in Hexam. Hom.* 4. *To.* 1. *p.* 46.

[c] *In oratione totius plebis tanquam undis refluentibus ſtridet, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum conſonus undarum fragor reſultat.* Hex. *l.* 3. *c.* 5.

§ 6. St. *Jerome*, ſpeaking of the concourſe of the whole ſwarm of *Eaſtern*, and many of the *Weſtern Nations* to *Jeruſalem*, ſaith, [d] *their voice indeed is divers, but their Religion is one; we have almoſt as many choires of ſingers, as there be diverſity of Nations. When* Paula *dyed,* ſaith he, *they did not follow her with houlings and lamentations, as* Cent. 5.

[d] *Vox quidem diſſona, ſed una Religio, tot penè pſallentium chori, quot Gentium diverſitates, Ep.* Paulæ *&* Euſtath. *ad* Marcell. *apud* Hieron. *F.* 45. *B.*

the

d *Psalmorum linguis diversis examina concrepabant, Hebræo, Græco, Latino, Syróque Sermone Psalmi in ordine personabant. In Epitaph.* Paulæ, *F. 65. B.*

the men of the world are wont to doe, but e *with swarms of Psalms in divers Languages. Then*, saith he, *the Psalms sounded in their order in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and in the Syrian Tongue, the whole multitude of* Palestine *being then present.*

Cent. 6.

§ 7. *Cassiodorus* upon *Psalm* the 44th. writes thus: *Let us search why the Church of God is praised for the variety of her Rayment, since all simplicity and unity agrees to her, but here this signifies the variety and multiplicity of Tongues, because* f *All Nations sing in the Church according to the language of their Countrey, that they may shew to the Authour of virtues a most beautifull variety.*

f *Omnes Gentes secundùm suam patriam linguam in Ecclesia psallunt, ut Authori virtutum pulcherrimam diversitatem demonstrent.*

And *Cæsarius*, Archbishop of *Arles*, speaks thus unto the people, *I desire, and* g *admonish you my dear Brethren, that as oft as the Clergy pray at the Altar, or the Deacon summons you to prayer, by crying*, Let us kneel down, *you would faithfully incline not onely your hearts but your bodies also.* Where observe, that it was the * Custome of the *Deacon* before prayer, to say to the people, *Let us kneel down*, and when prayer was finished, *Stand up*, which he must doe in vain, if they understood not what he said, and much less could they *faithfully incline their hearts* unto the prayer which they understood not.

g *Rogo, ut quotiescunque oratio Diacono inclamante indicitur, non solùm corda, sed etiam corpora fideliter inclinetis. Hom.* 34.

* *Bona Rerum Liturg. l. 2. c. 5.*

§ 8. Moreover all the *Ecclesiastical Offices* used both in the *Western*, and in the *Eastern Churches*, shew that they were celebrated in a Tongue the people were supposed to understand.

That the prayers were read in a Tongue understood by the people, appears not onely from their constant custome of saying *Amen* to them, which, saith h St. *Jerom*, they *sounded forth like Thunder*, and which was, saith St. *Austin*, their *Subscription*,

h *Ad Martyrum sepulchra concurritur, ubi sic ad similitudinem cœlestis tonitrui* Amen *reboat. Proœm. 2. in Epist. ad* Galat. *F. 75.*

ſcription, conſent, and their aſtipulation to the prayer, but alſo from the ſhare they had in them, and from the *Prieſt's* invitation of them to pray with him. The old *Ordo Romanus* was compoſed by, or in the time of *Gregory* the Great, and it declareth that [i] *The Prieſt turned himſelf unto the people, ſaying, Let us pray*; that *he ſtood by the Altar, ſaying, The Lord be with you, and, Let us pray*; now to what end ſhould he thus turn himſelf unto them, or thus ſpeak, if they perceived not the meaning of his words, or could not join with him in the prayers he uttered? Hence do the Writers on theſe Offices inform us, that *the Prieſt or Biſhop ſaith, Let us pray, inviting the people to pray together with him. Iſidore*, in his firſt Book of *Divine Offices*, ſaith, that *the order of Maſs, or of the Prayers by which the Sacrifices offered to God are conſecrated, is celebrated throughout the whole World in the ſame manner,* [k] *the firſt of them is a prayer of Admonition to the People, that they may be excited to intreat God earneſtly; the ſecond is a prayer of Invocation to God, that he would mercifully accept the prayers of the People.* Now to be ſure the people were not admoniſhed to pray in words they underſtood not, nor did the *Prieſt* beſeech God to accept ſuch prayers as they who made them did not underſtand.

[i] *Convertit ſe ad populum, dicens orate*, p. 4. *Dominus vobiſcum & oremus*, p. 8.

[k] *Uno eodemque modo univerſus peragit orbis. Prima oratio eſt admonitionis erga populum ut excitentur ad deum exorandum.* cap. 15.

In the *Latin Maſs* uſed, ſaith Cardinal *Bona* about ſeven hundred years after *Chriſt*, [l] *The Prieſt humbly turning himſelf to the people ſtanding round about him*, ſaith, *Brethren and Siſters, pray for me a Sinner, that mine, and your ſacrifice may be acceptable to the Lord God omnipotent before his ſight.* Then they all anſwer, *Let the Omnipotent God receive the Sacrifice at thy hands, and let thy prayers aſcend in remembrance before the Lord, and let him hear thee who made thee an Interceſſour for our ſins; let all the Saints and elect of God pray for thee, let him remember all thy Sacrifice, and let thy Burnt-offering be made fat*, &c.

[l] *Tunc Sacerdos humillimè ſe convertit ad circumſtantes, dicens, Orate pro me peccatore; tunc reſpondetur ei à ſingulis, ſuſcipiat omnipotens deus, &c.* Rerum Liturg. p. 945.

Albinus informs us, that *the Prieſt ſaith let us pray*, and that then *the* [m] *Church prays with the Prieſt, not with their voice, but with the heart, there is ſilence, and the breaſt cries to God in the ears of God.* That He invites

[m] *Orat Eccleſia cum ſacerdote non voce ſed corde, &c. De* Div. Off. *c. de* Celebr. Miſſ. *p.* 90. *Ibid. p.* 82. 84.

them to pray with him, saying, *Let us pray*, that after the Incense the *Priest* turns himself to the People, [n] *requiring them to join their prayers to his, that he may deserve to be heard for their salvation.* * *Amalarius Fortunatus* not onely cites and approves that passage of St. *Cyprian*, produced already out of his Treatise on the Lord's Prayer, and that of † *Ambrose*, that *the unskilfull hearing what he understands not, knows not the end of the prayer, and so answers not Amen, that the Benediction may be confirmed.* But also saith, that the words, *for ever and ever*, [o] *are pronounced with a loud voice, that they may be heard by the people, and the prayer may be confirmed by the Answer of the people.* And giving an Account of the *Secretum*, so called, because the *Priest* said it with a loud voice; He informs us, that *it belongs to the Priest alone to offer Sacrifice to God, to whom, because we speak by thoughts, there is then no need of a loud voice, but* [p] *in the following prayer the Priest calls out to the people, lift up your hearts, and therefore here a loud voice is necessary, that altogether they may give thanks to God.* And speaking of the *Hymn* before the passion of our Lord, He saith it is called *the preparation, because it prepares the minds of the Brethren to an honesty becoming the convention of Holy Angels, and to the Reverence of the consecration,* [q] *and therefore is sung with a loud voice.* And again, *then*, saith he, *follows the Lord's prayer, which it behoves us to sing with great caution,* [r] *that we may retain in our minds the things which with our words we pronounce.* And lastly, *the whole People, with the Priest, commend themselves together to God, saying, look upon thy Servants, and thy works,---- and this with the words,* [s] *we ought to retain in our minds.*

[n] *Poscens ut jungant preces suas precibus ejus. Ibid. p. 82.*

* *De Eccl. Offic. l. 3. c. 9.*

† *Cap. 19. p. 182.*

[o] *Excelsè profertur ut audiatur oratio & populi responsione confirmetur. Ibid. p. 189.*

[p] *In sequenti oratione clamat ad populum, ut habeat sursum cor,—— igitur hoc necessario extollitur voce quod omnibus licet simul agere, i e. Gratias referre Deo, &c. c. 20. p. 192.*

[q] *Ideo excelsa voce cantatur. c. 21. ibid.*

[r] *Ut ipsas res in mente teneamus quas verbis pronunciamus. l. 4. c. 2. p. 215.*

[s] *Hoc debemus cum his verbis tenere in mente.*

* *Rabanus Maurus* saith, that *after the Priest goes to the Altar, the Litany is begun by the Clergy, that the general prayer may go before the special supplication of the Priest*, and that this general prayer was generally understood by the people is evident from this consideration, that the *Priest* before it was accustomed to say, *Let us pray for the Holy Church of God, for our Blessed Pope, for all the Bishops, for the faithfull, for the Catechumens*

* *De Instit. Cler. l. 1. c. 33. p. 328.*

mens, for the penitents, for the perfidious Jews, the Heretiсks, the Pagans; and of this cuſtome St. *Auſtin* ſpeaketh, ſaying, *The Prieſts rehearſe the Litanies with a loud voice, and* [t] *common prayer is enjoyned by the mouth of the Deacon*; and more fully in theſe words: [u] *Exerciſe thy diſputations againſt the prayers of the Church, and when thou heareſt the Prieſt of God exhorting the people at his Altar to pray for the unbelievers, that God would convert them to the Faith; for the Catechumens that God would inſpire them with a deſire of Regeneration, and for the faithfull, that they may perſevere in that which they have begun to be, deride the Holy voices.*

[t] *Communis oratio voce Diaconi indicitur, Ep.* 119. *c.* 18.

[u] *Exerce contra orationes eccleſiæ diſputationes tuas, & quando audis ſacerdotem Dei ad Altare exhortantem populum Dei orare pro incredulis ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem, & pro catechumenis ut eis deſiderium Regenerationis inſpiret, & pro fidelibus ut in eo quod eſſe cœperunt, ejus munere perſeverent, ſubſanna pias voces. Ep.* 107. *p.* 493.

This alſo will be farther evident from the *Alternate prayers* of Prieſt and People, in which he ſpeaks to them, and they return their Anſwer to him, of which we have early mention in the Apoſtles Conſtitutions, in St. *Cyprian*, in the forementioned places, in *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, who tells us, that *the Prieſt ſaith, Lift up your Hearts, the People anſwer, We lift them up unto the Lord. The Prieſt ſaith, Let us give thanks to the Lord; the People, It is fit and juſt; the Prieſt, Holy things to holy perſons; the People, There is one holy, one Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* In St. *Chryſoſtome*, ſaying, *in the tremendous Myſteries, the Prieſt prays for the People, and the People for the Prieſt,* [x] *for this alone is ſignified by thoſe words, And with thy Spirit.* In * St. *Auſtin*, in very many places of his works. In the *Ordo Romanus* we have frequent mention of this Reſponſe, *And with thy Spirit*, and alſo mention of all the others cited by St. *Cyril*. † *Albinus* upon theſe Reſponſes remarks thus, that *The Church having received the wholſome ſalutation from the Prieſt, ſalutes him again in prayer, deſiring that as he prayed the Lord might be with them, ſo would he be with him, ſaying, And with thy Spirit. That by the words* ſurſum corda, *the Prieſt exhorts the People to direct their hearts from worldly cares, to the Lord; the People anſwer, We lift them up unto the Lord; as if they ſhould have ſaid, we have them lifted up as thou commandeſt; the Prieſt again exhorts them ſaying, Let us give thanks unto our Lord God, you, and I together, the People affirm that it is fit and juſt to give him thanks.*

Catech. Myſt. 5. *p.* 240.

[x] Τὸ γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου ὑμῖν ἀλλὸ δηλοῖ ἢ τοῦτο. *Hom.* 18. *in* 2 Cor. *p.* 647.

* De vera Rel. *c.* 3. *in* Pſ. 148. *Serm.* 4. *de Temp. de bono, vid. c.* 16.

† *Ed.* Hittorp. *p.* 45, 71, &c.

And the ſhort *Exegeſis* of the *Maſs* publiſhed at *Paris* 1548. ſaith, that the ϒ *Ancient Prieſts, who regarded not ſo much the ornament of ſpeech, as the ſalvation and edification of the people,* N. B. were wont to ſay, Lift up your hearts in the Vulgar Tongue.

ϒ *Antiqui Sacerdotes qui non tàm curabant de cultu ſermonis, quàm de ſalute & ædificatione plebis, propter Idiotas & Ruſticanos —Vulgari ſermone ſurſum corda dicere ſolebant.* Exeg. *in Miſſ. Can. p.* 9.

Moreover, that the *Prayers* of the *Greek Church* are performed in *Greek*, and that they were performed ſo as to be underſtood by the people, their *Liturgies* ſufficiently aſſure us.

Goar. *in Lit.* Chryſ. *n.* 65. *p.* 123.

I. From thoſe words ſo frequent in them, *Let us pray unto the Lord*; by which the *Deacon* admoniſhes himſelf and others to pray before the Prieſt begins the Collect. And again, *Let us pray in peace*; *by which the Deacon admoniſhes them*, ſaith *Goar*, *that their prayers ought to be made in peace, not onely among themſelves, but with an undiſturbed mind.* From the *Deacons* call to ſay *with their whole ſoul, and their whole minds*, ſuch and ſuch prayers, and the peoples anſwer to them, * *Lord have mercy upon us:* which ſaith *Cabaſilas*, is the prayer uttered † *by all the people*; From the *Reſponſes* made by the people before the receiving the Sacrament, uſed in theſe ‖ *Liturgies*, as they are mentioned in the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, and in St. *Cyril.*

* Κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lit.* Chryſ. *p.* 992.

† Ἡ πίστις πάντων δ' ἀπ. *apud* Goar. *p.* 129.

‖ *Lit.* Chryſ. *p.* 996, 997. *Lit.* Chryſ. *p.* 987, 988, 993, 995.

II. From thoſe *Litanies* contained in their *Liturgies*, in which the *Deacon* calls upon them to pray.

1. *For heavenly peace, and the ſalvation of their ſouls*; *and* the people anſwer, *Lord have mercy upon us.* And ſaith

2. *Let us pray for the peace of the whole World, for the ſtability of the holy Churches of God, and for the concord of them.*

3. *For this holy Houſe, and all that come to it with faith, reverence, and the fear of God.*

4. *For the Archbiſhop, the venerable Prieſts, and the whole Clergy and People.*

5. *For their moſt pious Kings, the whole Palace, and the Army, that God would fight with them, and ſubdue under their feet every enemy and adverſary.*

6. *For this holy Manſion, the City, and the Countrey, and all the faithfull which dwell there.*

7. *For the good temper of the air, the proſperity of the fruits of the earth, and for peaceable times.*

8. *For*

8. *For those that travel by sea and land, that are sick, labouring, or captives, and their safety.*

9. *That they may be delivered from all afflictions, wrath, danger and necessity*: to every Petition of which *Litany* the people answer, as in our *Church*, *Lord have mercy upon us.*

Moreover the *Deacon* saith unto the people,

1. *Let us ask of the Lord, that this day may be upright, peaceable, holy, and without sin.* *Lit.* Chrys. p. 996.

2. *Let us ask of the Lord the Angel of peace, the faithfull guide and keeper of our souls and bodies.*

3. *Let us ask* —— *indulgence, and remission of our sins and offences.*

4. *Let us ask* —— *things good and convenient for our souls, and peace in the world.*

5. *Let us ask* —— *that the residue of our lives may be spent in peace and penitence.*

6. *Let us ask* —— *a Christian conclusion of our lives without pain, shame, and in peace, and a good defence at the formidable tribunal.*

7. *Let us ask* —— *unity of faith, and communion of the holy Spirit*; to every of which Petitions the people answer as before. p. 1000.

III. This will be farther evident from the matter of the Prayers, in which it is expresly said, that *the people call upon the Lord, or pray with the Priest*, as in these words, *Grant thy abundant mercies to thy servants calling upon thy name. Grant, O Lord, to those that pray with us, proficiency in life, faith and knowledge. Remember those that are present, and pray with us.* Such lastly, is that concluding Prayer of *Chrysostome*, retained in our *Liturgy*. *O God, who hast given us grace with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee, and hast promised that when two or three are gathered together in thy name, thou wilt grant their requests; fulfill now, O Lord, the desires of thy servants*; for it is past my understanding to conceive how those Prayers can be said to be common, and put up with one accord, or symphony, or how the people present can be said to pray with the *Priest*, or call upon the Lord together with him, in words they do not understand. *Lit.* Chrys. *apud* Goar. p. 71. & p. 48, 65. *Ibid.* p. 66.

IV. This is evident from all those Prayers which the *Priest* begins mystically, or secretly, and concludes with a loud voice; for to what end doth he elevate his voice, if they who heard it, could not understand the meaning of it?

§ 9. From

§ 9. From the beginning, as *Justin Martyr* doth inform us, the Commentaries of the *Apostles*, and the Writings of the *Prophets* were read in the Assemblies of *Christians*, and that they were read so then as that the common people might understand them, is evident from what there follows, that *when the Reader ceased, the President of the Assembly made an exhortation to provoke them to the imitation of those excellent things* then read unto them. *Apol. 2. p. 98. D.*

And from that passage of [a] *Tertullian*, *we meet together for the commemoration of the divine Scriptures--- we feed our faith, confirm our affiance, erect our hope by the sacred writings: from the reading of the Scriptures we derive the nourishment of faith.* From those words of * *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, *When the Gospel, or the Writings of the Apostles, are read, attend not to the Book, or to the Reader, but to God speaking from heaven,* which sure they could not be exhorted to doe, provided that his words were read unto them in an unknown tongue. And from those words of *Chrysostome*, [b] *they take not heed, nor do they mind that they come to God, that he discourseth to them. For when the Reader standing up cries out, thus saith the Lord; and the Deacon standing up, stops the mouths of all; he does not this in honour of the Reader, but of that God who speaketh by him. The Epistles which are read every day, are heard from Heaven — If a man came from the King, you would all attend to him; The Prophet comes from God, he speaks from Heaven, and no man hearkens to him: do you not believe that these things are spoken by God; these are Epistles sent from God?* From the like words of * St. *Austin*, *the holy Readings are proposed, which we may both hear, and out of which, God assisting, we shall discourse somewhat*; and from those passages so † frequent in him, *We have heard the Lesson of the Apostle, this is a faithfull saying*, &c. *we have heard the Psalm, we have heard the Apostle, we have heard the Gospel, all the divine Lessons agree.* From that *Decree* of the || *Council* of *Valence* in *Spain*, *That the holy Gospels should be read after the Epistle in the Mass of the Catechumens in the order of the Lessons, because it was allowed not onely for the Faithfull, but for the Catechumens and Penitents to hear the salutary Precepts of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Sermons of the Priest.* And that the custome continued from the *sixth* to the *tenth Century*, at

[a] *Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem, —fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus.* Apol. c. 39. *fomenta fidei de Scripturarum interlectione. Ad Veor. l. 2. c. 6.*

* *Serm. 2. de Annun. B. Virg.*

[b] Οὐ προσέχουσι- - ὅτι αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς διαλέγεται, &c. *Hom. 3. in 2 Ep. ad Thess. c. 4. p. 234.*

* *Serm. 33. de verbis Domini.*

† *Serm. 10. de verb. Apost. Serm. 8. & de temp. Serm. 49.*

|| *Cap. 1.*

at leaſt, we are informed from the Writers of *Eccleſiaſtical Offices*. For in the *Ordo Romanus*, the Prieſt ſpeaks thus to the *Catechumens*; *Our Lord not onely gave his Diſciples a form of Prayer, but alſo ſhewed* [c] *with what mind and purity they ought to pray, as at preſent the ſacred Leſſon will ſhew to you*, viz. *When thou prayeſt enter into thy Cloſet*, &c. *Albinus* giving an account of the word *Hallelujah*, he ſaith, *it is uſed that he may be praiſed of all, by whoſe grace all are ſaved*; and that it is as if he ſhould have ſaid, [d] *becauſe you are preſently to hear the words of the Goſpel bringing ſalvation, praiſe ye the Lord by whoſe kindneſs ye have been worthy to receive this grace.* He alſo adds, that *the Prieſt exhorts them to lift up their hearts*; *as if he ſhould have ſaid, * Being now ſufficiently inſtructed and confirmed by the Apoſtolical and Evangelical Precepts, direct up your hearts from worlaly cares unto the Lord.* [e] *After the refection of the mind from holy Scripture, follows heavenly joy*, ſaith *Amalarius*. *Then*, ſaith *Rabanus Maurus*, *doth the Reader read the Canonical Leſſon*, [f] *that the mind of the hearers, being inſtructed by it, may become more attentive to other things.* And again, *then the Deacon reads the Goſpel with great authority in the ears of the people*, [g] *that his doctrine may be heard to whom their whole intention is fervently inclined; and his virtue may be underſtood by the Goſpel, the holy myſtery of whoſe body is then celebrated.*

[c] *Qua mente & puritate precarentur oſtendit ut in præſenti ſacra hæc lectio demonſtrabit*, p. 40.

[d] *Quia verba Evangelii ſalutem conferentia mox audituri eſtis*, &c. *de div. off. cap. de celebr. Miſſ.* * P. 83.

[e] *Poſt refectionem mentis de ſancta Scriptura, l. 4. c. 3. de tertia.*

[f] *Ut animus Auditorum per hanc inſtructus ad cætera intentior adſurgat. de inſtit. cler. l. 1. c. 33. p. 328.*

[g] *Ut ipſius ibidem audiatur doctrina ad quem fervet intentio tota. 16. p. 329.*

That in the *Greek Church* alſo the *Epiſtles* and *Goſpels* were, and are ſtill read unto them in the Vulgar Tongue, and ſo as that the people might underſtand the meaning of them, is ſtill more evident; for before the reading of them, the *Deacon* always ſaid πτία ὀρθοὶ, which word ὀρθοὶ, ſaith * *Cabaſilas, calls for that diligence, attention and reverence which we ought to have when we ſpeak or hear of heavenly things, of which the firſt ſign we ſhould give is the erection of the body*; He alſo ſaid, πρόσχωμεν, *by which word*, ſaith † *Cabaſilas, he commands us not to ſtand ſlothfully, or negligently, but to attend with our minds to the things done and ſung.* The *Prieſt* before the reading of the Goſpel, ſaith, *let us hear the Goſpel.* The *Deacon*, *The Leſſon is taken out of ſuch a place.* And the *Prieſt*, *let us attend to it*, which were all vain words, if the people did not underſtand the *Leſſons*.

* Goar. *in Lit.* Chryſ. n. 77. p. 125.

† N. 88. p. 128.

§ 10. As

§ 10. As for *ſinging*, it is confeſs'd by * *Cardinal Bona*, that in the times of the *Apoſtles*, and for ſome following Ages, the whole Congregation of the Faithfull did anſwer the *Prieſt* in ſolemn celebration of that Service, and were wont to ſing together with the *Clergy*, this cuſtome, ſaith he, is confirmed by *Chryſoſtome*, who ſpeaketh thus, [h] *Anciently all met together, and ſung in common, and this we doe at preſent*; And a little after he adds, what *Bona* took no notice of, [i] *He that ſings, ſings alone, though all ſing after him, and the voice is carried, as it were, from one mouth.*

* *Rerum Liturg. l.* 1. *c.* 25. §. 19.

[h] Συνήεσαν τὸ παλαιὸν ἅπαντες καὶ ὡσέφαλον κοινῇ, τοῦτο πιθῶμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς. *Hom.* 36. *in* 1 Cor. *p.* 487.

[i] Κἂν πάντες ὑπηχῶσιν, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ἡ φωνὴ φέρεται. *p.* 489.

"*Cæſarius*, *Biſhop* of *Arles*, alſo taught the Laicks, or vulgar "ſort, to ſing Pſalms and Hymns with an elevated modulated "voice, and to ſing Proſe and Anthems like as the Clergy, ſome "in *Greek*, and ſome in *Latin*, that there might be no time for "them to tell ſtories to one another in the Church. He alſo adds, that St. *Ambroſe* commanded Pſalms and Hymns to be ſung after the manner of the *Eaſtern* parts, for the comfort of the Faithfull watching in the Church, and that St. *Auſtin* ſaith, that *this cuſtome derived it ſelf from* Milan, *to almoſt all the Churches of the Weſt*. *Theodoret* informs us, that *becauſe* Harmonius *the Heretick had compoſed Hymns by the ſweetneſs of the ſound to inſtill Impiety into the Hearers*, Ephræim Syrus *compoſed pious Hymns after the like manner*, and thereby [k] *he provided for the Hearers a moſt ſweet and profitable Antidote*. *Rabanus Maurus* ſaith, [l] *It is requiſite that when there is ſinging, all ſhould ſing*. As for the manner of performing this Duty *Amalarius Fortunatus* ſaith, that [m] *We ought to ſing, and praiſe God more with the mind than with the voice*. That [n] *if we ſing in the Choir, we ſing with the Heart, for as much as the Heart is better than the Body, by ſo much is the ſervice performed by it more devout than that which is performed by the Body*. And ſpeaking of the *Antiphona*, he in like manner ſaith, that *as much as the Soul is better than the Body, ſo much is that ſinging which is performed by the Soul better than that which is performed by the Body*; and therefore

Ibid. Ex Auguſt. *Confeſſ. l.* 9. *c.* 7.

[k] Πεφυτίνοχε τοῖς ἀκούσιν ἡδὺν καὶ ὀνησιφόρον φάρμακον. *Hiſt. Eccl. l.* 4. *c.* 26.

[l] *Oportet ut quando pſallitur, pſallatur ab omnibus, De Inſtit. Cler. l.* 2. *c.* 52.

[m] *Canere igitur, & pſallere, & laudare Deum magis animo quàm voce debemus, l.* 3. *c.* 2.

[n] *Si in choro cantamus corde cantamus, cap.* 3.

fore *that we ought to attend* * quæ ſit Antiphona animæ, *what is the Anthem of the Soul.* * *L.* 4. *c.* 7.

§ 11. Moreover, that the Cuſtome of many other *Chriſtian Churches* was agreeable to that of the *Proteſtants*, we learn from good *Hiſtorians* and approved Authours: For,

1. Of the *Armenians*, * *Caſſander* tells us out of *Petrus Bellonius*, that *all who aſſiſt underſtand the* Armenian *Tongue*, *which the Prieſt uſeth in celebration of their Service.* And *Brierwood* produceth many Witneſſes to the ſame purpoſe. * *Liturg. p.* 31.

2. The ſame † *Brierwood*, from *Alvarez*, the *Portuguize*, and many other Authours, ſhews, that the *Habaſſins*, or *Midland Æthiopians*, do celebrate their Liturgie in their own Language, which alſo the Liturgie it ſelf, if you mark the long Anſwers of the People to the Prieſt in thoſe prayers, ſufficiently atteſts. † *Ib. p.* 133.

3. And *no leſs certain*, ſaith he, *is it alſo of the* Moſcovites, *and* Ruſſians, *that their Liturgies are miniſtred in their vulgar Tongue.* The whole *Maſs*, ſaith ‖ *Caſſander*, is wont to be celebrated by them in the Mother Tongue, and the Epiſtle and Goſpel are recited out of the Choir with a loud voice to the people, that they may the better underſtand them. *Ibid.* ‖ *Liturg. p.* 32.

4. And *as evident*, ſaith * he, *is it of the* Illyrians, *whom we commonly call* Sclavonians, *that they exerciſe their publick divine Service in their own Language*; and in particular *of the* Liburnians, *the more Weſterly part of the* Sclavonians, *it is affirmed by* Aventine, *and of the* Dalmatians, *the more Eaſterly part of them*, *by* Angelus Rocha, *that they celebrate their Liturgies in their own Language.* Of theſe *Sclavonians* the Hiſtory of the *Bohemian* perſecution ſaith, that *in the Year of our Lord* 968. *when* Dethmarus *was conſecrated Biſhop*, *the then Pope endeavoured to deprive them of the uſe of the Maſs in their own Tongue*, *whereupon they ſent ſix of their Prieſts* ° *who obtain'd of the Pope that form of Liturgie in their Mother Tongue, which they ſtill have.* * *p.* 188. *p.* 189.

° *Qui impetrabant à pontifice vernaculam Litanearum formam quæ hactenus extat, c.* 5. *p.* 15.

Lastly, [p] *Metrophanes*, a Monk of *Greece* informs us that the Creed was uttered in the *Eastern Church*, *even as all other things were with a loud voice, that all who were without the Veil might hear, and understand them.* And that *this Veil was opened, to signifie that to those who were Orthodox in Faith, all things were revealed, and to be heard, whether they were Men or Women, young or old, rich or poor.*

[p] Ἐκφωνεῖ δὲ τοῦτο ὥσπερ καὶ τἄλλα μεγαλοφώνως ὥστε πάντας ἀκούειν καὶ συνιέναι τοὺς ἐκτὸς τοῦ φραγματος πάντα ἀνακεκαλυμμένα καὶ ἄκουστα πᾶσι τοῖς ὀρθοδόξοις. White *Reply to* Fish. p. 378.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The CONTENTS.

The Fathers held it neceſſary that the Publick Service ſhould be performed in a Tongue known to the People; this is proved, Cent. 4. *from the Teſtimonies of* Lactantius, Baſil *and S.* Ambroſe, § 1. Cent. 5. *From the Teſtimonies of S.* Auſtin *and* Caſſianus, § 2. Cent. 7. *From the Teſtimony of* Iſidore Hiſpalenſis § 3. Cent. 8, & 9. *From the Teſtimonies of* Albinus Flaccus, Amalarius Fortunatus, *and* Walafridus Strabo, § 4. Cent. 11, & 12. *From the Teſtimonies of* Micrologus *and* Ivo Carnotenſis § 5. Cent. 13. *From the* 9th *Canon of the* 4th *General Council of* Lateran § 6. *Concerning the Reading of the Leſſons in a Tongue underſtood; this is farther proved,* 1. *From the cuſtome of Reading the Leſſons in divers Tongues, where the Aſſembly conſiſted of perſons different in Language* § 7. 2. *From the Cuſtoms uſed in ordaining Readers* § 8. 3. *From the Cuſtome of the Deacon to call upon the people to ſtand up, and hear the Goſpel read,* § 9. 4. *From the Cuſtoms of the Prieſt before and after the Reading of the Goſpel,* § 10. 5. *From the Cuſtome of the People to ſign themſelves before and after, and ſay* Amen *to it,* § 11. 6. *From the Cuſtome of the Reader, to mention the Book and Chapter,* § 12. 7. *From the Cuſtome uſed in the Viſitations of Biſhops and Archbiſhops to enquire whether they who came to Church diligently liſtened to the Word read unto them,* § 13.

MOreover, the *Fathers*, in their occaſional Diſcourſes on this Subject, do very plainly ſhew they held it highly expedient, and even neceſſary for the Edification of the *Church*, and for the due performance of Prayer, of Reading, and of *Pſalmody* in publick, that the people ſhould underſtand what was read; prayed, or ſung in the Aſſemblies. This will be

evident both from their expreſs words, and alſo from many indirect, but cogent Arguments.

Cent. 4.

[a] *Hæc eſt enim Symphonia, quando concinit in Eccleſia diverſarum ætatum atque virtutum, velut variarum chordarum indiſcreta concordia, Pſalmus reſpondetur, Amen dicitur. Hæc eſt enim Symphonia quam ſcivit Paulus, & ideo ait, pſallam ſpiritu, pſallam & mente. In* Luc. 15. p. 124. D.

[b] *In* 1 Cor. 14. 16.

§ 1. From the Teſtimony of [a] St. *Ambroſe*, who ſaith, *This is Symphony, when the unſevered Concord of divers Ages and Vertues ſings together in the Church, as divers ſtrings of an Inſtrument, the Pſalm is anſwered*; Amen *is ſaid. This is the Symphony which the Apoſtle knew, and therefore ſaith, I will ſing with the Spirit, I will ſing with the underſtanding alſo.* Now, ſaith the ſame [b] St. *Ambroſe the unskilfull perſon hearing what he underſtands not, knows not the end of the prayer, & ſo he anſwers not* Amen. He therefore doth inſinuate, that this *Symphony* cannot be kept where the Service of the *Church* is in a Tongue not known to the Unskilfull.

[c] Τὶς ἐπισκιάνων ἐπιζητεῖ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Baſil. *in pſ.* 28. p. 153. E.

St. [c] *Baſil* is more expreſs to the ſame purpoſe, For *God*, ſaith he, *is preſent beholding the affection of thoſe who come to the Church, the prayer of every one is manifeſt to him, he ſees, who prays with affection, who underſtandingly ſeeks heavenly things.--- But miſerable men leaving their houſes, run to the Church, as if they would receive ſome benefit, whenas they do not give attention to the words of God.* Then he proceeds to give this good Advice to ſuch careleſs Hearers, *Thou haſt a Pſalm the Prophets, the Evangelical Precepts, the Preachings of the Apoſtles*; [d] *let thy Tongue ſing, let thy mind ſearch out the meaning of the things ſpoken, that thou maiſt ſing with thy Spirit, and ſing with thy underſtanding alſo, God wants no glory, but he would have the worthy to be glorified; now as a Man ſoweth, ſo ſhall he alſo reap, ſow therefore thy doxology, that thou maiſt reap Crowns, Honours, Praiſes in the Kingdom of Heaven. Theſe things I have ſpoken by way of digreſſion, not unprofitably upon theſe words, in his Temple let every one ſpeak of his glory, becauſe of thoſe who talk unceſſantly in the Church, and of thoſe who unprofitably come thither*; which, as he elſewhere tells us, is the caſe of him who hears ſuch prayers he underſtands not, μηδενὸς ὠφελομένου, * *no man being profited by ſuch prayers:* His Doctrine therefore is, 1. That it is the duty of all that come to *Church* to attend to the word

Οὐκ ἐσπούδακας τὰς ἀκοὰς λόγοις θεῖς. *Ib. p.* 154. A.

[d] Ἡ γλῶσσα ψαλλέτω, ὁ νοῦς ἐρμηνεύτω ἢ διὰ σιωπώντων, ἵνα ψάλλῃς τῷ πνεύματι ψάλλῃς, ὃ καὶ τῷ νοΐ. p. 154. C.

* *Reg. Br.* 278.

word read, to pray understandingly, to sing so as that the mind may search the meaning of the words. 2. That when this is not done no benefit is received by what is read, sung or prayed. And, 3. That by coming thus unprofitably, God is robbed of his Glory, and the precept of the *Psalmist* is transgressed, which saith, *In his Temple let every man speak of his Glory.*

His Descant on the words of the following Psalm, *Sing to the Lord oh ye Saints of his*, is this, [c] *He sings not to the Lord who speaks the words of the Psalm with his mouth, but they who from a pure heart send up Psalmody to God.*

[c] Οὐκ εἴ τις τῷ στόματι ᾄδει τὰ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ῥήματα ψάλλει τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀλλ' ὅσοι ἀπὸ καρδίας καθαρᾶς ἀναπέμπουσι τὰς ψαλμῳδίας. *In ps.* 29. *To.* 1. *p.* 163. *D.*

And upon those words of the 32. *Psalm*, *v.* 3. *Sing praises well*, καλῶς ψάλατε, *i.e.* saith he, [f] *with a mind undistracted, and with sincere affection; sing in consent with one mind*, or spirit, *and with the unity of Love*; without this, in his judgment, we cannot sing well.

[f] Ἀπερισπάστως τῇ διανοίᾳ εἰλικρινεῖ τῇ διαθέσει. *Ibid. p.* 172. *A.*

Amongst the Heathens subtile men have instituted faithfull silence in their sacred Offices, that the People may not know what they worship, saith *Lactantius*; and then he enquires thus, [g] *How shall God answer the request of any Supplicant, when he comes to pray unto him neither from his mind, nor with observance?*

[g] *Hinc fida silentia sacris instituta sunt ab hominibus callidis, ut nesciat populus quid colat.--- quomodo Deus præstabit precanti quicquid oraverit cùm ad precandum neque ex animo neque observanter accedat?* Lact. *l.* 5. *c.* 19. *p.* 519, 520, 521.

§ 2. In the 5th Century St. *Austin* is expres for the necessity of using a Tongue known unto the People in the publick offices. For in his Commentary on the 18. *Psalm*, he speaks thus, *having prayed to God that he would cleanse us from our secret sins*, [h] *we ought to understand what this is, that we may sing with humane Reason, not with the voice of Birds: For Blackbirds, Popenjays, Crows and Pyes, and such like birds, are often taught to sound forth what they understand not,* * *but to sing knowingly is given by the will of God, not to Birds but Man.* And so, saith he, *do many evil men sing their wicked Songs. But*

Cent. 5.

[h] *Quid hoc sit intelligere debemus ut humana ratione, non quasi avium voce, canteмus.*

* *Scienter autem cantare naturæ hominis divina voluntate concessum est.*

* *We who have learnt to ſing the divine ſayings in the Church, ought to be inſtant, that we may be, as it is written, the Bleſſed people which underſtands the joyfull ſound; what therefore my beloved, we have ſung with our joyfull voices we ought to know alſo with a ſerene heart.* And in his Comment upon *Pſalm* 99 *Bleſſed*, ſaith the Pſalmiſt elſewhere, *is he who knows the joyfull ſound, let us run to this bleſſing,* [i] *let us underſtand the jubilation, let us not pour it forth without underſtanding, what need is there of the voice of Gladneſs, if we underſtand not the Jubilation, if our voice onely doth jubilate, and the heart doth not, for the ſound of the heart is the underſtanding.* In his twelfth Book upon *Geneſis* he diſcourſes upon the different acceptations of the word *Spirit*, and ſaith, that *by the Apoſtle*, in the 1 *Cor.* 14. *it is evidently diſtinguiſhed from the mind in theſe words, For if I pray in an unknown Tongue, my ſpirit prayeth, but my underſtanding is unfruitfull; ſince then the Tongue is here underſtood to ſpeak obſcure and myſtical ſignifications,* [k] *from which if you remove the underſtanding of the mind, no man is edified by hearing what he underſtands not,* (whence he ſaith thus, *he that ſpeaketh in an unknown Tongue, ſpeaketh not to Men but God, for no man underſtands, but the Spirit ſpeaketh myſteries,*) *he ſufficiently ſhews that he calls that a Tongue where there be ſignifications, images or ſimilitudes of things, which that they may be underſtood, want the inſight of the Mind, and when they are not underſtood,* he ſaith, *that they are ſpoken with the Spirit, not with the mind, whence he adds more plainly, if thou bleſſeſt with the ſpirit, how ſhall he who occupies the place of the unlearned ſay* Amen *to thy Benediction, ſeeing he underſtands not what thou ſayeſt.* And in his Book *de Catechiſandis rudibus*, he ſpeaks to thoſe who come from Schools of *Rhetorick*, or *Grammar*, thus: [l] *Let them know that it is not the voice but the affection of the mind which reacheth the Ears of God, and ſo they*

* *Nos autem qui in Eccleſia divina Eloquia cantare didicimus, ſimul inſtare debemus eſſe quod ſcriptum eſt beatus populus qui intelligit jubilationem; quod conſona voce cantavimus ſereno etiam corde noſſe debemus. c. 8. p. 683.*

[i] *Intelligamus jubilationem, non eam ſine intellectu fundamus, quid opus eſt jubilare & non intelligere jubilationem, ut vox noſtra ſola jubilet, & cor non jubilet, ſonus enim cordis intellectus eſt, p. 11.*

[k] *A quibus ſi intellectum mentis removeas nemo ædificatur audiendo quod non intelligit, &c.*

[l] *Noverint non eſſe vocem ad aures Dei niſi animi affectum, ità enim non irridebunt, ſi aliquos Antiſtites & Miniſtros Eccleſiæ fortè animadverterint vel cum Barbariſmis & Soleciſmis Deum invocare, vel eadem verba quæ pronunciant non intelligere perturbatéque diſtinguere. Non quia iſta minimè corrigenda ſunt, ut populus ad id quod planè intelligat dicat Amen, ſed tamen piè toleranda ſunt ab eis qui didicerunt ut ſono in Foro, ſic voto in Eccleſia benedici. Cap. 9. p. 903.*

will

will not deride them, if by chance they obſerve ſome Biſhops or Miniſters of the Church call upon God with ſome Barbariſms, or Soleciſms, or who do not underſtand, or diſorderly diſtinguiſh the words which they pronounce; not that theſe things ſhould not be amended, that the People may ſay Amen *to what they plainly underſtand, but that they may piouſly be born with in thoſe who have learned, that as in the* Forum *they commend with a ſound* (or Hum.) *ſo in the Church, with the affection.* And in his fourth Book of Chriſtian Doctrine, having laid down this Rule, that * *the Inſtructour of others muſt in all his Speeches primarily and chiefly endeavour to ſpeak with that perſpicuity that he may be underſtood,* that he ſhould be carefull † *not with what eloquence, but with what evidence he ſpeaks, that he who teacheth ſhould avoid all words which do not teach,* [m] *for what profits the Integrity of ſpeech, which the underſtanding of the Hearer cannot reach, ſeeing there is no cauſe at all of ſpeaking, if they underſtand not what we ſpeak, for whoſe ſake we ſpeak that they may underſtand us?* I ſay, having laid down theſe Rules in general, he adds that *this ought eſpecially to be regarded in our Sermons to the people, where all hold their peace, that one may be heard, and have their faces intent upon him, and where it is neither the cuſtome nor decent to enquire of any thing he underſtands not, and therefore the care of the Speaker ſhould here eſpecially be employed to help him that holds his peace,--- for what profits a Golden Key, if it cannot open what we would have opened, or what hurts a Wooden Key, if it can doe this, when we ſeek nothing elſe but that what is ſhut may be opened?* Which ſayyings of St. *Auſtin* are as full in confirmation of the Doctrine of *Proteſtants* and Condemnation of the *R. Doctrine*, as can be well imagined. For,

* C. 8.

† C. 9.

[m] *Quid enim prodeſt locutionis integritas quam non ſequitur intellectus audientis cum loquendi omnino nulla ſit cauſa ſi quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos ut intelligant loquimur? Cap.* 10.

Quid prodeſt clavis aurea ſi aperire quod volumus non poteſt? aut quid obeſt lignea, ſi hoc poteſt, quando nihil quærimus niſi patere quod clauſum eſt? Cap. 11, 12.

1. Speaking to his *beloved Hearers*, he ſaith they ought *to underſtand what it is they pray, to be concerned to know the joyfull ſound*; When they ſing *to ſing knowingly*, not onely with *joint Voices*, but with *heart ſerene*; that to pray and ſing thus was to act like men, that to doe theſe things without underſtanding, was to doe them like brute Beaſts. I wiſh the greater part of Romaniſts were leſs concerned in this compariſon.

2. He

2. He declares as from St. *Paul*, that *No man is edified by what he underſtands not*, that the Speech which exceeds the capacity of the Hearer is unprofitable, and if ſo, muſt not the ſervice of the *R. Church* be both unedifying, and unprofitable to all that underſtand not *Latin?* That *there is*, ſaith he, *no cauſe at all of ſpeaking, but that they may underſtand*, that when the Miniſter is ſpeaking, and the peoples faces are intently turned towards him, his great care ſhould be to help their underſtandings; and therefore by juſt conſequence to reade, and pray intelligibly, for if the *Prieſt* prays onely that God may hear, and not that Man may unite his petitions with him, there is no need that he ſhould ſpeak at all.

3. He adds, that when any *Biſhops* or *Prieſts* in the *Church* Prayers call upon God in *Barbariſms*, or pronounce words they do not underſtand entirely, or diſtinguiſh duly, this ought to be amended, *that the People may ſay* Amen *to what they plainly underſtand.* Which is the very thing the *Proteſtants* deſire to have amended in the *Church* of *Rome.*

Caſſian in his ſecond Book of the *Canonical manner of nocturnal Prayers and Pſalms*, propounds to himſelf to produce for information of the *Novel Monaſteries*, the moſt ancient cuſtome of the * *Fathers*, which was preſerved to the day he writ, throughout all *Ægypt*, and in purſuance of this deſign he tells us, that theſe *Monks* of *Ægypt* took their *Rule of living from the Evangeliſt St.* Mark, that at the beginning *they conſulted* after what manner the daily Worſhip ſhould be performed by the whole body of the *Fraternity*, that one of them roſe up to ſing the Pſalms, and all the reſt ſate, [n] *having the whole intention of their hearts fixed upon the words of the Singer*; that [o] *they did perſevere in prayer with great intention*; that *the* [p] *Devil made it his buſineſs to call off their minds from attention to the prayer*; and therefore they thought it more profitable to uſe ſhort and frequent prayers; that [q] *they liſtened to the voice of the Singer with the whole intention of their Minds*; that they diminiſhed the labour of the body, and that they might perform their *Vigils* with more intention of mind. And ſuitably to what he here relates, St. *Auſtin* doth inform us, that

* *Cap.* 2.

[n] *In pſallentis verba omni cordis intentione defixis. De Orat. Nocturn. l.* 2. *cap.* 5.

[o] *Suis precibus intentiùs immorantur. Ibid. c.* 7.

[p] *Abducere mentem noſtram à ſupplicationis intentione. cap.* 10.

[q] *Ad vocem pſallentis omni cordis intentione dependeant. cap.* 12.

that [r] *The Brethren in* Ægypt *are ſaid to have very frequent, but ſhort prayers, darted as it were ſwiftly up to Heaven, leſt that watchfully erect intention which is very neceſſary to him that prayeth, ſhould, through the length of the prayers, vaniſh, or grow dull, and by this they ſufficiently ſhew that this intention, as it is not to be wearied or blunted, if it cannot perſevere, ſo if it can continue, it is not quickly to be broken off, for much ſpeaking muſt be avoided in prayer, but not much praying, if fervent intention doth continue.*

[r] *Ne illa vigilanter erecta quæ adoranti plurimum neceſſaria eſt per productiores moras evaneſcat intentio.* Epiſt. 121. c. 10. p. 624.

The ſame *Caſſian*, in his *Ninth Collation*, which is concerning Prayer, ſaith, [s] *It is ſufficiently manifeſt, that he who prays not with a mind intent upon the prayers, cannot obſerve that number of three prayers which is wont to be celebrated in the Aſſemblies of the Brethren, to conclude the meeting.* And again [t] *offering up our prayers with this diſcipline and intention of Spirit, we may efficaciouſly ſing, Let my prayer be directed in thy ſight as incenſe.* And in his *Tenth Collation* he ſpeaks thus, " The mind that being always flitting " and wandring, is diſtracted by divers things, in time of " celebration, performs no office as it ſhould, for inſtance, " whilſt it prays, repeats a Pſalm or Leſſon, whilſt it ſings, " it thinks on ſomething elſe than what the Text of the Pſalm " contains, when it recites the Leſſon, it thinks of ſomething " it would doe, or hath done, and ſo [u] *nothing is performed* " *orderly or conveniently.*

[s] *Satis conſtat illum trinæ orationis numerum--- eum qui intento animo non ſupplicat obſervare non poſſe.* Collat. Non. p. 527. cap. 34.

[t] *Hac qua diximus diſciplina & intentione Spiritus exhibentes, &c.* Ibid. cap. 36.

[u] *Atque in hunc modum nihil diſciplinatè nec opportunè recipitur, vel dimittitur.* Cap. 13.

Here then we learn, for farther confirmation of our Faith, and confutation of the *R. Doctrine*, that in our publick Service, the *whole intention of the hearts* of all that do aſſemble muſt be fixed on what is ſung, or prayed, or read; that this *watchfull, fervent*, and *erect intention is very neceſſary to him that prayeth*; that without it we cannot obſerve our duty, cannot perform it *orderly* and *conveniently*, nor be able to ſay, *Let my prayer aſcend before thee as Incenſe.* And laſtly, that the *Devil* is the perſon chiefly concerned *to hinder this attention of the mind in Prayer.*

§ 3. [x] *Isidore* in his 1st Book of *Divine Offices*, saith, that *the Lesson yields no small Edification to the hearer, whence requisite it is that, when there is singing, all should sing, when praying, all should pray, when reading, what is read should silently be heard by all,—— and think not the profit is little which comes by hearing of the Lesson, for prayer it self is made fatter whilst the mind being filled with the Lesson, fresh in the memory, runs through the Images of the divine things it lately heard; for even* Mary, *the Sister of* Martha, *who, sitting at the feet of Jesus, heard the word attentively, is, by the voice of our Lord, declared to have chosen the better part.* And in his second Book he adds, that *He who is promoted to the degree of a Reader, must be skilled in the words he reads, and in their sense, that so expeditely he may know the way of pronouncing them* [y], *that he may help the minds and senses of all men to the understanding of them. Skilfull knowledge is therefore necessary in such things, that all things may be properly and conveniently pronounced;—— he also must know the accents, that he may not err in the syllable which he pronounceth long, for by reason of the mistakes of the unskilfull in this matter,* [z] *they who seem to have knowledge are wont by way of derision to object unskilfulness to us, detracting from us, and swearing we know not what we say. Moreover the voice of the Reader must be plain and clear, and accommodated to all kinds of pronunciation;---it must also be grave, and without mimical gestures,* [a] *for the Reader must regard the Ears and Heart, and not the Eyes of others, lest he make them more Spectatours than Hearers of him. It is an old opinion that the Readers had an especial care of their voice, because of pronunciation, that they might be heard afar off, whence long ago they were named Criers.* And in the following Chapter, having derived the Original of Psalteriists, from *David*, he adds, that *from this Ancient Custome the Church took the Example of maintaining Psalteriists,* [b] *by whose singing the minds of the hearers are excited to an affection towards God; and his singing,* saith he, *must*

[x] *Est autem lectio non parva audientium ædificatio, unde oportet ut quando psallitur, psallatur ab omnibus, cùm oratur, oretur ab omnibus, cùm lectio legitur, facto silentio, æquè audiatur ab omnibus. De Eccles. Off. l. 1. c. 10.*

[y] *Ut ad intellectum omnium mentes sensúsque promoveat, l. 2. c. 11.*

[z] *Solent irridere nos imperitiæ hi qui videntur habere notitiam detrahentes & jurantes penitùs nescire quod dicimus. Ibid.*

[a] *Auribus enim & cordi consulere debet Lector non oculis. Ibid.*

De Psalmistis cap. 12.

[b] *Quorum cantibus ad affectum Dei mentes audientium excitantur.---*

must be such as shews Christian simplicity, and may [c] *work compunction in the hearers.*

[c] *Quæ compunctionem audientibus faciat. p.* 24.

§ 4. [d] *Rabanus Maurus* adds, that *the Readers are they who preach the word of God, that he who is a Reader ought to be skilled in Books and Learning, and adorned with the knowledge of the words, and sense of them, that sounding them clearly and distinctly, he may instruct the hearts of the hearers*; and that *the Church maintains Psalteriists, by whose singing the minds of the hearers may be excited to the love of God.* And in his second Book, and 52d. Chapter, concerning *Readers*, he saith, that *Reading is no small Edification of the Hearers, whence it is requisite that when there is singing all should sing, when praying all should pray, when reading, what is read should silently be heard by all*; and so he goes on, using the very same words which I have above cited from *Isidore, lib.* 1. *cap.* 10. *l.* 2. *cap.* 11. and in his third Book, and 30th Chapter, he quotes that long passage formerly cited from St. *Austin*, where he saith, *What profits the integrity of speech, which the understanding of the hearer cannot reach, seeing there is no cause at all of speaking, if they understand not what we speak, for whose sake we speak, that they may understand*, &c. *Walafridus Strabo*, discoursing of the manner of *praying*, and modulating the voice, saith thus, *Let us consider how we ought to be in the sight of God, and of his holy Angels, and so let us stand to sing* [e] *that our mind may concur with our voice,* —— *as for the difference of voices, that is fit for divine praises which, howsoever it sounds, coming from the good treasure of the heart, agrees with the inward intention of the mind.*

[d] *De institutione Clericorum, l.* 1. *c.* 11. *de Lectoribus p.* 317.

P. 383.

[e] *Ut mens nostra concordet voci nostræ, vox interna intentioni concordet. de Rebus Ecclesiast. l.* 1. *c.* 12. *p.* 398, 399.

Amalarius Fortunatus saith, that *Reason directs the Rays of the Appetite to the true Sun of the Lord, that by his light it may truly and perspicuously know what, and of what nature the thing is which it desires.* [f] *For no man wills that which he knows not what, or of what quality it is.* And again, [g] *We ought therefore both to sing, laud and praise God more with the mind than with the voice, that when the people pray, they are to be admonished that they ought to think of nothing but God, and*

[f] *Nemo enim vult quod omnino quid vel quale sit nescit, de Eccles. Off. l.* 1. *in proœm.*

[g] *Canere & psallere & laudare Deum magis animo quam voce debemus. l.* 3. *c.* 2. *l.* 3. *c.* 19. *p.* 192.

that not onely the ſound of the voice, but the mind and ſenſe ought with ſincere intention to pray to God.

[h] *Cap.* 11. § 5. [h] *Micrologus* informs us, that *of neceſſity the Prieſt muſt ſay the Angelical Hymn with others leſt he may ſeem to have deprived himſelf of his prayer, who in the preface of it, had ſupplicated that with the praiſes of the Angels, his and the voice of others might* [i] *Cap.* 18. *be admitted.* And again, that [i] *in the Maſs men ought rather to be employed in publick, than in private prayers:* For *Pope* Innocent *writing to St.* Auſtin *and* Aurelian, *ſays, that we may profit more by publick and common prayers, than by our private.*

Ivo Carnotenſis ſaith, that *the Reader muſt be inſtructed in the Knowledge of Letters, that he may underſtand the ſenſe of the words, and know the force of the accents, and may read diſtinctly,* [k] *leſt by confuſion of pronunciation, he deprive the Auditors of underſtanding, that he muſt know the pointings of the Sentences, and what is to be read indicatively, and what by way of interrogation, for theſe things not obſerved, diſturb the underſtanding, and provoke the Grammarians to laughter, and this he muſt doe, becauſe his buſineſs is not to conſult the Ear but Heart.*

[k] *Ne confuſione pronunciationis intellectum auditoribus auferat. Serm. de excell. ſ. ord. p.* 471.

§ 6. In the 4th General Council [l] of *Lateran* it is decreed, that *becauſe in moſt parts, within the ſame City and Dioceſe, people of divers languages are mixed, having with one faith, divers Rites and Cuſtomes, we ſtrictly charge that the Biſhops of ſuch Cities and Dioceſes provide fit men, who, according to the diverſity of their Rites and Tongues, may celebrate to them Divine Offices, and miniſter the Eccleſiaſtical Sacraments, inſtructing them both by word and Example.* Whence it is evident, that even then they thought a Language underſtood was neceſſary for the inſtruction of their hearers by the Ear, as much as good Example for their inſtruction by the Eye. Note alſo that this determination is ſtill extant in their Canon Law.

[l] *Quoniam in pleriſque partibus intra eandem civitatem atque Diœceſin permixti ſunt populi diverſarum linguarum habentes, ſub una fide, varios ritus & mores, diſtrictè præcimus ut pontifices hujuſmodi civitatum, ſive Diœceſum, prouideant viros idoneos, qui, ſecundùm diverſitatem rituum & linguarum, divina Officia illis celebrent, & Eccleſiaſtica Sacramenta miniſtrent, inſtruendo eos verbo pariter, & exemplo. Concil. Generale Lateran. cap.* 9.

Beſides,

Beſides thoſe plain expreſſions, ſo full and evident for confirmation of this Doctrine and Practice of the *Proteſtants*, and for the condemnation of the Determination of the *Trent Council*, and the purſuant practice of the *Church* of *Rome*, there were many Cuſtomes and Obſervations uſed in former times, which ſufficiently ſhew, that they condemned the cuſtome of Reading the *Leſſons*, or any portions of *Scripture* in a Tongue unknown, as is at preſent practiſed in the *Church* of *Rome*. And,

§ 7. 1. Such was the cuſtome of reading the Leſſons in divers Tongues, where the Chriſtians that aſſembled were of different Languages, or of interpreting what was read in a Tongue not known to the people. Thus of *Procopius* the *Martyr*, who ſuffered under *Diocleſian*, [m] *Valeſius* ſaith, that *he did the Office of a Reader in the City of* Schythopolis, *and interpreted the Scriptures which were read in Greek to the People, who underſtood not Greek, in the* Syrian *Language, which was their Mother Tongue.*

[m] *Not. in Euſeb. libr. de Martyr. p. 172.*

Amalarius ſaith, that *the ſix Leſſons were by the ancient Romans, read both in Greek and Latin,* (*which cuſtome is to this day obſerved at* Conſtantinople,) *if I am not deceived, for two cauſes, the one was, becauſe the Grecians were preſent, who underſtood not the Latin Tongue, and the Latins were preſent, who underſtood not the Greek.*

Sex Lectiones ab antiquis Romanis græcè & latinè legebantur (qui mos apud Conſtantinopolim hodiéque ſervatur,) ni fallor, propter duas cauſas, unam quia aderant Græci, quibus incognita erat latina lingua, aderántque Latini, quibus incognita erat græca. De Eccl. Off. l. 2. c. 1.

[n] *Rupertus Tuitienſis* in like manner, ſaith, that *when the R. Church was mixed of Greeks and Latins, the ſeveral Leſſons were read in both Tongues, for they who recited in one Tongue onely, could not be underſtood by the people of both Tongues.* *John Beleth* adds, that [o] *in the primitive Church it was forbidden to ſpeak in divers Langnages, unleſs there was ſome one preſent that could interpret, whence came the good and wholeſome cuſtome, obſerued a long while in the Church, in ſeveral places,*

[n] *Cùm Eccleſia Romana de Latinis & Græcis eſſet permixta ſingulæ Lectiones de utraque lingua recitabantur, nam ab una lingua recitantes ab utriuſque linguæ populis intelligi non poterant.* Rupertus *de Divinis Officiis, l. 3. c. 8. Eadem habet* Albinus Flaccus *de Div. Off. l. 1. cap. de 12. lectionibus p. 69.*

[o] *Hinc illa laudabilis inolevit conſuetudo in quibuſdam Eccleſiæ partibus, ut pronuntiato ſecundùm literam Evangelio ſtatim vulgari illud populo proponeretur; ubi ſuprà.*

that

that after the Goſpel was pronounced literally, it was expounded to the people in the vulgar Tongue.

§ 8. 2. Such was the cuſtome uſed in the ordaining of *Readers:* For in the old *Ordo Romanus* before the ordination of Readers they prayed, that *God would graciouſly pour his bleſſing on them,* [p] *that they might diſtinctly read the things which were to be read in the Church.* And the benediction of them follows thus, *Omnipotent Father, and eternal God, bleſs theſe thy Servants for the office of Readers, that by aſſiduous Reading, they may become apt to pronounce the words of life, and to ſhew to the people things which are intelligible by the diſtinction both of mind and voice. Albinus* ſaith, *the* [q] *Lector hath his name from Reading, becauſe he hath the miniſtry of Reading in the Church, and that to him was given a Book of Holy Scriptures, that pronouncing the Divine Leſſons diſtinctly, ſo as they might be underſtood, he might pleaſe the people. Rabanus Maurus* ſaith the ſame. And *Ivo Carnotenſis,* that *they had a Book delivered to them in the ſight of the people, and it was ſaid unto them receive it, and be ye rehearſers of the word of God, and that they muſt conſult in Reading not onely the Ear but the Heart.* And out of *Iſidore,* he adds, that he who is promoted to this Office, muſt *underſtand the way of pronunciation, that he may move the mind and ſenſes of all men to underſtand what is read.*

[p] *Quatenus diſtinctè legant quæ in Eccleſiis legenda ſunt. Ord R. p. 89. Et mentis & vocis diſtinctione populo monſtrare intelligibilia. Ibid.*

[q] *Lector dicitur à legendo, eò quod miniſterium legendi habet in Eccleſia illi traditus eſt codex divinorum Apicum, ut diſtinctè ad intelligendum divinas lectiones pronunciando, populo placeat, cap. de Conſ. Cleric. p. 72. R. Maurus de Inſtit. Cler. l. 1. cap. 11. Ivo, Serm. de Excell. S. Ordinum, p. 470.*

§ 9. 3. This will be farther evident from the cuſtome of the *Deacon,* ſo often mentioned in the *Old Liturgies,* both of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt, viz.* to call upon the people before the Leſſons [r] *to ſtand up with Diſcipline, with reverence and ſilence,* and to hear the Goſpel. *Iſidore* informs us, that it was the cuſtome of the *Deacon,* before the Reading began, *to command ſilence with a loud voice, that whilſt they either did ſing or read, unity might be preſerved by all,* [s] *and that what was preached to all might*

[r] *State cum diſciplina, & ſilentio, audientes intentè, Ord. Rom. p. 37, 38, 40.*

[s] *Ut quod omnibus prædicatur æqualiter ab omnibus audiatur. De Eccl. Off. l. 1. c. 10.*

equally

equally be heard by all. This cuſtome of riſing up when the Goſpel was read, was done, ſaith Cardinal *Bona*, to ſignifie their readineſs to obey its commands. And therefore when ſome *Prieſts* in *Germany* and *Burgundy* heard the Goſpel ſitting, pretending a Tradition for ſo doing, *Anaſtaſius* writes to the *Biſhops*, that they ſhould by no means ſuffer them, and commands, that [t] *whilſt the Holy Goſpels are read in the Church, The Prieſts and all the people ſhould hear it ſtanding with devout attention.*

[t] *Sacerdotes & cæteri omnes—— ſtantes dominica verba intentè audiant, & fideliter adorent. Decret. par. 2. c. 138. par. 6. c. 93.*

§ 10. 4. This is plain from the cuſtome of the *Prieſt*, which was to ſay before the Reading of the Leſſon, *The Lord be with you*, and to pray after the reading of the Goſpel, that [u] *God would confirm in their hearts the words of Salvation, which they had perceived*, of which Reading of the *Prieſt* the obſervation of the learned * *Goar* is this, " That in the *Maſs* the *Deacon*, in " the *Mattins*, the *Prieſt* reads the Goſpel, that he may firſt " feed them with the word of God, whom in the Maſs he is to " feed with the Sacraments, and in both he profeſſeth to take " upon him the care of feeding them with all celeſtial food, " after the Example of Chriſt, who firſt fed the Church with " his word, before he did it with the Sacrament of his Bo- " dy.

[u] *Ordo Rom. p. 3.* Albin. *cap. de Celebr. Miſs. p. 81. orans in cordibus eorum verba ſalutis quæ perceperunt à Domino confirmari, ibid. p. 82.*
* *Notæ in Ord. S. Miniſter. p. 34.*

§ 11. 5. This alſo may be gathered from that *Ancient Cuſtome* of the people which was [x] *to ſign themſelves with the Croſs in their Foreheads, that they might purge themſelves from evil thoughts, that ſo they might remain pure to underſtand the words of Salvation.* And *when the Goſpel was done*, to ſay *Amen*, that is, God make us to perſevere in this Doctrine, and *to ſign themſelves again, that what they had learned for their Souls health, out of the word of God, might remain, and might not by the fraud of the Devil be put out of their minds.*

[x] *Populus crucem in frontibus ponit ut à malis cogitationibus corda ſua emundet ut ad intelligenda verba ſalutis pura maneant. ——Perlecto Evangelio iterum ſe ſigno crucis populus munire feſtinat ut quod ex divinis Eloquiis ad ſalutem percepit, ſignatum ſigillo Crucis atque munitum permaneat ne à mentibus eorum Diabolica fraude evacuari valeat.* Albinus Flac. *de Div. Off. l. 1. c. de Celebr. Miſſ. p. 81, 82. Vide* Bonam *de Reb. Liturg. l. 2. c. 7.*

§ 12.

§ 12. 6. From the Reader's making mention of the Book and place assigned for the Lesson; of which custome St. *Chrysostome* speaks thus, [y] *When the Reader ascends, he first tells you what Book it is he reads, viz. the Book of a Prophet, Apostle, or Evangelist; then he tells you what he saith, that the things he reads may be more plain to you, and that you may not onely know what is there said, but the cause, and who it was that said it.*

[y] Ἀνελθὼν ὁ ἀναγνώστης λέγει πρῶτον τὸ βιβλίον τινὸς ἐστί, (τοῦ δεῖνος ἢ προφήτου, ἢ ἀποστόλου, ἢ εὐαγγελιστοῦ,) καὶ τότε λέγει τί λέγει· ὥστε εὐσυμβούλευτα ἡμῖν εἶναι, &c. *in Hebr. Hom.* 8. p. 479.

§ 13. Lastly, That they esteemed it a great crime not to attend to the word read in publick is evident from the custome used in the Visitations of *Bishops* and *Archbishops*, who made this one Article of Enquiry in order to the punishment of Offendours, [z] *Whether any who came to Church accustomed himself to vain talk, and did not diligently listen to the word of God*, as in the Articles of Enquiry still extant in *Regino* we may reade; they therefore must account it a like crime at least to reade the word in publick so as that they who were present could receive no benefit by listening to it.

[z] *Si aliquis in Ecclesiam intrans fabulis vacare consuevit, & non diligenter auscultat divina Eloquia.* Regino *de Discip. Eccles. l.* 2 *q.* 88. p. 215.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The CONTENTS.

This Assertion of the Fathers is proved by them, 1. *From those words of the Psalmist,* Ps. 46 7. Sing ye praises with understanding. § 1. 2. *From those words of St.* Paul, Be ye filled with the Spirit, speaking to your selves in Psalms and Hymns and Spiritual Songs, singing, and making Melody in your Hearts, *&c.* Eph. 5. 18, 19. Colos. 3. 17.

MOreover, the *Fathers* do not onely say in general that it is necessary that the Prayers and publick Service of the *Church* should be performed in a Tongue known to the people, but they establish this necessity upon *Scripture* precepts, delivered in the *Old* and the *New Testament*, as *v. g.*

§ 1. 1. From that precept of the Psalmist, *God is the King of all the Earth, sing ye praises with understanding*; they generally conclude, that they who sing should understand the meaning of the words used in singing. [a] *Athanasius* saith, that *to sing so as that there is a Spiritual Harmony betwixt the Soul and the words*, is to sing with understanding; and that *they who sing after such a manner, as to join the Symphony of the Spirit with the Melody of the words, singing with the Tongue, and also with the mind, do greatly advantage those that hear them.* Ps. 46. 7.

[a] Οἱ δὲ ψάλλοντες ὥστε τὴν μελῳδίαν τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκ τῆς ῥυθμῆς τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τῆς ᾠδῆς τὸ πνεῦμα συμφωνίαν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλοντας οἰκοδομεῖν αὐτῶν μεγάλως ὠφελοῦσι. *Epist. ad* Marcell. *To.* 1. *p.* 961. A.

St. *Basil* having put the Question, what it is to sing with the understanding, answers thus, that [b] *understanding, when it refers to the words of Holy Scripture is the same thing as the taste is to meats, for as the Throat by tasting discerneth Meats, so the* [b] *Reg. Brev. qu.* 273.

Mind doth Words, if therefore any man be ſo affected in his ſoul, by the force of every word (he ſings,) *as the taſte is affected with the quality of meats, he hath fulfilled the commandment, which ſaith, ſing ye praiſes with underſtanding.* And upon *Pſalm* the 32. v. 3. Hearken, ſaith he, to the precept, Sing well, [c] that is, *with a mind not wandring, with ſincere affection. He calls the whole world,* ſaith [d] *Chryſoſtome, not ſimply to ſing, but to doe it with much care and underſtanding*; what is it to ſing with underſtanding? it is ſo to ſing as learning the things done, and attending to the greatneſs of his glorious works. *The Pſalmiſt,* ſaith St. *Auſtin, teacheth and admoniſheth us to ſing intelligently,* [e] *that we may not regard the ſound of the ear, but the illumination of the mind. Sing with the underſtanding,* ſaith St. *Jerom,* [f] *that thoſe things which you ſing according to the Letter, you may underſtand ſpiritually. He excellently adds theſe words, Sing with underſtanding,* ſaith *Theodoret,* [g] *thereby inſtructing us, not onely to employ the Tongue in ſinging of our Hymns, but to ſtir up the mind to underſtand, or to conſider the things ſpoken of.*

[c] Καλῶς ψάλατε, —μετεωρείσω τῇ διανοίᾳ. *In locum To.* 1. *p.* 172.

[d] Μετὰ πολλῆς τ συνέσεως, μετὰ πολλῆς τ σπουδῆς. *In locum.*

[e] *Non quæramus ſonum auris, ſed lumen cordis.*

[f] *Ut quæ canitis per literam, intelligatis ſpiritualiter dicta.*

[g] Διδάσκων μὴ μόνον τῇ γλώττῃ προσφέρειν τ ὑμνῳδίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τ διάνοιαν εἰς κατανόησιν τῶν λεγομένων ἐγείρειν.

He that ſings, ſaith [h] *Didymus, ought to think upon the things he ſings, for they muſt not be onely verſed in modulation of the words, who ſtudy to profit, but neceſſary it is that they ſhould perceive the things they ſing, for God rejects them who ſing not ſo, but onely make a noiſe with their voice. Sing wiſely,* ſaith [i] *Haymo,* that is, *with great diſcretion diſcerning what, wherefore, when, and after what manner you ſing. Sing not ſimply, but wiſely,* ſaith [k] *Euthymius* upon the place, that is, *not onely with the Tongue, but with the heart and underſtanding*; to wit, *knowing* what it is you ſing.

[h] *Catena Aur. in* 50. *Pſalm.*

[i] *In locum.*

[k] *I. e. Non lingua tantùm, ſed corde & intellectu intelligentes, ſc. id quod canitis.*

Now ſure it is, that if the common People praiſe God at all, when they are preſent at thoſe *Hymns* of praiſe which are uſed by the Church of *Rome,* in a Tongue unknown to them, they muſt doe it *without underſtanding, care, illumination by, or due conſideration of* the things contained in them, they muſt doe it

it *ſimply, and not wiſely*, ſaith *Euthymius*, and ſo as to be *rejected of God*, ſaith *Didymus*, for ſure it is, that they who bodily attend the prayers delivered in a Tongue unknown to them, cannot join the *Symphony of their Spirits with the Melody of the words*, or make any *ſpiritual Harmony betwixt their Souls and the words ſung*, they cannot *be affected with the force of them, in their Souls, as the taſte is with meats*, they cannot doe it with *much underſtanding*, or with *illumination of the mind*, or *underſtanding ſpiritually what is ſung according to the Letter*, they cannot *ſtir up their minds to underſtand or conſider the things ſpoken of*; they cannot *perceive the things ſung* to them, they cannot ſing *with great diſcretion*, or *with the heart and underſtanding*, nor *know what they ſing*, Seeing they hear they know not what, and therefore, in the judgment of theſe *Fathers*, they cannot ſo join with the *Maſs Prieſt*, as to ſing with underſtanding the praiſes of the Lord. But if it be ſaid, that it is not their duty to join in the publick praiſes offered to God in the *Church*, why are they ſtiled publick praiſes? Why doth the *Pſalmiſt* call ſo oft to them ſaying, *Praiſe the Lord all ye people?* How comes *Chriſtianity* to exclude them from what they were admitted to under the *Old Teſtament?*

§ 2. 2. The ſame Concluſion they gather from thoſe two parallel places of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles who writing to the Church of *Epheſus* exhorts them *not to be drunk with wine, but to be filled with the Spirit, ſpeaking to themſelves in Pſalms, and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, ſinging, and making melody in their hearts to the Lord*; and doth adviſe the Church of *Coloſs* to teach and *admoniſh one another in Pſalms, and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, ſinging with Grace in their hearts to the Lord.* On the now mentioned paſſage to the *Epheſians* St. *Ambroſe* deſcants thus, *He would have us ſing with diverſity of voices,* [l] *that every Tongue may praiſe the Lord, that our ſinging may not be onely with the lips, but from the heart, by reaſon of that old ſaying of the Prophet*, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. *What is it to ſing with your hearts,* ſaith *Chryſoſtome?* [m] *It is to ſing, taking heed with conſideration,*

Eph. 5. 19.

Col. 3. 17.

[l] *Ut laus in Deum omni lingua canatur, ut non in labiis tantùm ſit, ſed de corde prorumpat, &c.*

[m] Τὸ δὲ μετὰ σωφρόνως ψάλλειν τὰ ῥήματα φθεγγόμενον ἢ καρδίας ῥεμβολοῦντας ἐπίνοιαν.

for they who take not heed, do barely ſing, uttering the words whilſt their hearts wander after other things. And on thoſe words to the *Coloſſians*, *ſinging with grace in your hearts to the Lord*, he comments thus, *not onely with your mouth, but with attention, for this is to ſing to God, but that is to ſing to the Air.* St. *Jerom*, in his Comment on the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, writes thus, [n] *We therefore ought to ſing and praiſe the Lord with the mind, rather than the voice, for this is that which is here ſaid ſinging, and making melody to the Lord in your hearts. Let the young men, and thoſe whoſe Office it is to ſing in the Church, hear this, We muſt ſing to God not with the voice, but with the heart.* The Commentatour upon the ſame Epiſtle, which paſſeth under the name of *Jerom*, ſpeaketh thus, [o] *We never read that any man ſung without a voice, it is therefore neceſſary ſo to underſtand theſe words, as importing that we ſhould ſing not onely with the mouth, but with the heart, or from the heart. He calls upon them,* ſaith *Theodoret*, [p] *ſtill to ſtir up their rational faculty, for he ſingeth with the heart, who doth not onely move his tongue, but alſo ſtir up his mind to the conſideration of the things ſpoken. He commands,* ſaith *Primaſius*, *that we ſing not onely with the mouth, but with the heart,* [q] *that the heart may accord with the mouth, or that we ſhould underſtand what we ſing.* [r] *It is nothing,* ſaith *Iſidore*, *to ſing with the voice alone, without the intention of the heart, but as the Apoſtle ſaith, ſinging in your hearts, that is, not onely with the voice, but with the heart; and, as he ſaith elſewhere, I will ſing with my Spirit, I will ſing with my underſtanding alſo. He commands us to ſing with the heart,* [s] *not with the mouth alone,* ſaith *Oecumenius*, *for that is not to ſing unto the Lord, but to ſpeak unto the Air. To ſing with the heart,* ſaith *Theophilact*, [t] *is to ſing with the underſtanding, and not with a wandring heart, for*

[n] *Canere & laudare Dominum magis animo quàm voce debemus.*——

Audiant hi quibus pſallendi in Eccleſia officium eſt, Deo non voce ſed corde cantandum.

[o] *Nuſquam legimus aliquem ſine voce cantaſſe, unde neceſſe eſt hîc in corde ex corde intelligi, ut non ſolùm ore, ſed etiam corde cantemus.*

[p] Τὸν λογισμὸν ἀεὶ διεγείροντες τῇ καρδίᾳ γὰρ ψάλλει,—— ὁ γὰρ οἷς ἢ τοῖς λεγομένοις καταγίνην διεγείρων.

[q] *Ut cor cum voce concordet, vel ut intelligatis quod cantatis.*

[r] *Nihil eſt ſola voce canere ſine cordis intentione, &c. Senten. l. 3. c. 7.*

[s] Μὴ ἁπλῶς μόνῳ στόματι τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ᾄδειν τῷ θεῷ ἀλλ' εἰς ἀέρα λαλεῖν.

[t] Τοῖς μετὰ συνέσεως,—— ὁ γὰρ προσέχων ἐκεῖνῳ ἐν καρδίᾳ ψάλλει.

for he ſings with the heart who gives good heed to what he ſings. And again, *to* [u] *ſing with the heart is to ſing not onely with the mouth, but with attention to what you ſing, for this is to ſing to God, the other is to ſing to the Air:* [x] *He therefore ſaith, ſing with the heart, becauſe there be many who ſing with the mouth, whoſe mind accords not with their voice, and who attend more to their voice, that they may pleaſe the Hearers, than who conſider in their minds what they ſay. But they ſing with the heart, whoſe mind agrees with their voice, according to that of St.* Benit, *ſo let us ſtand to ſing, that our mind may accord with our voice:* So *Haymo*, and upon thoſe words, *Singing with grace in your hearts*, Col. 3. 17. he deſcants thus, *Always ſo render thanks to God, that when you ſing with the mouth you may underſtand with the heart, and the mind may accord with the voice.* [y] *The Pſalm*, ſaith *Sedulius*, *refers to the Body, the Hymn to the Mind; this therefore is the thing here ſaid, that we ought to ſing and praiſe God rather with the heart than with the mouth.*

[u] Ὁ δὲ μετὰ προσοχῆς τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τῷ Θεῷ ᾄδειν ἐκεῖνο τῷ ἀέρι.

[x] *Ideo dixit in Cordibus veſtris quia multi ſunt qui cantant ore, quorum mens non concordat voci, & qui magis attendunt ad ſocietatem vocis ut auditoribus placeant, quàm conſiderent mente quid dicunt; illi verò cantant in corde, quorum mens concordat voci, juxta illud B. Benedicti, Sic ſtemus ad Pſallendum, ut mens noſtra concordet voci noſtræ in* Eph. 5. 19. *id eſt, Semper reddite Deo gratias, ità ut quod ore canitis corde intelligatis, & mens concordet voci.*

[y] *Pſalmus ad corpus Canticum refertur ad mentem, & canere igitur, & pſallere, & laudare Deum magis animo quàm voce debemus, hoc eſt quippe quod dicitur, Cantantes & pſallentes in cordibus. Ad* Eph. 5.

Now if the Common People who hear *Maſs* ſung, join with the *Prieſts*, and thoſe who Chant it, ſeeing they do not underſtand it, they muſt honour God only with their Ears, whilſt their hearts wander after other things, they muſt ſing, *not to God*, but *to the Air*; they muſt do *nothing* in the account of *Iſidore*, for to be ſure they cannot ſing with them *from the heart*, or *with conſideration*, *with attention*, or *with the mind*, they cannot ſtir up *their rational Faculty*, or their *minds to the conſideration of the things ſpoken*, or cauſe *their Hearts to accord with the Maſs Prieſts* Mouth, they cannot therefore in the Judgment of theſe *Fathers* join with the *Maſs Prieſt* in the Hymns or Praiſes uſed by him ſo as St. *Paul* enjoins all *Chriſtians* to ſing praiſes to God.

More-

Moreover it deſerves to be noted, that the later Commentatours on the place agree with the Ancients. Sing with Grace, ſaith [a] *Hugo*, that is, *with underſtanding, and ſavour, ſinging in your Hearts, not onely with your lips, according to that of our Lord, and of* Eſaiah, *This people honoureth me with their Lips, but their heart is far from me.* Sing with your hearts, ſaith the [b] *Gloſſe, i. e.* ſing *with attention*, or *not onely with your Lips, but with your underſtanding. That the praiſe be not onely that of the mouth, but of the Heart and Spirit*, ſaith [c] *Lyra*. In your Hearts, ſaith [d] *Carthuſian*, that is, *with cordial Affection, and mental Intention; this he ſaith againſt them who praiſed God with their Lips, not with their Hearts; of whom God by* Eſaiah *ſpeaks.*

[a] *Sapienter & cum ſapore. in 3. ad Coloſſ.* [b] *non ſolùm in labiis, Matt. 15. & Eſ. 29.* [b] *Non ſolùm labiis ſed cum intellectu vel attenti.* *In 3. ad Coloſſ.*

[c] *Ità quòd non ſit tantùm laus oris, ſed etiam Spiritus & cordis. Ibid.* [d] *H. e. Cordiali affectu & cum mentali attentione.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The CONTENTS.

Containing Eighteen Arguments againſt the performance of publick Service in a Tongue unknown to the Common People, from 1 Cor. 14. *and the deſcants of the Fathers upon that Chapter,* viz. 1. *Becauſe it Renders the Reading of the Scriptures a ſpeaking not to Men,* § 1. 2. *Becauſe Reading them in a Tongue Known is more profitable, and more for Edification,* § 2. 3. *Becauſe the profit of the Hearers is the thing chiefly to be regarded in theſe publick Exerciſes,* § 3. 4. *Becauſe by Reading it in Latin to an illiterate Aſſembly no man is profited,* § 4. 5. *Becauſe this in the Apoſtles Language is ſpeaking into the Air,* § 5. 6. *Becauſe it renders the Maſs Prieſt a Barbarian,* § 6. 7. *Becauſe Celebrating the publique Service in a Tongue Known, is requiſite that we may excell to Edification,* § 7. *No ſufficient proviſion is made for this Edification by the Injunction of the* Trent *Council, to expound ſomething of the Maſs,* ibid. 8. *Becauſe he that ſpeaks in an unknown Tongue muſt pray that he may interpret, leſt his mind be unfruitfull,* § 8. 9. *Becauſe we muſt pray and ſing with the underſtanding,* § 9. 10. *Becauſe the illiterate perſon cannot ſay Amen to Latin Service,* § 10. *A Reply to that Pretence, that Latin is always a Tongue Known to ſome,* ibid. 11. *Becauſe otherwiſe the Idiot is not Edified,* § 11. 12. *Becauſe in the Church it is better to ſpeak five words ſo as to inſtruct others, than ten thouſand words in an unknown Tongue,* § 12. 13. *Becauſe ſuch Service Argues the Officiator a Child in underſtanding,* § 13. 14. *Becauſe this in the Law was denounced as a Curſe,* § 14. 15. *Becauſe it will give occaſion to Strangers to think we are mad,* § 15. 16. *Becauſe all things are to be done to Edifying,* § 16. 17. *Becauſe he that ſpeaks in a Tongue not known, in the Church ought to keep ſilence,* § 17. 18. *Becauſe St.* Paul *declares of theſe directions that they were the Commandments of of God,* § 18. *The Evaſions of Roman Catholicks anſwered as,*

1. *That*

1. *That the Apoſtle ſpeaketh here not of ſet Offices, but of ſudden prayers and extraordinary Exerciſes, Anſwered,* § 19. 2. *That thoſe Chriſtian Meetings were intended for the Inſtruction and Edification of their Auditours, but ſo is not the Service of the Church of* Rome, *but for other ends,* § 20. *Anſwered,* ibid. 3. *That the Languages then ſpoken, were utterly unknown to the Hearers, but ſo is not Latin, Anſwered,* § 21. 4. *That the Congregation is ſufficiently Edified by a General underſtanding of the Maſs, Anſwered,* § 22. 5. *That the Ignorant have other means to underſtand the Maſs, if they will be diligent in uſing them, Anſwered,* § 23. *Laſtly, That the Church may now vary from the Inſtitution of St.* Paul, *by reaſon of the difference in Circumſtances then and now,* § 24.

BUT the chief Arguments we urge againſt the reading of the Scriptures, Prayers, and pious Leſſons contained in the *Maſs* in an unknown Tongue, are taken from St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe upon that Subject, which affords almoſt as many demonſtrations of his diſapproving of this practice, as it containeth verſes, and which the *Ancients*, who have either occaſionally, or elſe profeſſedly writ upon that place, with one Conſent interpret as we do.

§ 1. And, 1. Our Argument from Verſe 2. is to this effect; "That which doth render the Reading of the Scripture contained in the Maſs a ſpeaking not to Men, doth render it unlawfull, becauſe theſe Scriptures were deſigned to be ſpoken unto Men; but the Reading of them in an unknown Tongue is reading of them *not to Men*, becauſe *no man*, to whom the Language is not Known, *doth underſtand them*, v. 2.

§ 2. Arg. 2. "If we muſt rather chuſe to *propheſie* than ſpeak with Tongues, becauſe that propheſying is more profitable, and more for Edification, then alſo muſt we rather chuſe to read the Leſſons, and the publick Service, in a Tongue known to all, than in a Tongue unknown to moſt then preſent, becauſe that alſo is more profitable, as is apparent from the [a] Confeſſion of the *Trent Council.* To make this Argument, if poſſible, more evident, Conſider,

[a] *Miſſa magnam continet populi fidelis eruditionem, Seſſ.* 22. *c.* 8.

1. That the *R. Maſs*, or *Lyturgy* containeth many portions of H. *Scripture.* 2. That

2. That theſe portions of H. Scripture were *written for our learning*, and are *profitable for our inſtruction*, 15 Rom. 4. 2 Tim. 3.16.

3. That thoſe perſons who do not underſtand them when they are recited in the *Latin* tongue, are members of that *Church* which is to be *edifyed*, v. 4. they are indeed the Greateſt part, and moſt conſiderable Members of the *Church*, ſuch as ſtand moſt in need of the *edification*, *inſtruction*, and *conſolation* mentioned *v.* 3.

4. That the *Apoſtle* here commands the *Corinthian Officiatours* in the *Church* rather to labour after the Gift of *Prophecy*, than that of Tongues, becauſe the Gift of *Prophecy* did more conduce unto the *edification*, *inſtruction*, and *conſolation* of the *Church*, v. 3, 4.

5. That Reading of the *Maſs* in a Tongue known is, ſpeaking to the *edification* of many in the *Church*, and reading it in a Tongue unknown is, ſpeaking not to the edification or inſtruction of all them to whom it is unknown.

6. That therefore we are rather to reade it to them in a Tongue known, according to the purpoſe of St. *Paul*'s advice, than in a Tongue unknown unto them. Now ſutably unto the purpoſe of theſe Arguments the *Fathers* deſcant upon theſe firſt four verſes thus: that by [b] *Prophets the Apoſtle means the Interpreters of Scripture, for as the Prophet foretells future things which are unknown, ſo he, whilſt he manifeſts the ſenſe of Scripture, which is unknown to many, is ſaid to propheſie: that though there be many ſpiritual degrees which he enumerates, yet is that better which provides for the advantage of the Church ſo that all may learn the purpoſe of the divine Law — to know the Law is the beſt ſenſe, for knowledge join'd with charity is not puffed up, but is meek, profiting to the benefit of all. For the Knowledge of the Law confirms their minds, and provokes to the encreaſe of a better hope. He that ſpeaketh in an unknown tongue profits onely himſelf, for men know not what he ſaith, and therefore they receive no profit by it, but he that propheſieth edifies all the people, whilſt what is ſpoken by him is underſtood of all.* So St. *Ambroſe*. *He makes a compariſon of Gifts*, ſaith *Chryſoſtome*, *and he rejects that of Tongues, for by ſaying, he that ſpeaks with tongues, ſpeaketh not*

[b] *Prophetas Interpretes dicit Scripturarum: hic tamen melior qui ad utilitatem Eccleſiæ proficit, uti diſcant omnes divinæ legis rationem. Scire legem ſenſus eſt optimus. Scientia enim legis firmat animos—— homines enim neſciunt, ideoque nullus eſt hac re perfectus,——dum intelligitur ab omnibus quid loquatur.* Ambroſe *in v.* 1, 2, 3.

to men, for no man understands him, he takes that away, [c] shewing that it hath no great profit. He that propheſies exceeds it in that he is alſo profitable to thoſe that hear him; ſee how he ſhews the preferableneſs of this Gift from the common benefit of it; and how every where he prefers that which is done to the profit of many; for ſo much difference as there is betwixt the profit of one, and of the whole Church, ſo great is the difference betwixt ſpeaking with unknown tongues, and propheſying. He ſhews, ſaith Photius, that Prophecy is more profitable, caſting down tongues, and he demonſtrates that Prophecy is better [d] from the common profit of it, for though he that ſpeaks with tongues, ſpeaks by the Holy Ghoſt, yet is he ſo much leſs than Prophecy, as the profit of his ſpeaking is leſs, wherefore as much difference as there is between the profiting of one, and the whole Church, ſo great muſt be the difference betwixt Tongues and Prophecy. Theophylact repeats expreſly theſe laſt words, and on the ſecond and third verſes he comments thus, he ſpeaks not to men, [e] becauſe he ſpeaks not things manifeſt, and eaſie to be underſtood by them. And again, every where Paul prefers that which is moſt profitable, as Prophecy is, building up the unſtable, exhorting and ſtirring up the ſloathfull, and comforting the feeble minded. He teacheth, ſaith Theodoret, the uſe of this Gift of Tongues, for it was given to the Preachers of the Goſpel, by reaſon of the different Languages of men, [f] that going to the Indians, and uſing their Tongue, they might publiſh the divine declaration; and again, diſcourſing to the Perſians, Scythians, Romans and Ægyptians, in every one of their Languages, they might preach the doctrine of the Goſpel, for vain it was for men diſcourſing to the Corinthians to uſe the Language of the Scythians, the Perſians, and Ægyptians, which they could not underſtand: now reading of the Scriptures is preaching in the Language of the Holy Ghoſt, for Moſes of old times hath them that preach him in every City, being read in the Synagogue every Sabbath day; and therefore reading of the Goſpels and

[c] Δείξας ὅ πολὺ τὸ χρήσιμον ὂν τῷ κ) χρήσιμῳ ἐν) τῖς ἀκύσι παντακῦ τῦτο πεῖται τὸ εἰς τὸ τῆς πολλῶν ὠφέλειαν γινόμενον——, ὅσον ἦ τὸ μέσον ἑνὸς κ) ἐκκλησίας, τοσῦτον διάφορον τῦτο κ) ἐκεῖνο, in v. 3, 4.

[d] Ἀπὸ τῆ κοινῆ συμφέροντ) δείκνυσι τὸ προφητείαν κρείττονα.

[e] Οὐκ ξυνόητα λέγων τῖς ἀνθρώποις κ) σαφῆ, v. 2.
Παντακῦ ἐκεῖνο τίθητ) μεῖζον τὸ ὠφελιμώτερον, ibid.

[f] Ἵνα-π ἐκάστων κεχρωμένοι φωναῖς, τὸ ἐυαγγελικὸν διδασκαλίαν κηρύττωσι· φέρε τίνυν κ) τῖς ἐν Κορίνθῳ διαλεγομένοις τῇ Σκυθῶν χρῆσθαι φωνῇ ἐπαίνην ἐκείνων ἦν διαμφίων, in v. 2.

Act. 16. 21.

and Epiſtles muſt be preaching of the *Chriſtian* doctrine, and muſt it not be vain, according to *Theodoret*, to preach to the *Engliſh*, *French*, *Hungarians*, *Germans*, *Dutch*, *Swedes*, and *Normans*, in the *Latin* Tongue which they do not underſtand? Muſt not this practice contradict the very end for which the Gift of Tongues was given, that *the divine declaration might be publiſhed to every one in their own Tongue?* May we not argue from theſe ſayings of the *Fathers* thus, " That which tends " moſt unto the profit of the *Church* is every where to be pre- " ferr'd by the *Apoſtles* Rule, but propheſying or reading of " the Scriptures, ſo as to manifeſt the ſenſe of them: (which " is not known, when it is read in an unknown Tongue,) " and ſo that *all may learn the purpoſe of the divine law*, ſo as " that all the people may be edified *whilſt what is ſpoken is* " *underſtood of all*, ſo as to be *profitable to them that hear him*, " ſo as to ſpeak *things manifeſt and eaſie to be underſtood by them*, " tends moſt to the profit of the Church; therefore this rea- " ding or this propheſying, by the *Apoſtles* Rule, muſt be pre- " ferr'd. And again, but reading and preaching in a Tongue " unknown unto the Hearers is reading ſo as that *the Hearer* " *knows not what you ſay*, and therefore *he receives no benefit*, he " *hath no profit*; it therefore is that reading which they, and " the *Apoſtles* Rule, aſſure us ought not to be preferr'd. And " thirdly, That which tends beſt to *edification*, *exhortation*, and " *comfort of the Church* ſhould be preferr'd; but *propheſying*, or " reading of the *Scriptures* ſo as they may be plain to, and ea- " ſie to be underſtood by the Hearers, tends *to the edification* " *of the doubtfull*, *exhorting the ſlothfull*, *the comforting the feeble-* " *minded*, to *the confirming of our minds*, and *the advancing of* " *our hopes*, 'tis as much better than ſpeaking in a Tongue un- " known, as *the edification of the whole Church is better than the* " *profit onely of ſome few*, and therefore is to be preferr'd.

Arg. III. § 3. From the fifth verſe, *I would that ye all ſpake with tongues, but rather that ye propheſied, for greater is he that propheſieth than he that ſpeaketh with tongues*; we learn that the *Apoſtle Paul* doth rather wiſh that they ſhould *propheſie*, than ſpeak with tongues. For that that was the greater Gift, he proves by reaſon of the greater benefit the *Church* received by it, or becauſe it tended moſt to the *edification* of the *Church*.

He ſaith it is the greateſt Gift, g *for that is greateſt which profits all*, ſaith *Ambroſe*. Prophecy is the greater, h *becauſe it hath the greater profit*, ſo *Theodoret*. Becauſe they are many who receive the profit of it, i *which chiefly is to be regarded*, ſo *Chryſoſtome*. Prophecy is greater, k *becauſe it profits more*, ſo *Oecumenius*: l *by reaſon of the greater benefit*, ſo *Theophylact*. Since therefore the like reaſon holds for reading of the *Maſs*, and all the pious Leſſons contained in it, in a Tongue known unto the Vulgar, certain it is that *greater is he* that doth thus reade it, and that it were deſirable it were thus read, rather than in a Tongue unknown to many of them, and therefore it is certain that the *Trent Council* hath defined unwiſely, and not according to this declaration of St. *Paul*, and all theſe *Fathers* of the *Church*, that *the ancient Rite of reading in the Latin tongue ſhould be retained every where.*

g *Hoc enim majus eſt, quod omnibus prodeſt.*

h Πλεῖον γὰρ ἔχει τὸ κέρδος.

i Ὃ δεῖ μάλιστα σκοπεῖν.

k Διὰ τὸ πλείονας ὠφελεῖν.

l Διὰ τὸ πολὺ ὠφελέστερον.

Sess. 22. c. 8.

Arg. IV. § 4. From the ſixth verſe, *Now therefore, brethren, if I come unto you ſpeaking in an unknown tongue, what ſhall I profit you, except I ſhall ſpeak unto you either by revelation, or by knowledge, or by prophecy, or doctrine. What ſhall I profit you*, ſaith *Ambroſe*, m *for no man can teach, except he be underſtood. He ſpeaks theſe things*, ſaith *Chryſoſtome*, *demonſtrating that he ſeeks their profit, and that which he ſaith is this, that* n *if I ſpeak not ſomething which may be eaſily perceived, and may be manifeſt to you, but onely ſhew I have the Gift of Tongues, you will go away without any profit.* o *Photius* thus deſcants on the words, *I ſhall profit you nothing except I ſpeak unto you in Revelation, that is, things manifeſt, and underſtood, and eaſie to be perceived; or in knowledge, that is, that you may know what I ſpeak; or in Prophecy, for they knew that was ſpoken according to the common way of converſing with one another, or in doctrine, for he that teacheth, endeavours that his hearers may underſtand the things ſpoken: what profit ſhall I bring unto you*, ſaith *Theodoret*, *unleſs I*

m *Docere enim nemo poteſt niſi intelligatur.*

n Ἐὰν μὴ εἴπω συνάδηλον ὑμῖν εὔληπτον γένεσις καὶ σωάδηλον καὶ σαφὲς ἅδην κερδάνασεις ἀπελεύσεσθε.

o *Apud* Oecum. *in locum*, Τουτέστιν ξυσυνοπτά πνα καὶ σαφῆ, καὶ νοήμνα, ἢ ἐν γνώσει, τουτέστιν ἵνα γνώσησε ἃ λέγω, &c.

uſe a doctrine P *revealing to you hidden myſteries:* and with reſpect to ſuch Interpretations of the ancient Fathers, *Theophylact* ſpeaks thus, *ſome have ſo underſtood thoſe words in revelation* Q *as to ſignifie that they ſhould ſpeak things manifeſt and eaſie to be apprehended, and things laid open, and thoſe words in knowledge, as to ſignifie that they ſhould ſpeak ſuch things as may be known.* Hence then the Argument runs thus, " That which doth nothing tend unto " the profit of the Aſſembly conſiſting of perſons not under- " ſtanding what is ſpoken, ought not to be done by an *Apoſtle*, much leſs by men of leſs Authority; but to reade the *Maſs* in *Latin*, in places where it is not underſtood, is to " doe that which nothing tends unto the profit of the Aſſem- " bly: if no man can profit except he ſpeak in Revelation, " or in Knowledge, that is, *things manifeſt, eaſie to be perceived and underſtood*, then no man can profit the Aſſembly, " conſiſting chiefly of illiterate perſons, by reading of the " *Maſs* to them in *Latin:* and therefore no man can by ſo doing doe what both St. *Paul* and *Chryſoſtome* ſay chiefly ought to be regarded in thoſe parts of *publick worſhip.*

P Ἀποκαλύψων ὑμῖν τὰ κεκρυμμένα μυστήρια.

Q Τὸ εὐληπτά τινα καὶ σαφῆ λέγειν καὶ ἀνακεκαλυμμένα--τὰ δὲ γνώσιμα γνωσθῆναι.

Arg. V. § 5. The ſeventh, eighth and ninth Verſes afford ſtill farther demonſtrations of the abſurdity of this practice, for thus they run v. 7. *in like manner things without life, giving ſound, whether Pipe or Harp, except they give a diſtinction in the ſounds, how ſhall it be known what is piped or harped,* v. 9. *So likewiſe you, except ye utter by the Tongue things eaſie to be underſtood, how ſhall it be known what is ſpoken; for ye ſhall ſpeak unto the air. For,* ſaith *Theodoret,* R *when thoſe that are preſent underſtand them not, the words are vainly caſt into the air.* You will ſpeak unto the air, i. e. S *ſo as to profit nothing; for to what end doth he ſpeak who is not underſtood,* ſo St. *Ambroſe.* You ſhall ſpeak to the air, that is, T *to no body,* ſaith *Chryſoſtome.* And again, *He puts the voice as the ſubject,* U *the perſpicuity of the voice as the ſpecies,* (*i. e.* that which diſtinguiſheth the kinds)

R Τῶν γὰρ παρόντων καὶ ζωπόντων εἰς ἀέρα μάτην λαλεῖται τὰ ῥήματα.

S h. e. *Nihil perficientes, --- ut quid enim loquatur, quod nemo intelligit.*

T Τουτέστιν οὐδενί.

U Τὴν σαφήνειαν ὡς εἶδος, τὴν μὲν παρόντος ὕδατος ὄφελος τὸ ὑποκείμενον --τοῦτο μὲν ἀκέραιος ὠφέλιμον

τὸ σαφές· καὶ εὔλητπτον τοῖς ἀκούσι ---τὸ εὔσημον διώκειν δεῖ, Chryſoſt.

kinds) *which being wanting, there is no need of the ſubject.* He proſecutes his Diſcourſe thus, *why do I ſay that which ſhall be thus ſpoken by us will be unprofitable,* but *what is plain and eaſie to be apprehended will be profitable to them that hear it, ſince this is ſo even in Organs without life, which muſt have ſome diſtinction and plainneſs of ſound, or you doe nothing, and much more in the words of men of life and reaſon, and in ſpiritual Gifts ought we to ſeek for what is of an eaſie ſignification.* *Theophylact* tranſcribes theſe words, and then he, with *Chryſoſtome*, applies the example thus, *So you* [x] *unleſs by this Gift of Tongues you utter a diſcourſe plain and perſpicuous, you will ſpeak in vain, and to no end, becauſe no man underſtands you: you will ſpeak into the air*, ſaith *Oecumenius*, that is, [y] *in vain and unprofitably, if your words be not plain and underſtood*; he alſo, out of *Photius* thus introduceth the Apoſtle ſpeaking, *why ſay I in my own perſon that what is underſtood is profitable, what is not underſtood is unprofitable*; *a man may find this in Organs without life*; and, [z] *if in little things clearneſs is much, how much more in ſpiritual things?* Here then the Argument runs, thus. "*That which renders the meaning* " of the words read in the Aſſembly of *Chriſtians* ſpeaking " into the air, *i. e.* ſpeaking *unprofitably, in vain*, ſpeaking *to* " *no body, doing nothing*, or to no purpoſe, muſt be abſurd and " incongruous, but reading of the *Maſs* in *Latin* to thoſe " Aſſemblies, renders it, ſpeaking into the air, *&c.* to all " to whom it is *unknown*, therefore it is abſurd. Again, they " who reade ſo as that the Hearers cannot know what is ſpo- " ken, and ſo as that they *do not utter things eaſie to be under-* " *ſtood*, it is not *plain, perſpicuous and eaſie to be perceived*, they " *ſpeak into the air*, but ſo reade they who reade the *Maſs* in " *Latin* to thoſe Aſſemblies which do not underſtand that " Tongue: *Ergo*, they ſpeak into the air.

[x] Ἐὰν μὴ τῇ γλώσσῃ εὔσημον λόγον ὔπτοι σαφῆ δῶτε, εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην λέγετε ὑδὲ νὸς ἀκούσῃ.

[y] Εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην, καὶ ἀνωφελῶς, εἰ μὴ σαφῆ καὶ νοούμενον εἴπητε λόγον.

[z] Εἰ ἔν γε ὀλίγοις τῷ μικρῶν μίγα ἡ σαφήνεια πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῷ πνευματικῶν.

Arg. VI. § 6. Verſe the eleventh, the *Apoſtle* ſpeaketh thus, *If I know not the meaning of the voice, I ſhall be unto him that ſpeaketh a Barbarian, and he that ſpeaketh ſhall be a Barbarian unto*

to me. He admoniſhes them not to ſtudy *that by unknown Tongues they may ſeem Barbarians to one another, but that* [a] *by unanimity of underſtanding, they may have common joy*, ſaith *Ambroſe*. *I ſpeak not theſe things*, ſaith *Chryſoſtome* rejecting the *unknown Tongue, but ſhewing that it is* [b] *unprofitable to me whilſt it is obſcure, that it renders him that hears it a Barbarian to me, and me to him, not through the nature of the voice, but through our ignorance.* He ſhall be a Barbarian to me that ſpeaketh, *i.e.* [c] *a Speaker of things not intelligible, if I know not the power of his voice*, ſaith *Theophylact*. *There are many kinds of voices*, ſaith *Oecumenius*, *but* [d] *what gain we by thoſe voices, when we underſtand nothing of them? for if I know not what the voice ſignifies, we ſhall be both Barbarians to one another: how therefore is it that you ſpeaking into the air, and ſpeaking things inſignificant to your own Countrey-men, are puffed up, as if you had done ſome great matters, and do not rather ſtudy, and take care that obtaining the Gift of Interpretation, you may uſe the Gift of Tongues unto the common benefit;* [e] *for he that onely ſpeaks with Tongues uſing an inſignificant and unknown voice unto the Hearer, inſtead of profiting, is a Barbarian to him, and the Hearer alſo is accounted a Barbarian to the Speaker, and what profit ariſeth thence?* You hear not their *Anacharſis* ſaying to me, all the *Græcians* are as *Scythians*, which is like that of our *Paul*, if I know not the meaning, &c. for as the *Illyrians*, *Pæonians*, &c. are eſteemed *Barbarians* to the *Greeks*, ſo to them who underſtand not the Greek Idiom, the Attick, Dorick, Æolick and Ionick Tongues are barbarous. Where, 1. It plainly is aſſerted, that every one that ſpeaketh in a publick Aſſembly is unto him that heareth a *Barbarian*, becauſe he doth not *underſtand the meaning of the voice*, becauſe he ſpeaks *things unintelligible by him*, and ſo he gaineth nothing by his voice, becauſe he, ſpeaking in an unknown voice, ſpeaks not unto *the common benefit*. 2. It is here tacitly ſuppoſed that this is a great fault, and manifeſt abſurdity, and that which the *Apoſtle*

[a] *Ut per unanimitatem intellectus communi lætitia glorientur.*

[b] Δεικνὺς ὅτι ἐμοὶ ἀνωφελὴς ἕως ἂν ᾖ ἀσαφὴς — ὐ φύσει τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἄγνοιαν.

[c] Βάρβαρος τετύχηκα ἀνοήτα φθεγγόμενος.

[d] Τί κερδαίνομεν ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῶν φωνῶν ἐκείνων, μηδὲν αὐτῶν ξυνιέντες.

[e] Ὁ γὰρ δι' μόνον γλώσσαις λαλῶν ἀσήμῳ καὶ ἀναπιγνώστῳ τῇ φωνῇ παρέχεται τῷ ἀκροατῇ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὠφελεῖν ἔσται αὐτῷ βάρβαρος — καὶ τί τὸ ἐντεῦθεν κέρδος.

Teodoret. *de Cur. Græc. aff. Serm.* 5. *p.* 556.

Apoſtle reproved in the *Corinthians* as by no means fitting to be done. Hence then the Argument runs thus, "That which "renders the *Maſs-prieſt* a *Barbarian*, a Speaker of *things un-* "*intelligible to the Hearer*, ſo that *he gaineth nothing by his* "*voice*, a Speaker in that very manner for which St. *Paul* "reproves the Speakers in like Aſſemblies of the *Corinthians*, "that ought not to be done; but celebrating the *Maſs* in "*Latin*, *i.e.* in ſuch a Language in which in moſt Aſſemblies "few underſtand the meaning of his voice, renders the *Maſs-* "*prieſt* a *Barbarian*, &c. *Ergo* this ought not by him to be done.

Arg. VII. § 7. The Apoſtle exhorts thoſe *Corinthian* Æmulatours of the Gift of Tongues, that ſeeing they ſo earneſtly deſired to abound in Gifts, they would doe it *to edification*, endeavouring to excell in that which chiefly tended to that noble end: for thus he ſpeaks, *Even ſo ye, foraſmuch as ye are zealous of ſpiritual Gifts, ſeek that you may excell to the edification of the Church. Strive chiefly* for them [f] *by which the profit and edification of the Church may be promoted*, ſaith *Oecumenius. He commands them to doe all things* [g] *to the benefit of the Church*, ſaith *Theodoret*; [h] *becauſe 'tis profitable to explain the Scriptures; For the mind is excited and rejoices when it underſtands any thing of Scripture; therefore he admoniſhes them to apply their ſtudies to this*, ſo St. *Ambroſe*. [i] *You ſee his ſcope every where, how he points continually to one thing, in every thing laying down this as a Canon or Rule to walk by, that what is moſt profitable to the moſt; moſt beneficial to the Church, ought always to be done*, ſo *Chryſoſtome*. Hence then the Argument is this, "That which is requiſite, "that we may excell to *the edification of the Church, to the pro-* "*fit of moſt*, that in the publick Service is always to be done, "according to the Exhortation and the Command of the *A-* "*poſtle*. But celebrating the publick Service of the *Church* in "a Tongue commonly known to the People which aſſembled "to join with us, is plainly requiſite to this end; for, as "the *Fathers* and St. *Paul* have often told us, unleſs they "know

v. 12.

[f] Δι' ὧν ὑμῖν ἡ ὠφελεία τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἡ οἰκοδομὴ κατορθωθήσεται.

[g] Τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εἵνεκεν ὠφελείας.

[h] *Quia prodeſt Scripturas explanare.*

[i] Εἶδες αὐτοῦ τὸν σκοπὸν πανταχοῦ πῶς πρὸς ἓν ὁρᾷ διηνεκῶς, καὶ διὰ πάντων τὸ τῆς πολλοῖς χρήσιμον τὸ πλεῖον ἐκκλησίαν ὠφελεῖν ὥσπερ τινὰ κανόνα τοῦτο τιθείς.

" know the power of the Voice it cannot profit, nor will they
" be Edified; *Ergo*, the publick Service ought to be celebrated
" in a Tongue known unto the People.

Sol. Unto this Argument ſome of the *Romaniſts* Reply, That the *Trent* Council hath obſerved the mind of the *Apoſtle* here, in that ſhe hath commanded all Paſtours, *during the Celebration of the Maſs, to expound ſome part of what is read.*

Rep. But to this Subterfuge I Anſwer,

1. That which the *Council* ſaith is onely this, *The Holy Synod doth command all Paſtours frequently to expound ſome of thoſe things which are contained in the Maſs*, it therefore doth not command that they ſhould always doe ſomething of that Nature, and ſo the *Apoſtle's* Precept muſt be neglected when this is not done.

2. The *Council* doth not oblige them to expound any certain part of the *Maſs*, ſo that if they expound one Verſe contained in it, they ſatisfie the Injunction of the *Council*, but by no means do they ſatisfie St. *Paul's* Jnjunction, *that all things ſhould be done to Edification, that if there be no Interpreter they ſhould hold their peace*, and leaſt of all thoſe ſayings of the *Fathers*, *Let there be nothing done among you which doth not edifie one another.* That the *Apoſtles* Rule is this, *that what is moſt profitable to the moſt, moſt beneficial to the Church, ought always to be done.*

3. The Reaſon which the *Council* aſſigns of this Injunction, viz. *Leſt the Sheep of Chriſt ſhould hunger, and the little ones deſire bread, and there be none to break it them*, ſeems to be a plain Confeſſion that when this is not done, as frequently it is not, it muſt ſo happen, that *Chriſt's Sheep do* by this means *hunger, and deſire bread, when there is none to break it to them.* Since then, according to St. *Paul*, and theſe Expoſitors, *the profit of moſt is chiefly to be regarded*, and *He prefers that every where which is ſo done*, ſince what is ſpoken in a Tongue known is, ſay they, *underſtood by all, and therefore edifieth all the people*, but what is read in a Tongue not known, is ſo read, that they receive *no profit, no benefit* by it, ſeeing there is the ſame reaſon for interpreting all they reade, as any portion of it; 'tis evident all ſhould be interpreted, or read in a Tongue underſtood by all. And,

4. It deſerves to be obſerved, that though the *Church* here requires the Prieſt to expound ſometimes, or preach, yet hath ſhe not obliged the people to hear them, *Nullo (hoc) jure cavetur, ſed ſolum de Miſſa*, that Maſs which they cannot underſtand, they muſt hear, but the Sermons which they may underſtand they need not. *I affirm*, ſaith *Suarez*, *that there is no precept which in rigour, and by it ſelf obliges to hear the Sermon on Feſtivals* (or the Lord's Day) *ſo all the Doctours ſuppoſe as evident, and it is apparent from the conſtant uſe, and apprehenſion of the Faithfull:* So that though without this the *Council* doth confeſs, *the ſheep of Chriſt muſt hunger and deſire Bread, and have none to break it to them*; yet are they not obliged to that which can alone aſſuage their Hunger.

Sum. Roſell. Domin. N. 4.

Dico nullum eſſe præceptum quod obliget in Rigore, & per ſe, ad audiendam concionem in die Feſto, (poſtea addit diem Dominicum) ità ſupponunt ut clarum omnes doctores, & conſtat ex communi uſu & ſenſu fidelium. L. 2. de Feſt. c. 16. n. 6.

§ 8. Arg. VIII. The *Apoſtle* proceeds thus, *Wherefore let him that ſpeaketh in an unknown Tongue, pray that he may interpret; for if I pray in an unknown Tongue, my Spirit prayeth but my underſtanding is unfruitfull.* Let him pray that he may interpret, ſaith *Theodoret*, [k] *That he may bring profit to the Church.* Let him pray not onely for the Gift of Tongues, but of Interpretation alſo, [l] *that he may be profitable to all*, ſo *Chryſoſtome*. [m] *That his endeavour may profit others alſo*, ſaith St. *Ambroſe*. *He ſhews the manner how they might procure Gifts* [n] *that will profit the Church*, ſaith *Oecumenius*. [o] *He ſhews how this Gift may be uſed to the publick benefit*, ſaith *Theophylact*.

Ver. 13, 14.

[k] Ἵνα ωφεσφόρος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ᾖ ὠφέλειαν.

[l] Ἵνα πᾶσιν ὠφέλιμος γένῃ.

[m] *Ut proficeret cæteris ſtudium ejus.*

[n] Τὰ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ὠφελοῦντα.

[o] Τρόπον λέγει δι' οὗ τὸ χάρισμα τοῦτο εἰς ὠφέλειαν ἔσται πολλῶν.

The reaſon follows, *For if I pray in an unknown Tongue, my Spirit prayeth*, that is, ſaith *Photius*, *my ſpiritual Gift is exerciſed, but my mind is unfruitfull*; *that is*, ſaith *Theodoret*, *I not interpreting my Gift, have no fruit, others that hear me receiving no benefit*, [p] *for the fruit of the Speaker is the profit of the Hearers*; *for ſo he ſpeaketh in the Epiſtle to the* Romans, *that I may have ſome fruit among you, as among other Gentiles. My mind will be found unfruitfull*, ſaith *Photius*, *becauſe it will not profit others*,

[p] Καρπὸς τοῦ λέγοντος ὠφέλεια τῶν ἀκούοντων.

others, [q] *for the fruit of the mind is by various, and all kind of notions to bring profit to our Neighbours. If any one ſpeak with unknown Tongues, his mind is unfruitfull, not to himſelf, but to the Hearer, for whatſoever is ſaid he underſtands not.* So the Commentary that paſſeth under the name of *Jerom.* [r] *When they that are preſent underſtand the prayer, then he that prayeth hath fruit, to wit, the Edification of thoſe that are helped by his prayer.* Saith *Baſil, but when the words of the prayer are unknown to them that are preſent, then without controverſie the mind of him that prays is without fruit, ſince no man receives benefit by it, and the Caſe is alike in treating of any other words of God, for ſo 'tis written, let no ſpeech come from your mouth but what is good, for the Edification of faith*; and that the mind is ſaid by the *Apoſtle* to be unfruitfull not with reſpect unto the Speaker, but to the Hearer is evident,

[q] Νῦ γὰρ καρπὸς τὸ διὰ ποικίλων καὶ παντοδαπῶν νοημάτων ὠφέλησαι τοὺς πλησίον ὑπονοῶν.

[r] Τὸ πνεῦμα μὲν προσεύχεται ὁ δὲ νοῦς μου ἄκαρπος ἐστιν ὅταν μὴ γὰρ ἀγνώστα ᾖ τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ ῥήματα τῆς προσευχῆς ἄκαρπός ἐστιν ὁ νοῦς τοῦ προσευχομένου μηδενὸς ὠφελουμένου, ὅταν δὲ οἱ παρόντες νοῶσι τὴν προσευχὴν τελεῖν δυναμένην τοὺν ἀκούοντας πᾶσα ὁ προσευχόμενος καρπὸν ἔχει τῆς ὠφελουμένων βελτίωσιν· ὁμοίως δὲ ὑπὶ πασης ἐκφωνήσεως τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ῥημάτων· λέγεσθαι γὰρ ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἀγαθὸς πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς πίστεως. *Reg. Brev.* 278.

1. Becauſe the *Apoſtle* in this very Chapter ſaith, that he that ſpeaks with Tongues edifies himſelf, *v.* 4. adding, that where that Tongue is not underſtood, it doth not edifie.

2. Let him, ſaith the *Apoſtle*, who ſpeaks with Tongues pray that he may interpret, not to himſelf, but others, for their benefit; when therefore he aſſigns this Reaſon of that exhortation, that *otherwiſe his mind will be unfruitfull*, he muſt alſo mean not to *himſelf*, but unto *others*.

3. The *Apoſtle* ſeems plainly to interpret his meaning thus by ſaying, *v.* 19. *In the Church I had rather ſpeak five words* διὰ τοῦ νοός μου, *with my mind*, (not unfruitfull, but underſtood) *that I might inſtruct others, than ten thouſand words in an unknown Tongue.*

Hence then theſe Arguments do very naturally reſult, " If " he that ſpeaks with an unknown Tongue, muſt pray that he " may interpret, that he may bring profit to the *Church*, that " he may be profitable to all, and uſe his Gift to the publick " benefit; then he that reads, or prays in publick, muſt ſo " reade, and pray, that he may be profitable to all, and con- " duce to the publick benefit, which ſure he doth not who

" Celebrates the *Maſs* in *Latin*, where that language is ſo far " from being underſtood of all, that 'tis ſcarce underſtood of " any in moſt of our *Churches*. *Eſthius* upon the place confeſſeth, that what is ſpoken here doth happen unto them who being ignorant of the *Latin* Tongue, *Latino ſermone preces recitant*, *Reade prayers in Latin*, for their mind is unfruitfull; and muſt it not then alſo happen unto them who being ignorant of the *Latin* Tongue, *Latino ſermone preces audiunt*, *Hear prayers read in that Tongue:* for if prayer not underſtood by the Supplicant is unfruitfull to him, ſo is prayer not underſtood by the Hearer to him alſo, on the ſame account.

Again, " That which makes the prayer of the Supplicant un- " fruitfull to the Hearer, ought not to be done, this being the " reaſon of the *Apoſtles* exhortation to the *Corinthian* Officia- " tours, to *pray they might interpret*, leſt their mind ſhould be un- " fruitfull. But praying ſo as that the words of the prayer are " unknown to them that hear them, ſo as they do not under- " ſtand them, ſo as they are not good for Edification of him " who knoweth not the meaning of them, is praying ſo as " that the mind of him that prayeth is unfruitfull to the Hea- " rer, and ſo by parity of Reaſon is praying in *Latin*, to eve- " ry Hearer who underſtandeth nothing of it, it therefore is " not to be done.

§ 9. Arg. IX. *What therefore is it; I will pray with the Spirit, I will pray with the underſtanding alſo, I will ſing with the Spirit, I will ſing with the underſtanding alſo. i. e.* [r] *What therefore is to be done*, ſaith *Oecumenius*, *how ſhall we contrive that we be not unfruitfull. What is the beſt and moſt profitable to be done*, ſaith *Chryſoſtome*, and *Theophylact. He calls the Spirit his Gift*, ſaith *Theodoret*; *the Mind he calls the Interpretation of what is ſpoken*; *and ſaith*, [s] *that it behoveth him who diſcourſeth in another Tongue, whether it be in Pſalms, in Prayer, or Doctrine, either himſelf to interpret, what is ſaid to the profit of the Hearers, or to take another to his aſſiſtance who can doe it*; which words are punctually tranſcribed by *Oecumenius*, who alſo adds from *Photius*, that *to ſpeak with the Spirit, and the mind, is to ſpeak for our own profit, and alſo to ſpeak ſo as that others may enjoy the fruit of our minds, that*

[r] Τί οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ ὠφελιμώτερον.

[s] Ὅτι προσήκει ἢ ἰδίᾳ γλώσσῃ λαλεῖν ψάλλοντα, εἴτε ἐν ψαλμῳδίᾳ, εἴτε ἐν προσευχῇ, —— ἢ αὐτὸν ἑρμηνεύειν εἰς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἀκουόντων, &c.

as,

is, to ſpeak unto the profit of our Neighbours; and this will be done, if ſpeaking with Tongues we receive alſo the Gift of Interpretation, for having taken up the name of Prayer, for ſpeaking of things good and ſerious, that you might not think that he ſpoke primarily, or chiefly of prayer, and not alſo of any neceſſary and uſefull words ſpoken in Tongues, he falls to Pſalmody, ſaying as it were, whether it be in Prayer, or Pſalmody, or any other good and neceſſary words, in all alike, we ſhould endeavour both to profit our ſelves, and others. *Caſſian* relating, and propoſing to the imitation of others the cuſtoms uſed by the *Ægyptian Monks*, which he ſays were very ancient, he firſt informs us, that one of them roſe up to ſing the Pſalms in the midſt of them, and that the other ſate, [u] *having the intention of their hearts fixed upon the words he ſang; for*, ſaith he, *they are not delighted with the multitude of Verſes*, but *with the underſtanding of the Mind, following that with their whole power, I will ſing with the Spirit, I will ſing with the Mind alſo, and therefore they judge it more profitable that ten Verſes ſhould be ſung rationally, than that a whole Pſalm ſhould be poured forth with confuſion of the mind.* The meaning therefore of the *Apoſtles* Reſolution, the thing that he approveth of, as beſt and moſt advantageous to be done in publick, ὃ δεῖ γίνεσθαι, *which ought to be done*, is, that in the Service of the *Church* we pray with the mind, that is, ſo that others may enjoy the fruit of our minds, and the Hearer may be profited; and that this muſt be the true import of the words, is evident from the preceding words, which ſay, that *if we pray in a Tongue unknown, our mind will be unfruitfull* unto others; and thence infer, that we muſt ſo *pray in the Spirit, as to pray alſo with the Mind*, that is, ſo as the Mind be not unfruitfull. 2. This is apparent from the connexion of the words with the enſuing Verſe. *I will pray with my underſtanding, for otherwiſe how can the Idiot ſay Amen unto my prayer*, or by my Pſalm be edified, *ſeeing he underſtands not what I pray*, or thank God for. Now manifeſt it is the underſtanding of the Supplicant contributes nothing unto the underſtanding of the *Idiot*, unleſs he utters by his underſtanding words which the *Idiot* can apprehend, 'tis therefore manifeſt the *Apoſtle* here diſcourſeth of ſuch words, and not of thoſe the *Supplicant* alone doth underſtand.

[u] *In pſallentis verba omni cordis intentione defixus.* Caſſian. *l.* 2. *c.* 5. *Sed mentis intelligentia delectantur illud tota virtute ſectantes. Pſallam Spiritu, &c. c.* 11.

Hence

Hence then the Argument runs thus; " If by the Rule of the " *Apoſtle*, whether we be engaged in the publick Service, in " Prayer, in Pſalms, or Doctrine, we muſt ſpeak ſo as that the " *Hearers* may have profit by it, and may enjoy the fruit of our " minds, that the intention of our hearts be fixed upon the " meaning of the words, and with our whole power we fol- " low after the doing of the Service with the intention of the " Mind, then muſt we pray, and ſing, and reade in words which " they that hear can underſtand, and profit by, and have their " hearts intent upon, and therefore not in *Latin* words, where " the *Hearers*, or the Generality of them, cannot underſtand, " or have their minds intent upon them, becauſe they do not " underſtand the meaning of that Tongue.

§ 10. Arg. X. *Elſe when thou ſhalt bleſs with the Spirit, how ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned ſay* Amen *at thy giving of Thanks, ſeeing he underſtands not what thou ſayeſt.* When thou bleſſeſt with the Spirit, *that is, with the Spiritual Gift of Tongues*, ſo *Theophylact*, *with the voice of a Barbarian*, ſo *Chryſoſtome*, how ſhall the *Idiot*, that is, ſay *Chryſoſtome*, *Theodoret*, St. *Ambroſe*, *Jerom*, *Oecumenius*, the *Laick*, *and unskilfull perſon*, *Sedulius*, *Haymo*, *Anſelm*, and *Aquinas*, *the Man that onely underſtandeth his own Mothers Tongue*, how ſhall he ſay *Amen* at thy giving of Thanks? [x] *How ſhall he give his Teſtimony, or aſſent, unto thy benediction?* ſaith St. *Jerom.* [y] *The Unskilfull hearing what he underſtands not, knows not the end of the Prayer, and therefore ſaith not* Amen, *that the benediction may be confirmed, for by them is the Prayer confirmed, who ſay* Amen, ſo *Ambroſe*, *that which he ſaith is this, if thou bleſſeſt in a Barbarous Tongue, the Laick not knowing what thou ſayeſt, nor being able to interpret thy words, cannot ſay* Amen; [z] *and he ſhews that he ſuffers no ſmall damage, when he cannot ſay* Amen. *He brings in an Example*, ſaith *Photius*, *for*, ſaith he, *if thou bleſſeſt in the Spirit*, i. e. *thou onely underſtanding, or profiting thy ſelf in bleſſing, but the hearer underſtands not what thou ſayeſt*,

[x] *Quomodo tuæ perhibet benedictioni teſtimonium vel conſenſum?*

[y] *Imperitus audiens quod non intelligit, neſcit finem orationis, & non reſpondit Amen, ut confirmetur benedictio, per hos enim impletur confirmatio precis qui reſpondent Amen.*

[z] Δείκνυσι αὐτὸν ὐ μικρὰν ὑπομένοντα τὴν ζημίαν ὅταν τὶ Ἀμὴν εἰπεῖν μὴ δύνηται.

ſayeſt, what will he anſwer to thee? How will he ſay Amen, *if it be needfull for him ſo to doe, not knowing at all what thou ſayeſt? For if thou onely knoweſt,* ſaith he, *what thou prayeſt, or bleſſeſt, and thy ſoul ſpeaketh this in the Spirit, the reſt not knowing the power of the things ſpoken, how ſhall the Idiot ſay* Amen *at thy prayer? This therefore is the thing he ſaith,* [a] *that he that ſings and prays ſhould interpret the things ſpoken, and the Hearers likewiſe that they may ſay* Amen. *In the whole he would have the words underſtood, and not in ſome definite kind,* [b] *and therefore ſometimes he ſpeaks of ſinging, ſometimes of bleſſing, and giving of Thanks, ſhewing that his exhortation and care is univerſally of every neceſſary and uſefull thing ſpoken in Tongues.* Now hence theſe things do clearly follow. 1. That it is the duty of the unlearned to join with the Miniſter in prayer, for *he muſt ſay* Amen, he muſt give *his Teſtimony, and aſſent unto his benediction*, he muſt *confirm the Prayer by ſaying* Amen, and when he cannot doe it, becauſe he knows not what the Prieſt ſaith, *he ſuffers no ſmall Damage*, ſaith St. *Chryſoſtome.* 2. It therefore muſt be the duty of the *Prieſt* ſo to bleſs, and pray in publick, that the unlearned may be able to ſay *Amen*, and yield his Teſtimony and Aſſent unto the Benediction of the *Prieſt*, and may not ſuffer damage by his Inability to doe ſo. 3. That the illiterate perſon cannot perform this duty, when he cannot underſtand the matter of the prayer, or know what the *Prieſt* ſaith, and ſo muſt ſuffer damage. when he ſo *officiateth*, as that the *Idiot* knows not what he ſaith. Hence then the Argument runs thus:

" That Prayer, or Benediction, to which the *Idiot* cannot " ſay *Amen*, is not to be uſed in the *Church*, becauſe he is " not to be damaged, or made uncapable of the performance " of his duty, by that ſervice which was undoubtedly deſign'd " for his advantage, and his help in the performance of his " duty.

" But Prayer and benediction in *Latin*, where it is not un- " derſtood by the *Idiot*, is that to which he cannot ſay *Amen*.

Or thus,

That

[a] Τοῦτο δέ λέγει ὅτι ψάλλων καὶ προσευχόμενος ἑρμηνεύῃ καὶ σεαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας σὺ ὁμοίως ἵνα εἴπωσι τὸ γένοιτο.

[b] Διὸ ποτὲ μὲν τὸ ψάλλειν ἄλλοτε δὲ τὸ εὐλογεῖν καὶ μιᾷ καὶ αὐτῇ αὐτὸν πίθησι τὸ εὐχαριστεῖν δεικνὺς ὅτι καθόλου περὶ πάντας ἀναγκαίας καὶ ὠφελείας γλώσσας λαλουμένης ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἡ παραίνεσις καὶ ἡ σπουδή.

" That which the *Idiot* underſtands not, and therefore cannot ſay *Amen* to, muſt not be uſed in the *Church*; But Prayer " in *Latin*, in all places where *Latin* is not a known Tongue, " is that which the *Idiot* underſtands not, therefore it is not " to be uſed in the *Church*.

Anſw. To this ſome anſwer, that *Latin is always a Tongue known to ſome.*

Rep. 1. This is falſe, with reference to thouſands of our Congregations.

2. It is impertinent, for the *Apoſtle* diſtinguiſhes the congregation into the *Idiot*, and others, and blames the prayer or benediction uttered in an unknown Tongue, as being ſuch as *Idiots* in the Congregation could not underſtand.

3. Is God an Acceptor of Perſons? Would he have the learned edified by the *Churches* publick Service, who have the leaſt need of theſe helps, and the unlearned want the benefit? if not, muſt it not be acknowledged, that the *Apoſtles* reaſon dictated by the Spirit of God, concerns them both?

§ 11. Arg. XI. Whereas the Queſtion might be asked, Why may not the *Idiot* ſay *Amen* to what he underſtands not, ſeeing the matter of the Prayer is good? the *Apoſtle* Anſwers verſe the 17th, *for thou verily giveſt Thanks well, but the other is not edified.* Where ſaith St. *Ambroſe*, [c] *If you meet together that the Church may be edified, you ought to ſay thoſe things which the Hearers may underſtand; for what profit is it for a man to ſpeak in a Tongue which he onely knows? ſuch a one ought rather to hold his peace, that others may ſpeak who can profit the Hearers.* *See*, ſaith St. *Chryſoſtome*, *how he throws the ſtone at the Mark*, [d] *always ſeeking the edification of the Church.* [e] *The Hearer gains nothing, he is profited nothing by thee*, ſaith *Oecumenius*, *that is, he receives not from the things heard, the fruit gathered for him, the mind of the Speaker profits him not, he enjoys not the fruit of it, he is deſtitute of fruit, is unfruitfull,*

[c] *Si utique ad ædificandam Eccleſiam convenitis, ea debent dici quæ intelligunt audientes. Nam quid prodeſt ut quis lingua loquatur quam ſolus ſcit?*

[d] Τὴν οἰκοδομὴν παντὸς ζητῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

[e] Ὁ δὲ ἀκροατὴς οὐδὲν κερδαίνει οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖται ἀπὸ σοῦ, &c.

fruitfull, [f] *there being no benefit to thy Neighbour, thy thanksgiving is unprofitable:* So *Theophylact.* Now hence I reason thus:

[f] Τῆς σῆς σωτηρίου ὠφελείας καὶ οἰκοδομῆς ἔρχεται ἡ εὐχαριστία.

" That which the *Idiot* doth not understand, is that by which
" he doth not edifie, and therefore that which is not to be used
" in the service of the *Church*; but *Latin Service*, where it is
" an unknown Tongue, as to every *Idiot* it is, is that he un-
" derstands not, and therefore that by which he is not edified,
" it therefore is not to be used in the *Church*, especially where
" it consisteth chiefly of such *Idiots.*

§ 12. Arg. XII. The Apostle proceeds thus, *I thank my God I speak with Tongues more than you all. But in the Church I had rather speak five words with my mind, that I may instruct others, than ten thousand words in an unknown Tongue;* [g] *he declares,* saith, *Ambrose, that it is more profitable to speak few words plainly, which all might understand, than a long Speech in obscurity. What is it,* saith *Chrysostome, to speak with my mind,* [h] *it is to speak with knowledge, and to instruct others; for this onely yields much profit, and this is that which he every where seeks after, what may profit all. With my mind,* saith *Oecumenius,* [i] *that is, so that I may be able to interpret, and make plain to the Hearers what I speak, that they may be profited.* Hence then the Argument runs thus: V. 18, 19.

[g] *Utilius dicit paucis verbis in apertione Sermonis loqui quod omnes intelligunt, quàm prolixam orationem habere in obscuro.*

[h] Μετὰ σωφροσύνης εἰπεῖν, καὶ διδάξαι καὶ ἀκόσαι — τοῦτο γὰρ ὄφελος ὁ πολλαχοῦ ζητῶν τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον.

[i] Γνησίως νοῶν αὐτὸς ἑρμηνεῦσαι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσι σαφῆ ποιῆσαι ὅ πως ὠφελῶνται.

" If we ought, when the Congregation meets, rather to
" speak few words plainly, and so as to instruct the Hearers,
" and make that plain unto them which is spoken, than a long
" discourse which they understand not; then ought we rather to
" celebrate *Mass* in the *Mother Tongue*, than in *Latin*, which to
" the generality of most *Parishes* is a tongue they understand not.

§ 13. Arg. XIII. The *Apostle* thus proceeds, *Brethren be not children in understanding, but be ye children in malice, in understanding be ye perfect. He will have them to be perfect,* saith St. *Ambrose,* [k] *that they may know what is necessary for the Instruction of the Church, that they may study those things which profit to the advan-* V. 20.

[k] *Ut sciant quid ad institutionem Ecclesiæ sit necessarium.*

Theophylact. *tage of the Brethren, he uſes now a ſharper ſtyle, be not ye children, for 'tis the property of Children to admire little things, as Tongues, and deſpiſe great things, that is, prophecying.* Hence I thus argue:

" That which renders the *Officiatour* a Child in underſtanding, ought not by him to be done, but ſpeaking to the " Congregation in *Latin*, when it is an unknown Tongue, " and preferring that before prophecying, or ſpeaking to the " Inſtruction of the *Church*, doth render the Officiatour a " Child in underſtanding.

§ 14. Arg. XIV. From *v.* 21. the Argument runs thus:

" That which was in the Law denounced " as a Curſe upon God's people, ought not " to be the choſen, or be the conſtant prac- " tice of the *Church* of *Chriſt*; but ſuch was " ſpeaking in an unknown Tongue, and ſo as " that they could not underſtand with eaſe.

Hoc non competit fidelibus audire linguas quas non intelligunt, ſed infidelibus, qui digni non ſunt intelligere.

§ 15. Arg. XV. From *v.* 23. thus:

" That which will give occaſion to the Stranger, and the " *Idiot*, entring into the Aſſemblies of Chriſtians, to ſay that " *they are mad*, ought not to be done; but the uſe of *Latin*, " where the meaning of it is not known, as it is not in many " *Pariſh Churches*, will miniſter this occaſion, therefore it is " not to be done.

§ 16. Arg. XVI. Let all things be done to edifying, *v.* 26. He ſpeaks of *Pſalms*, *Doctrine*, and Prophecy, ſaith *Theophylact*, and adds, let all theſe things be done to edifying: [m] *For 'tis the buſineſs of a Chriſtian to edifie and profit*; but how can he doe this, who ſpeaks in an unknown tongue? If he procure an *Interpreter*, [n] *the ſcope of the Apoſtle*, ſaith *Theodoret*, *is one, the profit of many*, and therefore he exhorts the *Corinthians* to prefer Prophecy, as being that which brings a common benefit. [o] *See*, ſaith *Chryſoſtome*, *the foundation and the Rule of Chriſtianity, for as the work of an Artificer is to build, ſo the work*

[m] Τοῦτο γὰρ χριστιανοῦ ἴδιον τὸ ἀνοικοδομεῖν τὸ ὠφελεῖν.

In V. 22.

[n] Εἷς τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ σκοπὸς ἡ τῶν πολλῶν ὠφέλεια.

[o] Ὅρα χριστιανισμοῦ τὴν καινότητα τὸ τοῖς οἰκοδομοῦσι πάντα ποιεῖν.

work of a Christian is in all things to profit his Neighbour. I regard onely one thing, this, saith he, *onely am I concerned for, to doe all things to Edification.* [p] *This is the Conclusion, that nothing should be performed in the Church in vain,* saith *Ambrose, and that this chiefly is to be laboured after that the unskilfull may profit, that no part of the body may be dark through ignorance. Let all things look to one end,* saith *Oecumenius, whether Psalm, Doctrine, or interpretation,* viz. [q] *the Edification of the Church.*

[p] *Conclusio hæc est, ut nihil incassum in Ecclesia geratur.*

[q] Πρὸς τὸ οἰκοδομεῖν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

§ 17. Arg. XVII. *But if there be no Interpreter, let him hold his peace in the Church. Let him do this,* saith *Theophylact,* [r] *lest he seem to most a Barbarian, and one that speaks things which cannot be discerned, or understood. Let one Interpret,* saith *Theodoret, for* [s] *they who are present ought to understand the things spoken, but if there be no Interpreter let him hold his peace, for it is most absurd to use his Gift for ostentation, and not for profit. Let him be silent,* saith St. *Chrysostome,* [t] *for nothing ought to be done in vain, or superfluously, nothing for vain Glory, for you come not together for this end, that you may shew that you have the Gift of Tongues, but that you may edifie the Hearers, as he said in the beginning, Let all things be done to Edification. Let him be silent,* saith St. *Ambrose,* [u] *for He ought to speak in the Church, who can profit all.* Whence the Argument runs thus:

[r] Ἵνα μὴ δοκῇ βάρβαρος καὶ ἀσύνετα καὶ ἀδιανόητα φθεγγόμενος πᾶσι πολλοῖς.

[s] Χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς παρόντας νοεῖν τὰ λαλεγόμενα.

[t] Οὐδὲν γὰρ δεῖ ματαίως γίνεσθαι.

[u] *In Ecclesia enim ille debet loqui qui omnibus prosit.*

" If they who are present at the Church Assemblies *ought to*
" *understand the things spoken there,* and if *he who can profit all,*
" ought to be the Speaker in the Church, because the end of
" his Assembling with them is, that *he may edifie the Hearers,*
" then ought he to be the Speaker in the *Church* Assemblies,
" who speaks in a Tongue known to all, *i. e.* who speaketh to
" them who understand no other, in the *vulgar Tongue,* since
" otherwise he cannot profit all, or answer the end of his As-
" sembling with them, nor can they who are present under-
" stand the things spoken. Again,

" If he who speaks in a Tongue not known in the *Church,*
" ought to keep silence, lest he seem to most a *Barbarian, i. e.*
" one speaking *things which are not understood,* and because *no-*
" *thing ought to be done in the Church in vain,* and because *it is*

" *abſurd to uſe even the Gift of Tongues where it doth not profit,*
" then He who reads the Leſſons, ſings, or prays in *Latin*,
" where that language is not underſtood, ought to be ſilent,
" it being as true of him, as of the perſon ſpeaking with a
" Tongue unknown to the *Corinthians*, that he is a *Barbari-*
" *an*, He ſpeaks in vain, and not unto the profit of his Audi-
" tours.

V. 37. § 18. Arg. XVIII. *If any man be ſpiritual, or a Prophet, let him know that the things which I write unto you are the Commandments of the Lord.* Here he *aſſerts*, ſaith *Ambroſe*, [x] *that he ſpeaks not his own ſenſe, but that of Chriſt's.* That which is the ſtrongeſt of all he puts laſt, ſaith *Theophylact*, [y] *declaring that God commands theſe things by him.* [z] *Let him know*, ſaith *Oecumenius*, *that the things which I write are the commandments of God, and that I am not moved to ſpeak theſe things of my ſelf:* And if theſe things thus written by him concerning ſpeaking, praying, ſinging with a voice plain, and eaſie to be underſtood, and ſo as to inſtruct others, and as moſt tendeth to the edification of the Hearers, be *the commandment of God*, then they who do not obſerve, but apparently tranſgreſs them, muſt be violaters of the commandment of God. Let us ſee then what the *Doctours* of the *Church* of *Rome*, can ſay in favour of their Service in the *Latin Tongue*, and to excuſe that practice from being a plain violation of theſe Precepts and Inſtructions, which is not fully anſwered, and confuted by theſe plain Deſcants of the *Fathers*; and by the words, or the plain meaning of St. *Paul* in theſe Expreſſions. All their Evaſions may be reduced to three heads.

1. " That the *Apoſtle* ſpeaks not of ſuch Service as is uſed
" in the *Church* of *Rome*. Or,

2. " If what he ſpeaks concerns their Service, yet do they
" nothing in it which contradicts the mind of the Apoſtle.
Or,

3. " That the Caſe is now ſo altered, that the *Church* may
" have reaſon to vary from the Rules of the *Apoſtle*, and prac-
" tiſe now, in reference to this matter, what in the *Primitive*
" *Ages* of the *Church* was not convenient to be done. And,

§ 19.

[x] *Hic nihil ſuum tradere ſe dicit ſed Domini.*

[y] Ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ταῦτα ἐντέλλεται δι' ἐμοῦ.

[z] Ἴσω ὅτι θεοῦ εἰσιν ἐντολαὶ ἃ γράφω.

§ 19. 2. Their Answer is, that, *the Apostle speaks not of the publick and set prayers of the Church, but of extraordinary and spiritual Exercises, of Exhortations, and sudden Prayers. The Prayers and spiritual Exercises, which St.* Paul *speaks against were extemporal, made in publick Meetings,* saith Dr. *Vane, according to the present Inspired Devotion of the Speaker so that the unlearned Hearer, or he that supplied the place of the Clerk, except he understood the Language, and consequently the matter, could not prudently say* Amen *to it, seeing he knew not whether the thing spoken were good and lawfull, or no, but the Liturgy and Service of the Church hath set Offices for every day, approved by the Church, and therefore from hence a man may be confidently assured, that it is good and lawfull, and therefore he* may boldly say *Amen.* Vane. *Lost Sheep.* p. 355.

Answ. 1. Those who have the confidence to say that the *Apostle* speaketh here onely of Exhortations and publick Preaching, are abundantly confuted by what St. *Paul*, and all these Commentatours have discourſed of Prayer, and of Thanksgiving, *v.* 14 15. of the unlearned Person's Incapacity to say *Amen*, *v.* 16. of *Psalmody*. *v.* 26. and from the Suffrage not onely of the forementioned Fathers, but also of *Primasius*, *Haimo*, *Anselm*, *Carthusian*, *Lyra*, *Lombard*, *Aquinas*, and others that the *Apostle* speaks of Divine Offices in General, and in particular of Prayer.

2. Admit that the *Apostle* speaketh of Extemporary, and extraordinary Prayers, yet if the Reasons why he doth condemn them do as much condemn the use of an unknown Tongue in publick ordinary Service, that publick Service must equally deserve to be condemned. Now that this really is so, we have just ground to take for granted, till these our Arguments, applied unto the publick Service of the *Church* of *Rome*, are Answered.

3. To that of Dr. *Vane* I answer, that without doubt the Hearers might be assured that the *Holy Spirit*, who did assist these Persons, would indite for them good Petitions, it being *Blasphemy* to say he would suggest unto them evil ones; since then they prayed with the *Spirit*, as all then knew, they also knew that the matter of their Prayer was good and lawfull, and yet 'tis added, that they could not say *Amen*, for want of understanding the Prayer.

4. The

4. The *Apoſtle* and theſe Commentatours do not ſay the unlearned cannot ſay *Amen*, *becauſe they know not whether the thing ſpoken be good and lawfull, or no*, but becauſe they do not underſtand it, yea in flat contradiction to this vain imagination Saint *Paul* expreſly ſaith, *thou giveſt thanks well*, but yet he blames this good Thankſgiving, becauſe others are not edified by it; though therefore *Romaniſts*, may *boldly ſay Amen* to what they do not underſtand; How they can regularly do it is ſtill the queſtion of St. *Paul*, and it is anſwered in the *Negative* by all the *Commentatours* cited.

Vane, *p.* 358. § 20 *Anſw.* 2. 2. The *R. Doctours* add, " That theſe " *Chriſtian* Meetings were intended for the inſtruction and " Edification of the Auditours, therefore it was fit the Exer- " ciſes thereof ſhould be in a Tongue which they who were to " be inſtructed underſtood, but the publick *Liturgy* of the " *Church* was inſtituted for the Service and Praiſe of God, and " therefore may be without unlawfulneſs in any tongue which " he underſtands to whom it is dedicated. Moreover the end " of the Church Meetings here ſpoken of by the *Apoſtle*, was " to inſtruct the ignorant, and convert the *Infidels*, as may be " gathered from *v.* 23, 24. but the drift of the *Church* in ap- Fiſher *apud* *Dr.* White, *p.* 374, 375. " pointing *Liturgies*, and ſet forms of Common Prayer, and " readings in the *Maſs* was not for the peoples Inſtruction, " but for other Reaſons, as,

1. " That by this publick Service a continual daily Tri- " bute or Homage, of Prayer and Thankſgiving might be " offer'd publickly, and paid unto God by his *Prieſts*.

2. " That *Chriſtians*, by their perſonal aſſiſtence at this " publick Service, might profeſs and exerciſe exteriour Acts " of Religion, common with the whole *Church*, repreſented " by the *Synaxis*, or Eccleſiaſtical meeting of every *Chriſtian* " *Pariſh*.

3. " That every *Chriſtian* by his preſence yielding conſent " unto the publick Prayers, Praiſes, and Thankſgivings of the " *Church*, may participate of the benefits and fruits which the " *Church* doth ordinarily obtain by her *Liturgies*, and publick ob- " lations. Now for theſe ends there is no need that every one " ſhould underſtand word by word the prayers that are ſaid " in the publick *Liturgy*, but it ſufficeth that the *Church* in " general, and in particular, *Paſtours* and *Eccleſiaſtical* Perſons dedicated

" dedicated to the Miniſtries of the *Church*, have particular no-
" tice of all the Prayers that are ſaid.

Rep. 1. The *Trent Council* confeſſeth that the *Maſs containeth Great Inſtruction of the faithfull people*, if then the *Church* did not inſtitute it for the inſtruction of them, ſhe doth not anſwer the purpoſe for which it is adapted; but rather hinders them from receiving that inſtruction by locking it up in an unknown Tongue, if it were not intended for the edification of the *Auditours*, then ought it to be caſt out of the Church, where *all things*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *are to be done for edification*, and we muſt follow after things whereby we may edifie one another, and where the *Fathers* Rule is this, *Nihil ſit in vobis quod non ædificet alterutrum*; Let there be nothing done among you which is not for edification. *Primaſius Anſelm.*

2. If the Leſſons of *Scripture* read in the *Maſs*, are not read, or appointed to be read for the Peoples inſtruction, 'tis plain they are not read or appointed for their proper uſe; for *all Scripture*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *is profitable for Inſtruction*, and *whatſoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning*. 'Tis plain, that then they do not follow the Example, nor approve the Wiſedom of that God who appointed them to be read for this very end unto the People, that *they might hear and learn to doe all the words of that Law*. Then 3. By the Rules and Sayings of the *Holy Fathers*, and St. *Paul*, ſeeing God ſpeaketh in the *Scriptures* read in the *Maſs*, he muſt ſpeak to himſelf, and not to men, for he that ſpeaks to Men, ſpeaks, ſaith St. *Paul*, in a known Language, and ſpeaketh to *Edification*, *Conſolation* and *Inſtruction*, 1 Cor. 14. 3, 4. He muſt ſpeak into the Air. He muſt be a *Barbarian* to his People. He muſt ſpeak ſo as not to inſtruct others all the year long, and in every publick *Aſſembly*, which St. *Paul* ſaith He would never doe, *v.* 19. 2 Tim. 3. 6. Rom. 15. 4.

As for the Inſtances of Prayers and Praiſes, theſe Anſwers do alſo plainly contradict St. *Paul*, for he, enquiring what is to be done, and conſequently what ought to be intended to be done in publick Prayers and Praiſes, anſwers thus to that Enquiry, *I will pray with the Spirit, I will pray with my underſtanding alſo*, that is, as I have proved already, *I will ſo pray*, and praiſe in publick as to be underſtood in both, of thoſe that hear me, and that their minds may be inſtructed touching the matter

matter of my prayer; you may do ſo if you pleaſe, ſay the *R. Doctours* but our *Church intendeth no ſuch matter* in her publick Prayers and Praiſes.

Again, He that underſtands not what you ſay when you pray, or bleſs, cannot ſay *Amen* to your giving of Thanks, ſaith the *Apoſtle*, becauſe he underſtands not what you ſay who do officiate. What is that to the purpoſe, ſaith the *Romaniſt*, the Prayers and Praiſes of the *Church* were not intended for the Knowledge of the People, or *for their Inſtruction*, but onely to be a *continual Tribute paid to God by his Prieſts*, if the people yield their bodily preſence, and ſome exteriour Worſhip, 'tis no matter for their ſaying *Amen*, much leſs for their ſaying it underſtandingly.

Your Action is blame-worthy, though as to the matter *you Give thanks well*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *becauſe another is not edified*, or inſtructed by what you ſay. We never intended that he ſhould be inſtructed by our Prayers or Praiſes ſay the *Romaniſts*.

3. Either the People are bound to thank God in publick, and to pray in publick, or they are not, if they are, then muſt they know what they ask in Prayer, and thank God for, or elſe they cannot offer to him *rational Service*, they cannot *ſing praiſes with underſtanding*, as the *Pſalmiſt*, and all the *Ancient Commentatours* on him ſay they ſhould, they cannot be *the bleſſed people that underſtand the joyfull ſound*, if they are not bound to pray, or to thank God in publick, or to concur with him who doth officiate in publick, wherefore then do they meet in publick? *to exerciſe exteriour acts of Religion*, ſay the *R. Doctours*, *and to conſent unto the publick Prayers and Praiſes by their preſence.* But I deſire to know of them whether any man can join in Prayer or Praiſes, by exerciſing any other act of outward worſhip, which is neither any act of Prayer or Praiſe; or what need is there either of Prayer or Praiſes, in order to the performance of thoſe Acts of Worſhip which may be done as well without the ſpeaking of one word? and if by being preſent they yield conſent to what they do not underſtand, Saint *Paul*, and all the *Fathers* who have writ upon that place muſt be exceedingly miſtaken, when for this very reaſon they aſſert that the unlearned cannot ſay *Amen* to the Thankſgiving of him who doth officiate in an unknown Tongue, becauſe *he*

knows

knows not what he ſaith, and ſo cannot conſent unto his Prayer or benediction.

And laſtly, The *Apoſtle* aud the *Antient Fathers* never argue thus; theſe Hymns, Prayers, Praiſes, Prophecyings, were intended *for Inſtruction*, and therefore you doe ill, becauſe you do not anſwer the intention of them, but they expreſly do condemn the practice of uſing ſuch a Tongue in the performance of them as was not underſtood, becauſe not being underſtood, it could not tend unto Edification or inſtruction, they therefore more undoubtedly condemn the *Maſs*, which *never was intended for theſe ends*, if theſe great *Doctours* may be credited, ſince this Aſſertion plainly contradicts, and overthrows the whole foundation of the *Apoſtle*'s Argument. And I deſire any *R. Doctour* to produce one ſingle *Authour* within a thouſand years of *Chriſt*, who ever did aſſert, *That the Church Liturgies were not intended for the Inſtruction or the Edification of the People.* It is an evidence their Cauſe is very bad, who are conſtrained to advance ſuch ſtrange *Paradoxes* to defend it.

§ 21. " The Languages then ſpoken were utterly un- Diſparity 3.
" known many times to any man there preſent, even to the
" Speaker himſelf, but the *Lyturgie* of the *Church* is in a Lan-
" guage known to very many, as being in *Latin* which is Fiſher, *ibid.*
" known to all *Scholars*, to moſt Gentlemen, and Youth bred *p.* 372.
" in Grammar Schools, and in ſome Countries to moſt *Me-* Vane, *ubi ſu-*
" *chanicks*, it cannot therefore abſolutely be ſaid to be an *pra.*
" unknown Tongue.

Anſw. To this ſuppoſed diſparity I anſwer,

1. That it is very frivolous in reference to all thoſe Prayers which are uttered by the *Maſs Prieſt*, in ſo low a voice that none can hear him, which, ſaith the Authour of *Popery Miſrepreſented*, is the greateſt part of the *Maſs*, for as to all theſe portions of the *Lyturgie*, it is apparently all one to ſpeak to them in a voice that none can know, and in a voice that none can hear. *p.* 61.

2. If we may credit their own *Authours*, there was no great diſparity in former Ages, either as to *Prieſt* or People, it be-

ing * confeſſed by them, that many *Maſs Prieſts* underſtood not *Latin*, nor the *things they prayed*; yea, of the *Popes* of *Rome* † *Alphonſus à Caſtro* ſaith, *many were ſo illiterate that they underſtood not Grammar*, and what then was to be expected from the *Mechanicks*, or the Common People? And however matters may be now in ſome other Countreys, we know in our Dominions that in many *Pariſh Churches* there is ſcarce one perſon who underſtands one Sentence of the *Latin Tongue*. In all ſuch *Churches* therefore there is no diſparity, as to the Hearers, betwixt the Tongue unknown, forbidden by St. *Paul*, and the *Latin Service* uſed by the *R. Prieſts*. For what is it to ſuch perſons, whether the *Prieſt* ſpeaks by *Enthuſiaſme*, or by Diſcipline, what he perceives not, or whether the *Prieſt* underſtand himſelf or not, his ignorance of what is ſaid or read being alike in both theſe Caſes.

* *De literis verò & doctrina quid loqui attinet, cùm Omnes ferè Preſbyteros ſine aliquo captu aut rerum aut vocabulorum morosè ſyllabarúmque vix legere videamus? quem ergò fructum, quam exauditionem ex ſuis orationibus ſive ſibi ſive aliis impetrabunt quibus barbarum eſt quod orant.* Nicol. de Clamangis *de Corrupto Eccl. Statu, cap.* 16.

Multo jam tempore indoluit paternitas tua tantam in Eccleſia Dei invaleſcere inſcitiam, atque tam craſſam eorum qui ſancto miniſtrant Altari & divinas ex Officio perſonant laudes ignorantiam, ut Rari admodum inveniantur qui exactè & integrè quæ legunt aut canunt intelligunt, qui eorum quæ ore expromunt ſenſum capiant aut rectam teneant, percipiántve ſententiam. Cliſtov. *Præfat. Elucid. Eccleſ.*

Non ſolùm qui ſupplent locum Idiotæ plerùmque non intelligunt quid oretur, verùm etiam ſæpenumero nec ipſi Presbyteri, aut Diaconi, qui orant aut legunt. Ambroſ. *Compl. apud Sixt. Senenſ. l. 6. Annot.* 263.

† *Conſtet plures Papas adeò illiteratos eſſe, ut Grammaticam penitùs ignorent. Adv. Hæreſ. l.* 1. *c.* 4. *Edit.* Pariſ. 1534.

3. The Plea for *Latin Service* on the account of this diſparity is flatly oppoſite to the *Apoſtles* words, and to the Comments of the *Fathers* on them, for they diſtinguiſh the Congregation into *Idiots*, that is, the *Layman*, the *Plebeian*, the unlearned and unskilfull, the man that onely underſtands his Mother Tongue, and others that are learned, and blame thoſe Prayers and Praiſes which are uttered in a Tongue which the unlearned underſtand not, and therefore cannot ſay *Amen* to; this conſent to, this confirmation of the Prayers and Praiſes uſed in publick they are concerned to give, ſay the *Fathers* on the place, and *they receive no ſmall damage if they cannot doe it*, ſaith St. *Chryſoſtome*, and that they cannot doe it where they

do

do not underſtand the meaning of the words, both the *Apoſtle* and the *Fathers* do with one voice aſſert.

4. Is God an Accepter of Perſons? Would he have the *learned* edified by the *Churches Service*, who have leaſt need of thoſe helps, and the unlearned want this benefit? If not, muſt it not be acknowledged that the *Apoſtle*'s reaſon, dictated by the Spirit of God, concerns them both? If profit of the Hearers be to be regarded in theſe Services, muſt not the profit of more Hearers be more to be regarded? If St *Paul* here prefer what is done to the profit of many, and is moſt beneficial, as the *Fathers* generally teach, muſt he not prefer the celebration of the publick Service in the *Mother Tongue*, by which all may be benefited, before the celebration of it in the *Latin* Tongue by which ſo many do receive no benefit? Put Caſe that many Perſons in a mixed Congregation underſtood *Greek*, or *French*, would it be therefore lawfull ordinarily to preach in either of thoſe Tongues to ſuch a Congregation? If not how comes it to be lawfull to reade the *Scriptures* in *Latin* to ſuch Congregations?

To proceed then to their Second Plea, that they doe nothing in contradiction to the *Apoſtle*'s meaning in celebration of their Service in the *Latin Tongue*. This they plead,

§ 22. 1. " Becauſe the Congregation, ſay they, is edified Vane *p.* 356.
" as the *Apoſtle* appoints it ſhould be, by the things done, and
" ſaid in the *Church*, while the people have but a general un-
" derſtanding of the ſeveral paſſages thereof.

Anſw. Is this General Underſtanding a Knowledge of the meaning of the words ſpoken in reading, ſinging, praying, or is it not? If it be, then muſt illiterate perſons know the meaning of the words uttered in *Latin* by the *Maſs Prieſt*, as they would doe, had they been ſpoken in their *Mother Tongue*, which they for ſhame will not aſſert; if it be not, it cannot be the Knowledge here required by the *Apoſtle*. For he requires ſpeaking *with Revelation* in the Church, *ſpeaking words eaſie to be underſtood*, *v.* 9. with a voice whoſe power or meaning is known unto the Hearer, *v.* 11. So that he knoweth what the Prieſt who bleſſeth ſaith, *v.* 16. A voice that may inſtruct others, *v.* 19. and where this voice is wanting, he ſaith

the Speaker cannot profit, *v.* 9. that he will be a *Barbarian*, and one that *ſpeaketh to the air*, that his mind will be *unfruitfull* unto others, and he will not edifie them; as if he had deſigned the Confutation of theſe *Romiſh Gloſſes*. The ſayings of the *Ancient Fathers* alſo are expreſs for a particular knowledge of the meaning of the words read unto the People, and of the Prayers and Praiſes in which they do join, or to which their aſſent is to be given, that is, according to their deſcant, the Prayers and Praiſes uſed in the Aſſemblies where they are.

Fiſher, *ibid.* *p.* 372. Vane, *p.*

§ 23. *Plea* 2. "Becauſe, ſay they, means are applied to "the ignorant multitude, by which they are, or may be, if "they uſe diligence therein, made to underſtand the publick "Prayers of the *Church*; namely, Sermons, Exhortations, Ca"techiſms, private Inſtructions, Manuals, and Primars in vul"gar Languages, where the Prayers uſed in the Church are "found, ſo that the ordinary and common paſſages of the *pub"lick Service* may be, and are eaſily underſtood, even by Wo"men and Children, and they may underſtandingly ſay *Amen*; "therefore as the *Apoſtle* did allow of an unknown Tongue in "the Exerciſes of the *Corinthians*, provided there were ſome "to interpret it, ſo the *Service* in *Latin* is very allowable "even under this Notion, while there are the aforeſaid means "uſed for the Interpretation thereof. The *Authour* of a *Papiſt Miſrepreſented and Repreſented*, doth not bluſh to ſay, *they have directions in Engliſh Prayer Books ſet forth in great variety, for the help of the Ignorant, by which they are taught the meaning of every part, and Ceremony of the Maſs, and how to apply their Devotions accordingly.*

Chap. 24.

Anſw. Quid verba audio, cum facta videam? To what end do you tell us that ſuch and ſuch things might by the due attention of the ignorant be done, when 'tis notoriouſly known that the people ſtill continue ignorant, and whilſt they doe ſo, you tranſgreſs the Laws of the *Apoſtle*, by praying in a Tongue they underſtand not? Was it not notorious here in *England* before the Reformation, that ſcarce two in a *Pariſh* underſtood the Service? Let us have Service in a vulgar Tongue, untill you find the *Latin* Service generally underſtood, and we will ceaſe to charge you with contradicting the *Apoſtle*.

2. Either

2. Either the diligence required of the Common People imports the learning of the *Latin Tongue*, and then they may alſo preach in *Latin*, and ſay the Common People may underſtand them, if they uſe diligence therein, or it importeth onely ſuch induſtry as may be uſed by thoſe who can onely reade theſe *Engliſh* Prayer Books which give ſuch exact directions, if we may believe them, to underſtand the meaning of every part and Ceremony in the *Maſs*. Now could they by their induſtry attain unto this knowledge, what muſt thoſe many thouſands, yea Myriads, doe, that know not letters? What will their *Manuals* and *Primras* avail them towards the underſtanding of their Bulky *Miſſal?* But that all this is but a blind and vain pretence, is evident from theſe conſiderations, that the Tranſlation of the *Maſs* into vulgar Tongues is carefully prohibited, and judged of * very evil Conſequence, which could not be if it were common for the People to have ſuch *Manuals* and *Primras*, as contained all the Prayers, Hymns and Leſſons of the *Maſs*, and taught them the meaning of every part and ceremony of it. 2. That they have no ſuch *Manuals* or *Primars* printed in the vulgar Tongue, as will inſtruct them in the meaning of every Leſſon Prayer and Hymn uſed in their *Maſs* on every day throughout the year, that no illiterate *Papiſts*, or very few amongſt us can be produced who by peruſing of any of their Books now extant in the vulgar Tongue, can underſtand, or know the meaning of the *Maſs Prieſt* in every Leſſon that he reads, or prayer he makes in a loud voice, that No ſuch Bookes are uſually brought into their Aſſemblies in which the *Maſs* there uſed is ſo interpreted, that they may reade in their own language what he reads in *Latin*, and join with him as certainly as if he ſpake in their own *Mother Tongue*. No *Engliſh Bibles* in which the *Pſalms* and *Leſſons*, the *Collects* and *Epiſtles* may be read with him in that language which they underſtand. Nor,

* As the ſeed-plot of Diſobedience, Raſhneſs, Sedition, Schiſm, and many other evils. *Bull. Alex. 7. Mi.*

3. Can we reaſonably expect that they ſhould be concerned either privately to inſtruct them in, or be importunate with them to uſe this diligence ſo requiſite to the underſtanding of their *Churches* Service, or reprove them for not doing it when we conſider what they have already taught us, that the *publick Service never was intended for the Edification or Inſtruction of the People, that the words do not belong to them, that 'tis not the buſineſs of the*

Popery Misrepresented and Repres. p. 59, 60, 61, 62.

the Congregation present to employ their Ears in attending to the words, nay, that they are instructed Not to understand them, that it is a thing undenyable, that to say Prayers well, and devoutly, 'tis not necessary to have attention on the words. Can it be thought that they who generally assert these things, should be sollicitous to teach the people, or they who reade them should be concern'd to learn the sense and meaning of the words used in their *publick Service?*

That this has not been done among them they are even forced to acknowledg; *Faber* complains, that *The greatest part of Men in his time did not pray with the mind, but in a Tongue they understood not, and by which they were not able in the least to edifie others. They pray in a Tongue,* saith *Mercer, our People do not understand; So as they cannot be understood,* saith *Cajetan. They are kept Strangers from all Communion in the prayers and Divine Lessons,* saith *Cassander. The Priest sounds forth words not understood,* saith *Erasmus.* They do their duty when they say their Prayers, *though they do not understand,* saith * *Tolet,* and were it otherwise, very few would do their duty, when so very few do at all understand what they say; and could it be otherwise in *France* when the Council of *Tholouse* made this Decree † *We forbid to give to the lay people permission to have the books of the Old and the New Testament, except that probably some for devotions sake desire to have the Psaltary, or the Breviary for Divine Service, or the Blessed Virgins Prayer Book, neither are they to have these Books in the vulgar Tongue.*

Maxima pars hominum cùm nunc orat, rescio si Spiritu, tamen mente non orat, nam in lingua orat quam non intelligit;—— qui sic, ut passim solent, orant, parùm se oratione adificant, & alios nequaquam sua oratione adificare valent. Comin 1 Cor. 14. F. 122. B.

Optandum videtur ut juxta Apostolicum Mandatum & priscum Ecclesiæ morem in publicis Ecclesiæ precibus, Concionibus & Lectionibus quæ populi causa suscipiuntur, populi quoque ratio aliqua habeatur, neque in totum & perpetuo ab omni communione precum & lectionum divinarum fidelium vulgus arceatur. Cass. *de Off. pii viri, p.* 865. *Vide Reliquos infrà. cap. ult.*

* *Instruct. Sacerd. l.* 2. *c.* 13. 5, & 6.

† *Prohibemus etiam ne libros veteris Testamenti aut novi Laici permittuntur habere, nisi fortè Psalterium, vel Breviarium pro divinis Officiis, aut horas B. Mariæ aliquis ex devotione habere velit, sed ne præmissos libros habeant in vulgari translatione arctissimè inhibemus. Concil. Tolos. Can.* 14. *A. D.* 1228.

4. This Plea is grounded upon this supposition, that it is meet and needfull that unlearned persons should be taught the sense of the publick Service by *Catechisms, Manuals,* and *private Instruction,* and if so, is it not far more reasonable that the Service should be spoken in a *Vulgar Tongue,* seeing by this all persons present would certainly, and immediately be taught the meaning of the words, whereas these other means

are

are ſuch as will not certainly be uſed, or if uſed, will not certainly produce the ſame effect, and in moſt never will produce it; if they in any do produce it, this cannot be done immediately, but by long ſtudy and application of mind, ſo that theſe Learners muſt be a long time ignorant of the ſenſe of the *Church Service*, and that muſt be left to the induſtry and ingenuity of people, and the inſtruction of the *Prieſt* which by the other Method might be certainly obtained.

§ 24. *Plea.* Laſtly, Some of them do ingeniouſly confeſs, that St. *Paul* hath here taught, that as well Prayers as Sermons ſhould be celebrated in a Tongue commonly known in the Aſſemblies of the faithfull that the *Church* may be edified, but then when this Objection ſtares them in the face, that therefore the *Church men* do offend who obey not St. *Paul*, but murmur Prayers and Pſalms, neither underſtood by themſelves, nor others. They anſwer by ſaying, that * the *Church* offends not by departing from this Inſtitution of St. *Paul*, it *being free for the Church to infringe this Inſtitution of Saint* Paul, *or even of God himſelf.*

* *Non peccat Eccleſia diſcedens ab hoc Pauli inſtituto quum Eccleſiæ fuerit liberum hanc Pauli ſive etiam Dei Inſtitutionem infringere, quæ olim ad utilitatem Eccleſiæ fecerit, noſtro autem tempore nihil vel ſaltem parum ædificationis habeat.* Hoffmeiſt. *in* 1 Cor. 14. *p.* 272.

Repl. This is indeed a full and Catholick Anſwer to this and to all other Objections that can be urged from *Scripture* againſt the Errours and Superſtitions of the *Roman Church*, viz. *That She hath Power to Infringe the Conſtitutions even of God himſelf*, onely it is ſo like exalting the *Church above all that is called God*, and not onely breaking the Commandments of God, but alſo *teaching men to doe ſo*, that methinks men who would not be eſteemed *Antichriſtian*, ſhould not aſſert ſuch things?

2. Let us conſider what are thoſe mighty Reaſons which conſtrain this Church thus to infringe God's Inſtitution: *Hoffmeiſterus* ſaith, She may doe it, *becauſe this Inſtitution anciently tended to the benefit of the Church, but now it hath little of Edification*, which indeed is very true, as they have ordered matters by reading much of their Service in a voice ſo low, that

that the people cannot hear, and other parts of it in ſuch confuſed and broken words, ſay *Cajetan*, *Albertus Pius*, and *Eraſmus*, as that the people cannot underſtand them, this Apology therefore is too true, but not much for their credit, for in effect 'tis this, we ſerve God ſo in publick, that in what language ſoever we ſhould ſpeak, the people could not underſtand us, and therefore 'tis no matter in what Tongue we celebrate.

Repl. 2. At this rate of anſwering farewell all *Church Government* and *Diſcipline*, *v. g.* when in the ſame Chapter he ſaith, *Let all things be done decently, and in order*, and elſewhere, *Let there be no diviſions among you*, All theſe things, may the *Phanatick* ſay, muſt be referred to the condition of thoſe times, which is far different from the condition of the *Church* in our days. But wherein doth this Great diſparity conſiſt? *Thomas Aquinas* gives it thus, *Perhaps in the Primitive Church the Benedictions were in the vulgar Tongue, that they might be underſtood by the People, and that they might the more conform themſelves unto them, but ſince the Faithfull have been inſtructed, and know the things they hear in the common Office, the Bleſſings are performed in Latin.* *Lyra* doth in like manner ſay, *that in the Primitive Church the Bleſſings and all other publick things were done in the vulgar Tongue; but ſince the Church is multiplied, and the people have accuſtomed themſelves to conform to the Miniſters of the Church, it ſuffices that the Clerk ſay* Amen.

In locum lect. 3. *p.* 185.

In 1 Cor. 14.

Repl. Theſe Aſſertions are confeſſedly falſe, as hath been proved already: For never were the people more ignorant than they were in the Age of *Thomas*, and the two following Ages; nor is it to be wondred that they ſhould know ſo little of thoſe Prayers which many of the *R. Prieſts* themſelves underſtood not, as will be farther evident from theſe Confeſſions: *Not onely they who ſupply the place of the ignorant underſtand not for the moſt part that which is ſaid in the prayer, but even the Prieſts themſelves, or the Deacons that pray, or reade, very often underſtand it not.* So *Ambroſius de Compſa.*

Apud Sixtum Senenſ. *l.* 6. *Anot.* 263.

Many

Many, ſaith *Biel*, are admitted to officiate, which neither underſtand the things which they pray or ſpeak. *Many Clerks and Religious Perſons*, ſaith *Joſeph Angles*, *pray in Greek or Latin, who neither do, nor can underſtand the ſenſe of the words they utter.* Nor was it to be expected that it ſhould be otherwiſe in *England*, when, as *Matthew Paris* teſtifies, *Clerks and Men in Orders were ſo illiterate, that he was a mirrour among his fellows who had learned Latin.*

In Can. Miſſ. Lect. 62. F. 171. B.

In 4. Sent. ap. ad pœnit d. attent. 95. diff. 2.

Chron. in Gulielm. Conq. p. 7.

L CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The CONTENTS.

That the Doctrine of the Fathers of the fourth and fifth Centuries concerning the Repugnance of Publick Service, performed in a Tongue not underſtood by the People, to the fourteenth Chapter of St. Paul's *firſt Epiſtle to the* Corinthians, *continued to be aſſerted in the following Ages, is proved from Century the 6th to the 9th, by the Novel of* Juſtinian, *and the Nomocanon of* Photius § 1. *Century* 9. *from the Council of* Aquiſgrana. *The Grant made to the Sclavonians by Pope* Nicholas *I. and Pope* John *VIII. and from the Teſtimony of* Amalarius, § 2. *Moreover, the ſame is largely proved from the Commentaries of* Primaſius, Sedulius, Haymo *or* Remigius, Anſelm, Hugo de S. Victore, *the ordinary Gloſs*, Lyra, Dionyſius Carthuſianus, Faber Stabulenſis, Vatablus, Iſidore Brixianus, *and* Valla.

WHat hath been thus diſcourſed, gives us a full aſſurance that all the *H. Fathers* living in the fourth and the fifth Centuries were plainly of the opinion of the *Proteſtants*, that by the ſuffrage of the *holy Scriptures*, the Leſſons, Prayers and Praiſes uſed in the publick Service of the *Church*, were to be read unto the People in a Tongue underſtood by them; and that they ſtill continued of the ſame judgment in the following *Centuries* will be exceeding evident from their plain teſtimonies and declarations in reference to this affair.

Novel 123. Ed. Holoand.

Cent. 6. § 1. For (1.) In the ſixth Century, The Conſtitution of *Juſtinian* is very plain to this effect. [a] *We command that all Biſhops and Prieſts likewiſe, celebrate the holy Oblation, and the*

[a] *Jubemus quod omnes Epiſcopi, pariter & Presbyteri, non tacito modo, ſed clarâ voce, quæ à populo exaudiatur, ſacram oblationem & preces in ſancto Baptiſmate adhibitas celebrent, quo majore exinde devotione in depromendis Domini Dei laudibus audientium animi efferantur; ita enim & D. Apoſtolus docet, dicens in* 1 *ad* Cor. *Epiſt.*

Epiſt. Enimvero ſi ſolummodo benedicas ſpiritu, quomodo is qui privati locum implet dicit ad gratiarum actionem tuam Deo ipſum Amen, quandoquidem quid dicas non videt? tu quidem pulchrè gratias agis, alter autem non edificatur. Et rurſum in Epiſtola ad Romanos *ſic inquit, Corde creditur ad juſticiam, ore autem fit confeſſio ad ſalutem. His igitur de cauſis convenit ut inter cæteras præces, & ea quæ in ſancta oblatione dicuntur, clarâ voce à religioſiſſimis Epiſcopis & Presbyteris Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto Deo noſtro cum Patre & Spiritu Sancto proferantur. Scituris religioſiſſimis Sacerdotibus, quòd ſi quid horum neglexerint, & in horrendo judicio magni Dei & Servatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti de his rationem reddent, neque nos hæc cognoſcentes conquieſcemus relinquemúsq; inulta. Apud* Caſſandr. *Lyturg. p.* 63.

Prayers uſed in holy Baptiſm, not ſilently, but with a clear voice, which may be underſtood by the faithfull people, that ſo the minds of the Hearers may be raiſed with greater devotion to ſet forth the praiſes of the Lord God; for ſo the holy Apoſtle teacheth ſaying, 1 Cor. 14. *For if thou onely bleſſeſt in the Spirit, how ſhall he who occupieth the place of the Idiot ſay* Amen *to God at thy giving of thanks, ſince he diſcerns not what thou ſayeſt? thou indeed giveſt thanks well, but the other is not edified. And again in his Epiſtle to the* Romans *he ſpeaks thus, With the heart it is believed to righteouſneſs, and with the mouth confeſſion is made unto Salvation; for theſe cauſes it is convenient that, amongſt other Prayers, thoſe alſo which are ſaid in the holy Oblation ſhould be utter'd with a clear voice, by the moſt religious Biſhops and Presbyters to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the Father and the holy Spirit. And let our moſt religious Prieſts know, that if they neglect any of theſe things, they ſhall both render an account of them in the tremendous judgment of our great God and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and that we alſo, knowing theſe things, ſhall not reſt, and leave them unpuniſhed.* Where note that the *Marginal Gloſs* on the *Decretals* publiſhed *A. D.* 1553. *l.* 1. *Tit.* 31. *c.* 14. deſcanting on theſe words, *qui ſecundum diverſitates rituum & linguarum divina illis officia celebrent,* ſaith thus, *adde novellam* 123. *de Eccleſiaſticis diverſis Capitalis c.* 5. § *ad hæc, ubi ex D.* Pauli *doctrina,* 1 Cor. 14. *juſſit* Juſtinianus *omnes Epiſcopos & Presbyteros ſacras preces & myſteria clarâ & vernaculâ voce peragere*: that is, add to this the 123. *Novel of* Juſtinian *where, from the doctrine of St.* Paul, 1 Cor. 14. *he commands all Biſhops and Presbyters to celebrate the holy Prayers and Myſteries in a clear Voice, and in their Mother Tongue.* Note ſecondly, That *Juſtinian* was not onely *Emperour* of *Greece*, but alſo of the *Weſt*, and therefore, as he ſaith in another of his Laws: [b] *We decree this ſhall obtain not onely in old* Rome, *and this our Royal City, but alſo throughout the Chriſtian world,*

[b] Διὰ πάντων τυλάττεσθαι ὑπολάβωμεν. Nov. 37.

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[b] Διὰ πάντων τυλάττεσθαι νόμων. Nov. 37.

world, ſo have we reaſon to believe that this Law was to be of equal latitude, eſpecially ſeeing the words run thus, κελεύομεν πάντας ἐπισκόπους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, *we command all our Biſhops and Prieſts*, without diſtinction of the *Occidental Biſhops* from the reſt. And whereas ſome of the R. Doctours do endeavour to elude this Teſtimony, by ſaying it is not to be found in the ancient Copies of the *Novels*. To this I anſwer, 1. That it is found in *Photius* his *Nomo Canon*, and cited by him among the publick and common Rules of the *Univerſal Church* concerning *Eccleſiaſtical* matters, and is there ſumm'd up briefly thus, [c] *The Novel ſaith that the Prayer of the H. Communion, and of H. Baptiſm, ought to be heard by the People.* And [d] *Balſamon*, in his notes upon it, ſaith that it is to be found *Cap.* 21. *Tit.* 1 *L.* 3. Βασιλικῶν· 'tis alſo extant in the Latin Edition of *Holoander*; all which things do unqueſtionably prove that it is genuine. Let it be then conſidered, that neither in that, or in the Ages following, to the time of *Photius*, did any *Biſhop*, either of *Rome*, *Conſtantinople*, or any other place, reſiſt, oppoſe, or contradict this *Edict*; and then it muſt be granted, that it is a full evidence, both that the practice and the Faith of Chriſtians of thoſe times, was conſonant unto theſe ſayings of the *Emperour*, and that they all believed the preſent practice of the *Church* of *Rome*, in ſaying ſo much of the *Canon* of the *Maſs in a low voice*, and in a language which cannot be underſtood by the Faithfull, is repugnant to the doctrine of St. *Paul*. Laſtly, let it be noted, that this Decree ſuppoſes that it was already granted on all hands, that 'twas convenient that all other Prayers ſhould be uttered with a clear voice, and that by virtue of the words of the *Apoſtle* cited in this *Novel*; witneſs thoſe words, *for theſe cauſes it is convenient that among other Prayers, thoſe Alſo of the Holy Oblation ſhould be uttered with a clear voice*, whence it is evident that this *Edict* condemns the whole practice of the *R. Church*, in praying with a Tongue unknown.

Tit. 3. *Can.* 1.

[c] Λέγει τὴν εὐχὴν τῆς ἁγίας κοινωνίας καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος ὀφείλειν ἐξακούεσθαι τῷ λαῷ.

[d] Ἔστι καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ ἀ πὶτ' τοῦ γ' βιβλίου τῶν βασιλικῶν, ὅπως ἔχῃ πρὸς τούτοις κελεύομεν πάντας ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους μὴ κατὰ τὸ σεσιωπημένον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ φωνῆς τῷ πιστοτάτῳ λαῷ ἐξακουομένην, καὶ τὴν θείαν προσκομιδὴν, καὶ τὸ ὅτι τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι προσοφείλει ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ καταυτοῦθεν τὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων ψυχὰς εἰς πλείονα καλάνυξιν, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην θεὸν λανίσασαν δοξολογίαν. Schol. *ibid.*

§. 2. In

§ 2. In the 9th Century a Council held at *Aquiſgrana* under *Ludovicus Pius*, *A. D.* 816. declares, that [e] *the mind of thoſe who ſing in the Church to the Lord, ought to agree with their voice, that the ſaying of the Apoſtle might be fulfilled, I will ſing with the Spirit, I will ſing with underſtanding alſo.* Moreover this, ſay they, muſt be done becauſe the Angels are preſent when we are ſpecially employed in Divine Service, that is, *when entring into the Church, we either give attention to the Sacred Leſſons, or are imployed in Pſalmody, or Prayer, or celebrate the ſolemnities of Maſs*; and in the following *Canon*, [f] *Let ſuch*, ſay they, *be conſtituted Readers and Singers in the Church, who by the ſweetneſs of their reading, and Melody, may both allure the learned, and inſtruct the unlearned, and in their reading and ſinging, may more regard the edification of the people, than vain and popular ſoothing, and they who cannot dexterouſly perform theſe things, let them firſt be inſtructed of their Maſters to perform them, and being inſtructed, ſo fulfill them, as to edifie the Hearers.* Note that this Council is ſtiled a General and Holy Aſſembly. Cent. 9.

[e] *Pſallentium in Eccleſia Domino mens concordare debet cum voce, ut impleatur illud Apoſtoli, pſallam ſpiritu, pſallam & mente.* c. 132.

[f] *Tales ad legendum, cantandum & pſallendum in Eccleſia conſtituantur, qui ſuavitate melodiæ & lectionis & doctos demulceant, & minus doctos erudiant; pluſque velint in lectione vel cantu populi ædificationem, quam popularem vaniſſimam adulationem.* C. 133. *Concil. To.* 7. p. 1398.

About the Year 860. *Ænæas Sylvius*, who afterward was *Pope*, relateth in his *Hiſtory of Bohemia*, that [g] *Cyril, Biſhop of* Moravia, *being at* Rome, *with Pope* Nicholas *the* 1ſt. *deſired of him that he might be ſuffered to ſay Divine Service to thoſe of that Nation whom he had converted and baptiſed, in the* Sclavonian *Tongue*; and that *when the matter was diſputed in the ſacred Synod, and contradicted by not a few, a voice was heard, as it were ſent from Heaven, let every Spirit praiſe the Lord, and every tongue confeſs unto him, upon which* Cyril *was granted his requeſt.*

[g] *Ferunt Cyrillum (Moravorum præſulem) dum Romæ ageret, ſupplicaſſe ut Sclavorum linguâ ejus Gentis hominibus, quos baptizaverat, rem divinam agens, uti poſſet; de qua re, dum in ſacro Senatu diſputaretur, eſſentq; non pauci contradictores, auditam vocem tanquam de cœlo in hæc verba miſſam, Omnis Spiritus laudet Dominum, & omnis lingua confiteatur ei, indéque hoc Cyrillo indultum.* Ænæas Sylvius, *Hiſt. Bohem. c.* 13.

Methodius was Companion to *Cyril* in this work, and he was ſent by *Sphento Pulcher*, *Prince* of that Countrey, to *John* the *Concil. To.* 7. *part* 1. *Ep.* 247. *p.* 91.

the 8th. *who ſent him back with power to celebrate Maſs, and Divine Service in the* Sclavonian *Tongue*; for thus *John* in his Letter to *Sphento Pulcher* writes. *We have juſt cauſe to commend the* Sclavonian *Characters invented by a certain Philoſopher called* Conſtantine, *whereby the Praiſes of God are publiſhed abroad, and we command that in that ſame language be recited the Sermons, and Works of our Lord and Saviour* [h] *for we are warned by divine Authority to praiſe the Lord*, not onely in three Languages, but in all, *which Authority enjoins us this commandment, when it ſaith, All Nations praiſe the Lord, and all people bleſs his name. And the Apoſtles, being filled with the Holy Ghoſt, ſpake forth in all languages the wonderfull things of God. Thence alſo it is, that St.* Paul, *that heavenly Trumpet, publiſheth this warning. Let every Tongue confeſs that our Lord Jeſus is the Chriſt, to the Glory of God the Father. Touching which languages he alſo inſtructeth us fully and plainly in the* 14th. *Chapter of the* 1ſt. *Epiſtle to the* Corinthians, *how we are to edifie the Church in ſpeaking ſeveral languages, and certainly it doth no way prejudice the Faith or Doctrine to ſing Maſſes in the* Sclavonian *Tongue, or to reade the Holy Goſpels, or Divine Leſſons of the old and new Teſtament well tranſlated and interpreted, or to ſay, or ſing all the other Offices, becauſe he who made the three principal languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, is the ſame who hath alſo created all other languages for his praiſe and glory. However we appoint that in all Churches under your inſpection, for the greater honour, the Goſpel be read in Latin, and becauſe 'tis tranſlated into Sclavonian, that it be read to the People who underſtand not Latin, as it is practiſed in ſome Churches.*

[h] *Neque enim tribus tantùm, ſed omnibus linguis laudare Dominum auctoritate Sacrâ monemur, quæ præcipit dicens,* Laudate Dominum omnes Gentes, & Collaudate eum omnes populi. *Et Apoſtoli repleti Spiritu Sancto loquuti ſunt omnibus linguis magnalia Dei. Hinc & Paulus cœleſtis quoque tuba inſonat monens, omnis lingua confiteatur, quia Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus in Gloria eſt Dei Patris. De quibus etiam linguis in prima ad Corinthios Epiſtola ſatis & manifeſtè nos admonet, quatenus linguis loquentes Eccleſiam Dei ædificemus, nec ſane fidei vel doctrinæ aliquid obſtat ſive miſſas in eadem Sclavonica lingua canere, ſive S. Evangelium vel lectiones divinas N. & V. Teſtamenti benè tranſlatas & interpretatas legere, quoniam qui fecit tres linguas principales, Hebræam ſcil. Græcam & Latinam, ipſe creavit & alias omnes ad laudem & Gloriam ſuam.* Joh. 8. Ep. 247. *Concil. To.* 9. F. 177.

The Prayer of the Prieſt, ſaith *Amalarius Fortunatus* [i], *is called both by the name of Prayer and Benediction; of Benediction the Apoſtle ſaith, if thou bleſs with the Spirit, how ſhall he who ſupplieth the place of the Idiot ſay*

[i] *Utroque nomine, id eſt benedictionis & orationis, vocatur oratio Sacerdotis; de benedictione dicit Apoſtolus, ſi benedixeris ſpiritu, qui ſupplet locum Idiotæ quomodo dicit Amen*

ſay Amen to thy benediction, ſeeing he knows not what thou ſayeſt. This Benediction Ambroſe *calleth Prayer, ſaying, the unskilfull hearing what he doth not underſtand, knows not the end of the Prayer, and anſwers not Amen, that is true, that the Benediction may be confirmed, for the confirmation of the Prayer is fulfilled by them who anſwer* Amen. And to the ſame effect he cites a large paſſage from * S. *Cyprian*'s Diſcourſe on the Lord's Prayer, which I have formerly made uſe of. In his ſecond Book and 8th Chapter he ſaith, *Eſdras will teach us how we ought to pray, for it is ſaid,* [k] *they read in the Book of the Law diſtinctly, and plainly to be underſtood; the Biſhop in his Oration to the Reader repeats the words of this Scribe, informing him, that he may be apt by continual reading to pronounce the words of life,* [l] *and by diſtinction of the voice and mind, ſhew things intelligible to the people.*

ſuper tuam benedictionem, quia neſcit quid dicas? Hanc benedictionem vocat Ambroſius orationem, dicens, Imperitus enim audiens quod non intelligit, neſcit finem Orationis, & non reſpondet Amen; id eſt verum, ut confirmetur benedictio, per hos enim impletur confirmatio precis, qui reſpondent Amen. De Eccleſ. Officiis l. 3. c. 9. Ed. Hittorp. *p.* 182.

* *Ibid. c.* 19.

[k] *Diſtinctè & apertè ad intelligendum.*

[l] *Et mentis, & vocis diſtinctione populo monſtrare intelligibilia.*

§ 3. Beſides theſe *Authours* who have occaſionally delivered their opinion of this matter in full conformity to the Doctrine of the *Church* of *England*, and ſo as plainly to condemn the preſent practiſe of the *Church* of *Rome*. The *Latin Commentatours*, who have writ upon the 14th Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, from the time of *Ambroſe*, to the 14th Century, do with equal plainneſs of Speech, and evidence of Reaſon, declare that the *Apoſtle* condemns reading, ſinging or praying in the publick Service in a Tongue not underſtood by the people, as the *Greek Commentatours* which I have produced already; as will be evident from their plain Deſcants on that Chapter. And,

1. Deſire Spiritual Gifts, but rather that you may propheſie,] i. e. *may plainly expound the Prophets, and other Books of the Old and New Teſtament*, Haymo. *That you may preach*, Sedulius. *That you may expound the Scriptures to the edification of others*, Primaſius *and* Hugo.

V. 2. For he that ſpeaketh in a Tongue [*unknown*, or *foreign*, Sedul. Haymo, Hugo, Gloſſ. Dionyſ. Carth. Anſelm. *In obſcurity of Speech*, Haymo. *In a Tongue not perfectly explained or underſtood*, Lyra] ſpeaketh not to men, [*not to the underſtanding of men, becauſe his voice is Barbarous, and they underſtand it not*, Sed. Haym. Anſ. Gloſſ. *Not to the Inſtruction or the profit of men*, Carth. Lyr.] for no man underſtandeth him, [*none of the Standers by know what he ſaith*, Haym. *and ſo no body receives profit by it*, Anſ. *None hears with the hearing of the Heart*, Carth. *or underſtands the inward Senſe of the Words*, Lyra.

Note. Hence evident it is, that they held generally that all Speech in Reading, Singing, Praying to, or with others, muſt be unprofitable and barbarous to thoſe Standers by who did not underſtand the ſenſe and meaning of the words, and to whom they were not explained, or in the words of *Hugo*, *Inutiles eſſe linguas ſine manifeſtatione.*

Note 2. The Apoſtle reaſons thus, ſaith *Lyra*, *That which tends to the honour of God, and the benefit of our Neighbour too, is better than that which tends to the Honour of God onely.* And again, *that by which we profit our ſelves and others, is better than that by which we profit our ſelves onely*, but by uſing Tongues *not perfectly underſtood, nor explained*, (and conſequently by uſing of the Latin Tongue in the Maſs where it is not perfectly underſtood, nor explain'd) *we onely doe that which tends to the honour of God, and the benefit of our ſelves*, by uſing Prophecy, or a Tongue known to the Hearers, we may both honour God, profit our ſelves, and benefit our Neighbour; *Ergo*, the uſing of the vulgar Tongue in the *Maſs* is better.

§ 4. *V.* 3. But he that propheſieth, [i. e. *who in plain words expounds the Prophets, or the Scriptures*, Prim. Haym. Carth. Lyr. Gloſſ.] ſpeaketh unto Men [*to the profit of them*, Carth.] for edification, [*of the mind, or underſtanding, perſuading the things which belong to faith*, Sed. Haym. Anſ. *And inſtructing the Novices in it*, Hugo, Gloſſ. Carth. *Becauſe they underſtand what the Teacher ſaith, and learn the ſolution of Queſtions*, Haym. Hugo,] for exhortation, [*of grown perſons to good works*,

Works, Anſ. Hugo, Gloſſ. Carth.] for conſolation, [*which they receive from words uttered in a Tongue known by the promiſe of future bleſſings, and by the comforts they adminiſter againſt the troubles of this preſent life*, Sed. Haym. Anſ. *For the comfort of the ſad and deſolate*, Hugo. Gloſſ. Carth.]

V. 4. He that ſpeaketh in an unknown Tongue edifieth himſelf [*alone by what he ſpeaketh, and not others, becauſe He onely underſtands what is ſpoken*, Prim. Sed. Haym. Anſ. Carth.] but he that propheſieth, edifieth the Church. [*All, even the whole Congregation of the Faithfull, by ſpeaking to their profit, or things which they all underſtand*, Prim. Sed. Haym. Anſ. Lyra.]

Note Here, that two things are plainly taught by theſe Expoſitours.

1. That he who ſpeaketh in the Chuch what is not underſtood by others, ſpeaketh not to their edification, whereas he who ſpeaketh to them in plain words, ſpeaks to the profit of all, by ſpeaking things which tend to their edification in the Faith, to exhort them to good works, to comfort them in time of tribulation.

§ 5. *V.* 5. I would that ye all ſpake with Tongues, but rather that ye propheſied, [i. e. *plainly expounded the obſcure places of the Scripture*, Haym. Carth. *becauſe this is more profitable, or profits more*, Anſ. Hugo, Gloſſ. Lyr.] for greater is he that propheſieth, than he that ſpeaketh with Tongues, [*He is more worthy, and ſpiritually more perfect, becauſe he profits more, which is a work of Charity, for that is greater which is more profitable*, Sed. Prim. Anſ. Gloſſ. Carth. *and becauſe a Tongue profits not, but Propheſie doth*, Gloſſ.] except he interpret, that the Church may receive edifying. [*by his interpretation*; i. e. *unleſs he be able to expound what he ſaith, or ſpeak that plainly which he had uttered in a Tongue unknown*, Haym. Anſ. Gloſſ. Carth.] Where

Note, How they all agree in that General Axiom of *Haymo* and *Anſelm*, *Hoc majus eſt quod pluribus prodeſt, that is greater, more worthy, more ſpiritually perfect, more charitable which profits the moſt.* Having therefore in their Deſcants on the

foregoing verſe declared, that *He who uſeth plain words in what he ſpeaketh to the Congregation of the Faithfull profits moſt*, they muſt have taught us, that he is greateſt, and moſt worthy to be employed in the whole Service of the *Church*. And having alſo declared, that *He who ſpeaks not in the Church words underſtood, profits not, or doth not edifie the Church*, they muſt condemn his manner of officiating in her publick Service.

§ 6. *V.* 6. Now Brethren, if I come unto you, ſpeaking with tongues, what ſhall I profit you, [*by thus ſpeaking, nothing at all, ſeeing you know not what I ſay, you can onely admire, but cannot profit by me*, Prim. Anſ. Hugo, Gloſſ. Lyra.] except I ſhall ſpeak to you either by Revelation, [*by interpretation, and plain words, or by explaining of my words*, Prim. Haym. Anſ. Gloſſ.] or by knowledge, [*expounding the things which it concerneth you to know, and which clear up the faith*, Gloſſ. Carth.] or by prophecying, [*expounding, and manifeſting things obſcure*, Prim. Anſ. Gloſſ. Carth.] or by doctrine, [i. e. *by plain Hiſtorical Narration, declaring the things which concern faith, or the information of our manners*, Prim. Anſ. Carth. Gloſſ.

Note 1. Here then we learn that, in their judgment, then onely can the *Church* be profited by the *Officiatour*, When he ſpeaks plain things, the words of *Primaſius* being in effect the deſcant of them all, *tunc vobis prodero ſi interpreter, aut plana loquar, aut prophetias exponam, aut moralia doceam*, then ſhall I profit you, when I interpret, or ſpeak plain things, or expound Propheſies, or teach Morality.

Note 2. That they here generally ſay, that the *Apoſtle* by propoſing his own example, dehorts the *Corinthians* from ſeeking that which profits not the *Church*, as if it were ſome great thing, *Prim. Sed. Anſ. Lyra.* And that then he proceeds to diſcourſe thus, *viz. that which I have proved by my own example, who am a reaſonable Creature*, viz. that tongues without interpretation profit not the *Church*, *is alſo evident from things inanimate*, Anſ. Hugo, Gloſſ. Carth. Lyra.

§ 7. *V.* 7. For even things without life giving ſound, whether Pipe, or Harp, except they give a diſtinction in the ſound, [i. e. *diſtinct, intelligible ſounds*, Anſ. Hugo, Gloſſ.] how ſhall it be known what is piped or harped. [*how ſhall we diſcern or judge of it.* Gloſſ. Carth.]

Note. On this verſe ſome of them deſcant thus: *As it is with that Pipe and Harp which giveth no diſtinct intelligible ſound, and ſo cannot be underſtood, ſo will it be with the voice of the Teacher, or Preacher, if they underſtand not the things ſpoken, it will afford no benefit, it will much more be rejected as vain and ſuperfluous; whereas the ſpiritual ſweetneſs of it ſhould be ſuch as gratifies not the Ear* (onely,) *but the mind*, Prim. Haym. Anſ.

§ 8. *V.* 8. For if the Trumpet give an uncertain ſound, [*which doth not plainly ſignifie War, doth not determine whether we are called to War, or to a Feaſt, as the Jews were by Trumpets*, Prim. Haym. Anſ Gloſſ. Carth. *A ſound not to be underſtood*, Hugo,] who ſhall prepare himſelf to the Battel? [i. e. *So muſt your voice be underſtood, that it may prepare the Souldiers of Chriſt to their Spiritual Warfare*, Prim. Anſ. Haym.] *For how can the Hearer underſtand the Teacher, ſpeaking in a Tongue unknown or obſcure*, Haym. *The Pipe morally imports the Doctrine of the Holy Scripture, which excites us to fight againſt the Devil, and is elſewhere compared to a Trumpet, and if this Trumpet give not an intelligible ſound, who ſhall prepare himſelf to the Spiritual Warfare? For as St.* Auſtin *ſaith in his Book of Chriſtian Doctrine, what profits the integrity of Speech, if it do not edifie the Hearer, for we ſpeak to no purpoſe, if we be not underſtood*, Hugo.

V. 9. So likewiſe you, except you utter by the Tongue words eaſie to be underſtood, [*unleſs your ſpeech be manifeſt to the Hearers*, Anſ. Carth. Lyra,] how ſhall it be known what is ſpoken? [*the hearers will not underſtand the ſenſe of your words*, Anſ. Haym. Gloſſ. Carth.] For you ſhall ſpeak into the Air, [*in vain, ſo as to profit no body*, Prim. Sed. Haym. Anſ. Gloſſ. Hugo, Carth. Lyra.] *You will utter an empty ſound which may reach the Ears, but not the Hearts of the Hea-*

rers, and ſo your words will not be profitable, but vain and idle, Anſ. Gloſſ. Carth. Faber.]

V. 10, 11. There are it may be ſo many kinds of voices in the world, and none of them are without ſignification, therefore if I know not the meaning of the voice, I ſhall be to him that ſpeaketh a Barbarian, and He that ſpeaketh ſhall be a Barbarian unto me, [*for all Speech that is not underſtood is barbarous to the Hearer*, Prim. Sed. Carth. *I ſhall not be underſtood by him to whom I ſpeak, and whom I ought by ſpeaking to inſtruct, becauſe I cannot interpret the meaning of my words unto him*, Anſ. Hugo, Gloſſ. Carth.]

V. 12. Even ſo ye, foraſmuch as you are zealous of Spiritual Gifts, ſeek, that you may excel to the Edification of the Church, [that is, *that you may not be Barbarians to one another, as you will be if you ſpeak with Tongues which you do not interpret*, Anſ. Hugo, Gloſſ. Lyra. *Seek that you may intepret, and explain your words, that you may be fruitfull to others, and may co-operate to their Salvation, which is to Edifie the Church*, Haym. Hugo, Gloſſ. Carth. Lyra.] Here therefore,

Note 1. That they expreſly teach, that unleſs the Speech of the Officiatour, or Reader in the Church, be *manifeſt to the Hearers*, ſo that they *underſtand the ſenſe of his words*, He will ſpeak *in vain*, ſo as *to profit no body*, affect the Hearts of none, yea, ſo as to be to them a *Barbarian*. And conſequently, that the *Maſs-Prieſt* is a *Barbarian*, a vain unprofitable Talker to all that do not underſtand him. For, *Nemo ædificatur audiendo quod non intelligit*, No man is edified, ſaith *Anſelm*, by hearing what he doth not underſtand. Hence *Hugo* here complains, that *Many Preachers, and Doctours, who by Countrey are not ſo, make themſelves Barbarians by ſeeking out ſubtile and hard words*, and tells them, that *as the building of the Tower of* Babel *was hindred by this, that the builders underſtood not one the other, ſo the Edification of the Church is hindred by ſuch as they*, and that God therefore ſaith to *Ezekiel*, *I ſend ye not to a people of a ſtrange Speech, and unknown Tongue, becauſe he would be to them unprofitable.*

Note

Note 2. That to avoid being thus *Barbarous*, and unprofitable, they ought to uſe words manifeſt, and eaſie to be underſtood, which may inſtruct the Hearer, or to interpret and explain what they had uttered in a Tongue obſcure, that ſo it might be fruitfull to the Edification and Salvation of the Hearer. For ſaith St. *Anſelm*, *Quid vobis prodero, niſi linguæ acceſſerit intellectus, ut non Spiritu tantum, ſed etiam mente agatur quod agitur?* What ſhall I profit you, unleſs you underſtand my Tongue, that what is done, may be done not onely with the Spirit, but the underſtanding alſo.

§ 9. *V.* 13. Wherefore let him that ſpeaketh in a Tongue [*obſcure and unknown*, Haym.] pray that he may interpret [*let him ſpeak ſo, that what he ſpeaks may be underſtood*, Prim. Sed. *Let him pray that God would give him the Gift of Interpretation alſo, that he may plainly underſtand, and evidently propound to others what he ſpeaks*, Gloſſ. Lyra.]

V. 14. For if I pray in a Tongue [*unknown, or in obſcurity of Speech*, Haym.] my Spirit prayeth, [*my ſpiritual Gift*, Gloſſ. Hugo,] but my underſtanding is unfruitfull, [*to me, becauſe I underſtand not what I ſay*, Prim. Sed. Haym. And if it be unprofitable to ſpeak what is unknown to my own Mind, *how much more to ſpeak what is unknown to the Hearers?* Sed. My Mind is unfruitfull, *as the effect ſhews, for hence nothing is done, no knowledge wrought in the Hearers*, Hugo.]

V. 15. What is it then? [*Since what is thus ſpoken is unfruitfull, what is to be done? what is profitable? what is neceſſary?* Haym. Anſ. Hugo, Gloſſ. Carth. Lyra.] I will pray with the Spirit, I will pray with my underſtanding alſo. [*So as that I may make known my mind to others*, Sed. Hugo. *Becauſe thoſe things are to be ſpoken, which may profitably be brought forth and manifeſtly underſtood*, Haym. *Nor doth it ſuffice that a man ſpeak with the Spirit in a ſtrange Tongue, unleſs the mind and underſtanding be added, that He may know himſelf, and unfold, to others what he ſaith*, Sed.] I will ſing with the Spirit, I will ſing with the underſtanding alſo. [*So as what I Spiritually underſtand, I may explain to others, and they may alſo underſtand it*, for ſo the Apoſtle doth admoniſh us to doe, *Eph.* 5 *Col.* 3. *teaching and admoniſhing our ſelves in Pſalms, and Hymns, and Spiritual*

Songs

Songs, ſinging with Grace in our hearts to the Lord, Hugo. *He that ſpeaketh with a Tongue,* ſaith *Valla, let him pray God that what he prays in one Tongue, he may interpret in their Tongue to whom he ſpeaks, that ſo his mind may not be without fruit, but may edifie others by inſtructing them, and then that will be done which follows,* I will pray with the Spirit, —— and the Underſtanding alſo; i. e. *that I may be underſtood of them that hear me,* I will ſing —— with the underſtanding, *that is, ſo that I may perceive I am underſtood by thoſe that hear me.*] where,

Note 1. That according to theſe Deſcants, When we ſpeak or reade in publick, thoſe things are onely to be read or ſpoken which may be underſtood by others, and which may plainly and evidently be propounded to them, and that what is not ſpoken thus, becomes unprofitable. *For it is read in*
Neh. 8. Nehemiah, *ſaith* Hugo, *that* Eſdras *brought the Book of the Law,*
Eſa. 8. *and read in it diſtinctly and plainly; and to* Eſaiah *it is ſaid, take to thy ſelf a Book, and write in it with the ſtile of a man; that is, a plain and common ſtile. And therefore Chriſt ſpeaks without difficulty in the Goſpel; and the Doctrine of Wiſemen is eaſie, ſaith the Preacher. Whereas to our Preachers we may ſay, as*
Job 38. 2. *God to* Job, Who is this that darkeneth Counſel by words without Knowledge?

Note 2. That what is thus to be obſerved in reading and preaching of the word, is in like manner to be obſerved in praying, and in ſinging, it is profitable, yea, it is neceſſary to pray and ſing in publick, ſo as to be underſtood of them who hear: This the *Apoſtle* here concludes is to be done. *The Apoſtle,* ſaith *Hugo, expounds this of prayer to God, and ſaith, that* when my Spirit prays onely, it hath no devotion, and my mind is without Fruit; *for, as* Gregory *ſaith, what profits the noiſe of the mouth, where the heart is mute? The Apoſtle,* ſaith *Lyra, ſhews the ſame thing of Prayer, which he had done of preaching, both as to private and to publick Prayer, and as to the firſt he argues thus,* That Prayer which refreſheth the underſtanding, and affections, is better than that which onely refreſheth the affections, *ſo is it in this caſe;* yea ſo, ſay I, alſo is it in the Caſe of publick Prayer, for when it is performed in a Tongue underſtood by the people it refreſheth both their

their understandings and affections, which to be sure it doth not when it is uttered in a Tongue unknown, and therefore Prayer in a Tongue known to them is better. *Faber Stapulensis* saith, *the greatest part of men, when they now pray, I know not whether they do it in the Spirit, yet with the mind they do not doe it; for they pray in a Tongue they understand not: and yet* Paul *doth especially prove that the faithfull should pray with the Spirit, and the mind, and they who pray, as customarily they are wont to doe, they do little edifie themselves, and are not able in the least to edifie others with their Speech; wherefore it were better that they should speak five words in Prayer, both with the Spirit and the mind, that they might edifie themselves and others, than to pray with ten thousand of such words: They who pray thus are both in mind and reason Children, in which part it becomes them not to be so; for the Apostle doth subjoin,* Brethren, be ye not Children in understanding.

§ 10. *V.* 16. Else when thou shalt bless with the Spirit, [i. e. *when thou, the Priest or Bishop, speakest to thy hearers in a Tongue unknown, or without that interpretation which will make thy words clear*, Sed. Haymo, Ans. Hugo, Gloss. Lyra, Carth.] how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, [*who knows onely his Mother Tongue, in which he was born, as is proper to the Hearers, the rude, illiterate, the simple and unintelligent people, which stands by thee whilst thou celebrateſt the mystery of the Mass, makest an oration, or givest a blessing*, Sed. Haym. Ans. Hugo, Gloss. Carth. Lyra.] how shall he say Amen at thy giving of thanks, [*he can by no means doe it, he cannot with attention add the word of consent and desire to thy benediction. He not knowing the end of thy prayer, knows not how to conform himself to thee, who art the Minister by pronouncing that Amen, which is the word of confirmation and consent, by which the prayer is completed*, Sed. Haym. Ans. Gloss. Lyra, Carth.] seeing he understands not what thou sayest? [*He perceives not the sense of thy benediction, nor the close of thy Prayer*, Haym. Carth.]

V. 17. For thou indeedgivest thanks well, [*to God in a tongue unknown*, Sed. Haym. Gloss. Carth.] but the other [*who knoweth not what thou sayest*, Haym.] is not edified. [*he is not affected with, he is not profited, or instructed by thy words which he understands not*, Ans. Carth.] Here therefore,

Note

Note 1. In the General, that from theſe Deſcants, we are ſufficiently inſtructed that the ſimple and unlearned people cannot be edified or inſtructed by the *Maſs* ſaid in *Latin*, nor can they ſay *Amen* unto the Prayers, and Bleſſings, or Thankſgivings uſed in it.

Note 2. That many of theſe Commentatours give particular Deſcants on theſe verſes wholly repugnant to this practice of the Church of *Rome*. As, *v. g.* The inference of *Anſelm* from them is this, *Therefore when you come together in the Church for edification, thoſe things ought to be ſpoken in the Church which are underſtood of all, and afford edification to the hearers. He therefore that ſpeaks in an unknown Tongue, ought to hold his peace in the Church, that they may ſpeak who can profit the Hearers.*

The Apoſtle, ſaith *Hugo*, *proves the ſame by another example, if the Reſpondent doth not underſtand the Opponent, he cannot anſwer him, and ſo it is here; for in like manner they who are inſtructed in the Church, if they be inſtructed by him who ſpeaks in Tongues, and knows not how to interpret, they cannot anſwer, It is true; and therefore if there be not an Interpreter, the Apoſtle bids him who hath the Gift of Tongues keep ſilence in the Church, where nothing is to be done, but to edification.* And whereas it is ſaid, *Another is not edified*, this he repreſents as contrary to thoſe words of St. *Paul*, *Let your Speech be ſuch as is good for edification, that it may miniſter Grace to the Hearer*; and to the ſame purpoſe he alleadgeth that of the Pſalmiſt, *Sing ye praiſes with underſtanding.*

Lyra adds, that *the Apoſtle here diſcourſeth of publick Prayer, declaring, that if the people underſtand the Prayer and benediction of the Prieſt, they are better reduced unto God, and more devoutly ſay Amen, that otherwiſe they profit nothing, or very little.* I confeſs he adds, I ſuppoſe by way of excuſe of the *Latin* Service uſed then, that *Now that the people have accuſtomed themſeves to conform to the Miniſters of the Church, it ſuffices that the Clerk ſay* Amen. *Anſw.* Doe they this with underſtanding or without it? If ſtill without underſtanding, the reaſon ſtill remains for doing all Offices in the *vulgar Tongue*, if with it, then muſt they underſtand the words in which the *Prieſt* officiates

ſciates, and ſo the Tongue in which he ſpeaks is not an unknown Tongue.

§ 11. *V.* 18. And *that you may not think I ſpeak this to diſparage the Gift I have not*, Prim. Sed. Haym. Gloſſ.] I thank my God, I ſpeak with Tongues more than you all.

V. 19. Yet in the Church [*in the Aſſembly of the Faithfull*, Haym. Carth.] I had rather ſpeak five words with my underſtanding, that I might teach others alſo, [*inſtructing them in Faith and manners*, Gloſſ] than ten thouſand words in a Tongue. [*unknown, or in obſcurity of Speech*, Haym.] where,

Note 1. That ſome of theſe Commentatours do inform us, that *the Apoſtle here propounds himſelf for an example, who knew all Tongues, and yet when he ſpake to the* French, *He ſpake onely in the* French *Tongue, and ſo to others*, Hugo. *By his own example he teacheth them not to ſpeak publickly in Tongues which do not edifie*, Gloſſ.]

Note 2. That they ſumm up his Diſcourſe thus, *few words which profit, are better than many which do not profit, few words plainly ſpoken, than many in obſcurity*, Prim. Sed. Haym. that is, few words in the Aſſemblies of the Faithfull ſpoken in the vulgar Tongue, before many uttered in *Latin*, where it is not underſtood.

§ 12. *V.* 20. My Brethren be not Children in underſtanding, but men. [*Not Children, as they are who affect to ſpeak obſcurely, for it is Childiſh to affect to ſpeak with Tongues, in which is ſome delight, but no profit, unleſs they be interpreted*, Sed. Haym. Anſ. *Be not like Children, preferring a leſs before a greater good, Tongues before Propheſie*, Hugo, Lyra.] howbeit in malice be ye Children but in underſtanding men, [*ſuch as perfectly underſtand what they ſpeak, that they may inſtruct others, and know what is neceſſary to the inſtruction of the Church*, Haymo, Anſ. Gloſſ. Lyra. Now hence,

Note, That the inference of *Faber*, *viz.* that *they who pray in a Tongue by which they do not edifie others*, (as the Maſs-Prieſts do,) *act like Children*, and that to celebrate the *Maſs* in a

Tongue known to all, would be to act like Men, is an inference which clearly follow from the Deſcants of theſe Commentatours: and much more do they act like Children, who thus read the *Scriptures*.

§ 13. *V.* 21, 22. In the Law it is written, that in other Tongues, and other Lips will I ſpeak unto this People; and yet for all that will they not hear me, ſaith the Lord. Wherefore Tongues are for a ſign not to them that believe, but to them that believe not; but Propheſying ſerveth not for them that believe not, but for them that believe. [*It is*, ſaith *Vatablus*, *as if he ſhould have ſaid, let not ſuch men ſpeak in the Church, who ſpeak with ſtrange Tongues, which they do not interpret; for it would be a ſign that you are not beloved of God, who is wont to ſend ſuch Prophets to an unbelieving People, whom he would not have to underſtand the truth, and know the Holy Scriptures*; and this whole Paſſage is tranſcribed by *Iſidore Brixianus*, and put into his Comment on the place. *It is dealing with the Church*, ſay others, *as God deals with perverſe and wicked men, to whom he ſpeaks obſcurely, becauſe he would not have holy things given to Dogs*; *and as he dealt with the wicked Jews, to whom he ſpake in Parables, leſt hearing they ſhould underſtand, and to ſhew that they were unworthy to know the ſecrets of God*, Anſ. Hugo, Gloſſ. Lyra, Carth. *The reaſon why they ought not to ſeek Tongues*, ſay they, *is becauſe they are for a ſign to Unbelievers, which you are not*, Anſ. Gloſſ. Carth. *And becauſe Tongues are for a ſign, not for Edification, whereas* Prophetia, *plain and open truth, without veil and obſcurity, belongs to the Faithfull*, Gloſſ. *And becauſe now there can be no need of Tongues, when the Faithfull are many, and every Tongue hath a Doctour of its own.*] So that according to theſe Gloſſes the Faithfull in the *R. Church* are not onely deprived of the privileges of *Believers*, and of *Edification*, but are dealt with as men *not beloved of God*, men *whom God would not have to underſtand the Truth*, *as perverſe and wicked Men*, *and Dogs before whom God will not have his Pearls to be caſt*, as Men *unworthy to know the Secrets of God*, and even as *Unbelievers*.

§ 14. *V.* 23. If therefore the whole Church be come together into one place, and all ſpeak with Tongues, will they not ſay,

ſay, that you are mad? [*becauſe you ſpeak confuſedly, not underſtanding one the other, and becauſe they know not what you ſay; will you not be ridiculous to them whom you ought to inſtruct, when they find that your Speech profits none?* Anſ. Hugo, Carth. Lyra.] And here let any Reaſonable perſon conſider, whether there be not the ſame Reaſon for any *Idiot* hearing *Maſs* in a Tongue unknown to ſay they are mad?

§ 15. *V.* 26. How is it then Brethren, [*what is to be done*, Sed. Carth. *For he now begins to determine how Tongues and Propheſies muſt be uſed.*] Every one hath a Pſalm, [*to the praiſe of God*, Anſ. Gloſſ. Lyr.] when you come together, [*in the Church, where you ought to work for the Edification of the Hearers*, Anſ.] Let all things be done to Edification. [*The Concluſion is this, that nothing be done in the Church in vain, but rather that all labour, that the unskilfull may profit, for every one ought to improve the Grace given to him for the Edification of the Church, and ſo ſpeak in it, that there be nothing in him which may not edifie another*, Anſ. Hugo, Carth. Lyra.]

V. 28. If there be no Interpreter, let him keep ſilence in the Church, [*becauſe he edifieth none, and in the Church nothing is to be done but to Edification, no word is to be heard, which doth not edifie*, Anſ. Hugo, Gloſſ.] And let any reaſonable perſon judge, whether theſe Commentatours, who have declared ſo fully on the former Verſe, that *there can be no Edification by words not underſtood by the Hearer*, could judge that they comply with this Rule of *doing nothing in the Church but what doth anſwer to that end*, who celebrate the whole *Maſs* in a Tongue unknown to almoſt all the *Hearers*.

Theſe things being conſidered, let any reſonable perſon judge whether the Authour of the *Hiſtory of the Trent Council*, had not juſt cauſe to ſay, *He that would know what Language is to be uſed in the Church, needeth onely, without any more diſcourſe, read the* 14*th Chapter of St.* Paul, *in the* 1. *to the* Corinthians, *which will ſufficiently inform him, though his mind be never ſo much prepoſſeſſed with a contrary opinion.* And whether *Mercer* had not cauſe to add, *they amongſt us have done raſhly, who brought in the cuſtome of praying in an unknown Tongue.* Whether *Cajetan* had not ground to ſay, that *from this Doctrine of*

p. 540.

Com. in Eccleſ. 5. *v.* 1.

St. Paul *'tis proved that it is better for the Edification of the Church, that publick Prayers, which are ſaid in the hearing of the People, ſhould be ſaid in a Tongue common to the Prieſt and People, rather than in Latin.* And that *hence we ought to learn, that it is more eligible that the Divine Offices, Canonical Hours and Maſſes, ſhould be ſaid intelligibly,——than ſo as that they cannot be underſtood.* And whether he had not cauſe to ſay, when he was reprehended for this plainneſs, that *He founded his Doctrine upon St.* Paul. And laſtly, Whether *Eraſmus* did not rationally ask, *Cur dubitat Eccleſia tantum Authorem ſequi? Imò, cur audet ab eo diſſentire?* Why doth the Church doubt to follow ſo great an Authour (as St. *Paul?*) Yea, how dares ſhe to diſſent from him?

To. 3. Opuſc. tr. 15.

In 1 Cor. 14.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The CONTENTS.

Containing Arguments from Reaſon againſt the Latin Service uſed in the Church of Rome, viz. 1 *That it renders the voice of the Maſs-Prieſt uſeleſs to all who do not underſtand it, and makes it equal to them whether a Dumb Prieſt do Maſs, or He that hath the moſt audible voice.* §. 1. 2. *That it is contrary to the very end of ſpeech which is to ſignifie ſomething to the minds of thoſe to whom we ſpeak.* §. 2. 3. *That it renders the Service no more beneficial to the Idiot preſent at it, then to him who is abſent, and conſenteth to the prayers of the Church in General.* §. 3. *Saying Maſs in a low voice that cannot be heard is contrary to Scripture, Reaſon, and Antiquity*, Ibid. 4. *This Latin Service uſed to them who do not undeſtand it, is repugnant to the nature of Prayer in general, and to the ends of Prayer vocal and publick in particular.* §. 4. *The ſame is proved of Latin Hymns and pſalmody.* §. 5. *It is highly unreaſonable to read the Scriptures in publick in a tongue unknown.* §. 6. *The miſchievous effects of this practice ſhewed in ten plain queſtions.* §. 7.

TO Scriptures thus interpreted by the *Fathers*, and other *Doctours* of the *Church*, I add the plain and cogent Reaſons againſt the *Latin Service* of the *Church* of *Rome*, which alſo may be ſtrengthned from the conſent of *Fathers*, and other *Doctours* of the *Church*.

Arg. I. Then I Argue thus: that which rendreth the voice of the *Maſs Prieſt* uſeleſs, and makes it as good to moſt that are preſent to have a *dumb Prieſt* to do *Maſs*, as one that hath a tongue to ſay it, ought not to be done; but to read *Maſs* in *Latin* to them who underſtand it not, rendreth the voice of the *Maſs Prieſt* uſeleſs to them, and all one as if the *Prieſt* who celebrates the

the *Maſs*, were dumb. Ergo, *Maſs* ought not to be ſaid to them in *Latin*.

This Argument is bottomed upon theſe ſayings of St. *Auſtin* that [a] *words are neceſſary for us, not to inſtruct, or move our God, but that we may be minded by them what we are to ask, and* [b] *that there is no need of ſpeaking when we pray, that is of ſounding words, unleſs it be for the end for which the Prieſts do uſe them*, viz. *to ſignify their minds, not to God, but that men may hear them, and by remembring of them with conſent may be carried up to God.* Whence the Argument runs thus. There is no uſe of vocal prayer in reference to God, becauſe he underſtands the *Prieſts* heart when he ſpeaks not, as well as when he ſpeaks, he hears the prayer of the heart, and ſees the word of the mind.

[a] *Nobis ergo verba neceſſaria ſunt quibus commoneamur & inſpiciamus quid petamus, non quibus dominum ſeu docendum ſeu flectendum eſſe credamus. Ep.* 121. *cap.* 11. *p.* 626.

[b] *Quare non opus eſt locutione cum oramus, id eſt ſonantibus verbis, niſi fortè, ſicut ſacerdotes faciunt ſignificandæ mentis ſuæ cauſa non ut Deus ſeduut homines audiant & conſenſione quàdam per commemorationem ſuſpendantur in deum. De Magiſtro. cap.* 1.

Nor ſecondly can ſpeech be uſefull that the *Prieſt* may underſtand himſelf, or know the import of the words he utters, for if he knoweth not before the import of them, he cannot do it by ſounding forth he knows not what; ſpeech was given to man not to make him know his own thoughts, or words, for then he muſt be ſuppoſed to ſpeak he knows not what till he hath ſpoken it, but to make his mind know to others; that man is therefore ſenſeleſs who, ſpeaks to himſelf that he may underſtand himſelf.

Nor, thirdly, can his ſpeech be uſefull to make his Hearer's underſtand him, provided that he ſpeaks in ſuch a language which they do not underſtand, for he that hath no tongue, and he that hath none to be underſtood, is alike inſignificant to them; a *Dumb Prieſt* can do all the ceremonies, and make the Signs, ſhew his Crucifix, and elevate his Hoſt, and he that ſpeaks aloud to them that underſtand him not doth no more.

[c] *Quid prodeſt locutionis integritas quam non ſequitur intellectus audientis? cum loquendi omnino nulla ſit cauſa ſi quæ loquimur non intelligunt propter quos ut intelligunt loquimur. de Catech. Rudibus. cap* 11.

Here then we may enquire with St. *Auſtin* [c] *what avail right words which the Hearer doth not underſtand, ſeeing there is no cauſe of ſpeaking, if they do not underſtand what we ſpeak, for whoſe ſake we ſpeak.* For ſince there is no uſe of vocal prayer in publick, but that all together may ſignifie their deſires,

fires, and ſtir up one another, and joyn in the expreſſion of them to God, where this end cannot be obtained, becauſe the Hearers do not underſtand the voice of him that prayeth, *cui bono*? to what end is the voice uſed in ſuch prayers is an unanſwerable queſtion, And 'tis the very queſtion of St. *Ambroſe* *in* 1 Cor. 14. *to what end doth he ſpeak who is not underſtood?* and the aſſertion 7. of St. *Chryſoſtome* that *there is no need of words where the perſpicuity of the voice is wanting.* *Ibid.*

This Argument is urged by others thus. That which is contrary to the very ends of ſpeech ought not to be done, but ſpeaking of the Leſſons, Pſalms and Prayers in *Latin*, to them who do not underſtand that tongue is ſpeaking contrary to the ends of ſpeech, for *what we would effect when we ſpeak*, ſaith St. *Auſtin*, [d] *is either to teach or learn, or bring to remembrance*, and [e] *He that ſpeaks doth outwardly give a ſign of his will by an articulate ſound, and for that cauſe onely is there uſe of ſuch a ſound in publick prayer.* He adds that *words are ſigns and ſigns are nothing if they be not ſignificant*, that [f] *by the words which come out of our mouth we give a ſign to others that they may underſtand ſomething, and ought not to ſpeak if we ſignifie nothing.* That [g] *in prayer to God whom we cannot teach, and to whoſe remembrance we can bring nothing; we either admoniſh our ſelves, or do it that others may be taught or admoniſhed.* And that [h] *in thoſe things which are diſcerned by the mind, he in vain hears the ſpeech of others, who cannot diſcern his mind by it.* Now ſure by ſpeaking of the *Maſs* in *Latin* to them who do not underſtand it, they teach them nothing, they bring nothing to their remembrance, they give noſignificant ſign of their mind to them, they do not admoniſh others, they therefore muſt by St. *Auſtin*'s Rules, ſpeak contrary to the ends of ſpeech. Yea in the judgment of St. *Paul*, and all the *Fathers* who do Comment on him, they are *Barbarians*, they ſpeak *into the air, vainly, unprofitably, to no body, to the profit of none*, and therefore doubtleſs in their judgment, they do not anſwer the great ends of publick Speech.

[d] *Aut docere aut diſcere. lib. de magiſtro cap.* 1.

[e] *Qui loquitur ſuæ voluntatis ſignum dat per articulatum ſonum. Signum, niſi aliquid ſignificat, poteſt eſſe ſignum?*

[f] *Omnibus quæ ex ore tuo prorumpunt ſignum mihi das ut intelligam aliquid. cap.* 2.

[g] *In orando deo quem doceri aut commoneri exiſtimare non poſſumus, id verba valeant ut vel nos ipſos commone faciamus vel alii commoneantur doceanturve per nos. cap.* 6.

[h] *In iis quæ mente cernuntur fruſtra cernentis loquelas audit qniſquis ea cernere non poteſt. cap.* 13.

Arg. II.

Arg. II. 2. " That which hindreth the Leſſons read, the Pſalms " chaunted, the Prayers offered up to God from being done to " edification ought not to be done, the command of the Apoſtle " being expreſs and plain that *all things ſhould be done to edi-* " *fication*, but reading of the Leſſons, chaunting of the Pſalms, " and Prayers in *Latin* to them who do not underſtand that " tongue, hindreth the Leſſons read, the Pſalms and Prayers " chaunted, from being done to edification, at leaſt in refe- " rence to them. *Ergo.* It ought not to be done. The Minor which alone can be denied, is guarded with the conſtant ſuffrage of the holy Fathers, who, with St. *Auſtin*, do unanimouſly declare that *no man is edified by hearing what he doth not underſtand*, and that *when men ſpeak with an unknown tongue they can profit none.* If it be replyed that although theſe things be not done to the edification of the illiterate, yet are they done to the benefit of the Learned *Clerks*, and that is ſufficient, the *Fathers* baffle this evaſion by declaring that St. *Paul* every where prefers that which tends *to the beneſit of moſt*, τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον *that wich is for the common benefit*, that he lays down this as a Canon, *that which is uſefull to moſt muſt be done in the publick ſervice of the Church*, that we muſt chiefly labour that *the unskilfull* may profit by them, and ſay, without diſtinction, or exception, that *if we meet for the edification of the Church, thoſe things ought to be ſpoken which the Hearers underſtand.*

De Geneſi ad li. l. 12. c. 8.

Arg. III. 3. " That which renders the Service of God no more " beneficial to the unlearned that are preſent, then to them " that are abſent, and conſent to the prayers and praiſes in " general, and to what is done for all faithfull people, that " ought not to be done, much leſs enjoyned, becauſe it ren- " dreth their *coming together not for the better*, which is the " crime objected by St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians.* But praying " in *Latin* rendreth that Service of God, to them to whom " *Latin* is unknown, no more beneficial, though preſent, then " if they were abſent and conſenting, *&c.* For what profit can he receive who hears a ſound and diſcerns it not? were it ot as good he were abſent as preſent, may he not as well place himſelf in ſome part of the *Church* where he cannot hear it, as where he can? 'tis true by accident it may be better for him to be there, becauſe he ſees what is done, and gueſſes at

1 Cor. 11. 17

ſome-

ſomething in the general, but ſtill he is no better for what he hears, but onely for what he ſees, nor is he farther benefited by that than as it helps his underſtanding, and therefore all that is not underſtood, does him no more benefit that is preſent, than to him that is abſent, and conſents to the prayers in general, and to what is done for all faithfull People. *Nor* can any man give a good account why a deaf man ſhould not be as fit an hearer of ſuch ſervice, as is the illiterate perſon of the quickeſt ear, though it be evident that 'tis to him all one whether you ſpeak when he is preſent, or when he is abſent. And truely theſe things how abſurd ſoever they may ſeem to us *blind Proteſtants*, ſeem to be no abſurdities or incongruities unto the *R. Catholick*, for *he*, ſaith the Authour of a Papiſt Miſrepreſented and Repreſented, *is commanded* " to *Cap. 24 p. 59.*
" aſſiſt at the Church Service, and to hear Maſs, and in this
" he is inſtructed, not to underſtand the words, but to know
" what is done. For the Maſs being a ſacrifice wherein is
" daily commemorated the Death and Paſſion of Chriſt by
" an oblation made by the Prieſt of the body and bloud of
" the immaculate Lamb under the ſymbols of bread and
" wine according to his own inſtitution, 'tis not the buſineſs
" of the Congregation preſent to employ their ears in attending
" to the words, but their hearts in contemplation of the di-
" vine Myſteries, by raiſing up fervent affections of love, thankſ-
" giving, compaſſion, hope, ſorrow for ſins, reſolutions of a-
" mendment, *&c*, That thus having their heart and intention
" united with the Prieſts they may be partakers of his prayers, *p. 60.*
" and of the ſacrifice he is then offering, and for the raiſing
" of theſe affections in his ſoul, and filling his heart with the
" ecſtaſies of love and devotion, he thinks in this caſe
" there is little need of words, a true Faith without theſe is
" all ſufficient. —— and if he muſt needs have words, let him
" behold with the eye of faith the gaping wounds of his Re-
" deemer, and ſee if thoſe ſpeak nothing to his ſoul, if they
" do not 'tis becauſe he wants faith; if nothing therefore con- *p. 61.*
" cerns his devotion, that the Maſs is ſaid in Latin, if the
" Church has ordered it thus, So to preſerve unity as in Faith,
" ſo in the external worſhip of God, and to prevent altera-
" tions and changes which it would be expoſed to if in vul-
" gar Languages, and other good reaſons, What's that to him?

" he ſhould receive but little advantage if it were in his mo-
" ther Tongue. For, beſides that *the greater part is ſaid in ſo*
" *low a voice that tis not poſſible that he ſhould hear it, the words*
" *do not belong to him*, that's onely the Prieſt's office, and his
" obligation is to accompany the Prieſt in prayer and ſpirit,
" to be a joint offerer with him to contemplate the Myſteries
" there repreſented, and to excite in his ſoul devotions accor-
" ding to the exigency of every paſſage. Now if theſe things
be true,

1. It evidently follows that a *Dumb Prieſt* may well officiate, and a *deaf man* may join with him in the celebration of the *Romiſh Maſs*, and that there is little need of tongue to ſpeak, or ear to hear this great and ſolemne part of *publick worſhip* in the *Church* of *Rome*, for if it be not the buſineſs of the congregation to *employ their ears in attending to the words*, if the words *do not belong to them*, they may as well attend upon this ſervice who cannot hear one word as they that can, ſhould they
Pſal. 58. 4, 5. who underſtand this *Latin* be *like the deaf Adder that ſtoppeth her ears, which will not hearken to the voice of the charmer*, or like
Zech. 7. 11. them, who, as the *Prophet Zechariah* complains, *ſtopped their ears that they ſhould not hear*; the *Church* of *Rome* could have no reaſon to complain of any of her members for ſo doing. And ſeeing the *Dumb Prieſt* could elevate the *Hoſt*, and ſhew the *Crucifix*, and lay the *Conſecrated wafer* on the Table, and do all the outward ſigns, which tend to raiſe the affections of the people by contemplation of what they ſee, I know not why he may not *officiate* as well as he who hath the loudeſt voice among thoſe people *to whom the words belong not*, and who are *not concerned to attend* to any of the words pronounced, but are inſtructed, according to this Authour, *not to underſtand the words*.

2. Hence it muſt follow that the *Papiſt* is irrationally commanded to hear Maſs, as he ſaith he is, and that he rather ſhould be commanded to ſee Maſs. For what is more abſurd than to command him to hear words that *do not belong to him*, and which *'tis not his buſineſs to attend to*, and which for the greateſt part *are ſaid in ſo low a voice that 'tis impoſſible that he ſhould hear them*, ſaith this Authour.

3. As for the preſent practiſe of the *Church* of *Rome* which, ſaith he, is to *read the greateſt part of the Maſs in ſo low a voice*

that

that 'tis impossible the people should hear it. He doth, or may know that this is contrary to the practise of Christ, in the first institution of the Sacrament, and to the Declaration of St. *Paul*, that he who understandeth not the *Eucharistical* thanksgiving of the *Priest* cannot say *Amen* to it, and contrary to the universal practice of the *Church* of Christ by the plain Testimonies of the *Fathers*, who expresly teach that the *Faithfull*, even all the people present said *Amen* at the consecration, and benediction of the *Eucharistical oblations*, particularly from the forementioned testimony of *Justin M.* in the second Century, from the Testimonies of [a] *Tertullian*, and [b] *Denys* of *Alexandria* in the third from the forementioned Testimony of *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, and from the Testimony of [c] St. *Ambrose* in the fourth, from the Testimonies of [d] St. *Austin*, and of Pope *Leo* in the fifth Century, from the *Novel* of *Justinian* in the sixth Century, which expresly forbids all Bishops and Priests to celebrate the holy Communion, κατὰ τὸ σεσιωπημένον, *in a silent voice*, and as expresly commands them to do it, μετὰ φωνῆς τῷ πιστοτάτῳ λαῷ ἐξακουμένης, *with a voice heard by the faithfull people*, From the *Nomo canon* of *Photius* in the ninth Century which mentions this *Novel* as a Law then obtaining in the *Church* of Christ, as also doth *Balsamon* in the twelfth Century to shew the practice of the West even to the close of the ninth Century, to the Testimonies of *Albinus* and *Amalarius*, I add the words of *Paschasius Rathbertus*, which are these, *Behold* in the book of the Sacraments compiled, (as we believe) by blessed *Peter* what the Priest prays in the Canon, that the Sacrament may be made the body and bloud of Thy beloved Son, which prayer being finished, *with a joint voice we say All Amen*, And so every Church in every Nation and Language confesseth and prays. And the words of [e] *Florus* who saith that Amen which is answered *in all Churches* is interpreted *true*, this therefore do the Faithfull Answer at the consecration of such a Mystery, as do they also in every lawfull Prayer. And therefore Cardinal *Bona* having cited these words, confesseth that afterwards it was decreed that the Canon should be said with a low voice, and so this custome ceased. So that this custome is as great a Novelty, and apparent deviation from the practice of the *Church* of Christ, and from St. *Paul*'s prescription, as that of praying in a tongue not understood, and therefore cannot justifie that practice.

[a] *De spectac. c. 25.*
[b] *Apud Euseb. l. 7. c. 9.*
[c] *De iis qui myst. initiantur. cap. 9.*
[d] *Resp. ad qu. Orosii 49. serm. 7. de Jejun.*
Epist. ad Frudeg.
[e] *Amen, quod ab omni ecclesia respondetur, interpretatur verum. Bona Rerum liturg. l. 2. c. 12. p. 775.*

4. This Apology for reading of the *Canon* of the *Maſs* in *Latin*, or in a Language not underſtood by the people, is built on an aſſertion abundantly confuted by St. *Paul*, and all the *Ancient Commentators* who have writ upon him, for 'tis to this effect, that *the people ſuffer no injury by this practice, becauſe it belongs not to them to know the words of the Prayers, Leſſons, or Thanksgivings uſed in the Canon of the Maſs.* "Nor are they "concerned to attend to any of the words pronounced, that "without the knowledge of them they may raiſe up fervent "affections of love, thankſgiving, hope, compaſſion, ſorrow "for ſins, reſolutions of amendment, and have their hearts, and "intentions ſo united with the *Prieſt*'s as to be partakers of his "prayers and ſacrifice, and ſo be edified as well as if they "knew the meaning of the words.

But St. *Paul* in oppoſition to theſe things ſaith *v.* 5. that the *Church* cannot be edified by him *who ſpeaks with tongues*, unleſs he doth interpret, he enquires *v. 6. if I come to you ſpeaking in tongues, what ſhall I profit you, without revealing of the import* of them? He ſaith that he *ſpeaks to the air* who ſpeaks not in the *Church words eaſie to be underſtood*, or of clear and diſtinct ſignification to the Hearer, *v.* 7. 9. That he who ſpeaks ſo in the *Church* as that the Hearer doth not know *the power of his voice*, is to him a *Barbarian*, *v.* 11. That if he prays in the *Church* in an unknown tongue *his mind is unfruitfull* to the Hearer, *v.* 14. He is *not edified* by it, *v.* 17. He *cannot ſay Amen to it* becauſe *he underſtands not what he ſaith*, *v. 16.* And from theſe things concludes, this was to be done, that he who ſpake with tongues ſhould interpret what he ſpake, and he that prayed with his ſpiritual Gift ſhould alſo pray *with his underſtanding that he might inſtruct others*, v. 15---18. To which the Admirers of Tongues might Anſwer in the words of this *Repreſenter*, what of all this, what injury do the people ſuffer by all this, ſince *they are not concerned to underſtand the words, or attend to them*, what if they profit nothing by the words, which belong not to them? *true Faith without them is alſufficient.* Haſt thou forgot St. *Paul*, that we *Chriſtians* have *Maſs* every day, or every *Lord's day* at leaſt, and that in this the *Chriſtian is inſtructed not to underſtand the words, but to know what is done, to employ not his ears in attending to the words, but his heart in contemplation of the Divine Myſteries, by raiſing*

up

up fervent affections of love, thanksgiving, &c. what therefore though the *Mass Priest* be a *Barbarian*, and speak *to the air*, in using words which belong not to the hearer, what absurdity is in that, what though the hearer be not edified, or do not profit by the words he hears. Since by this *alsufficient faith* without them, and by this contemplation of the divine Mysteries, he edifies so much?

Again the *Fathers* do unanimously declare, in opposition to this *Paradox*, that *they who meet together that the Church may be edified ought to say such things which the hearers may understand*, that otherwise they are *Barbarians to the hearers*, their words are *lost in the air, and profit no body*, and the poor ignorant persons, they conceived an absurdity in reading, singing, or praying in any part of publick service, whereas it seems 'tis no such matter, the hearer being *not concerned to attend to the words*, but rather being instructed *not to know them*, St. *Paul*, say these mistaken *Fathers*, would have the words of him that prayeth understood, *'tis convenient by Reason of the words of St. Paul, that the prayers of the H. Oblation*, i. e. *the Canon of the Mass, should be uttered with a clear voice, the hearers*, say they, *should be able to interpret the prayer they hear, for otherwise they cannot say Amen.* (Let the *Clark* do it for them say the *R. Doctours*) the *Priest* must utter in his prayer *words known to them that are present*, for otherwise his prayer hath no devotion, is deprived of its effect. *No man receives benefit by it*, what of that, say the *R. Doctours*, *the drift of the Church in appointing Lyturgies, and set forms of Common prayer and readings in the Mass, was not for the peoples instruction.* *Vane. p. 358.* *'Tis not the business of the congregation present*, saith another, *to employ their ears in attending to the words*; the words *do not belong to them, it being an undeniable thing that to say prayers well, and devoutly, it is not necessary to have attention on the words, or on the sense of the prayers.* Popery Misrepr. c. 24. p. 59. p. 61. p. 62. Whatsoever these ignorant *Fathers* might say to the contrary.

Besides these Arguments which do in general concern reading, praying and singing of the *Mass* in *Latin* to them, to whom it mostly is a Tongue unknown. There be many clear and convincing demonstrations against all these practices in particular, and to begin with Prayer.

1. That

1. That which is repugnant to the nature of Prayer in general, to the ends of prayer *vocal*, and *publick*, in particular, and to the circumstances required to make it acceptable, and free from blame, that ought not to be done, but prayer in *Latin*, to them to whom it is a tongue unknown, and by whom it is not understood, is such. *Ergo*, it ought not to be done. And 1. it is repugnant to the nature of prayer, for that in *Scripture* language is *the pouring forth of the soul before God*, the *lifting up of the heart unto him*, the *crying to him with the heart*, the *desire of the heart*. But the heart cannot desire what it understands not, we cannot *pour forth the soul*, or *lift up the heart to God*, or be excited so to do by words which are of no significancy to us when they are either heard, or uttered. Prayer by the * *Fathers* is defined to be *incense ascending from the soul as from an Altar*, and *from a pure mind* and *conscience*, such *words as do ascend like incense from pious souls*, but where the soul hath no perception of the meaning of the words it hears, or utters, they can inspire it with no desires, the mind and conscience cannot be affected with the hearing of them, and so no prayer, truely and properly so called, can be produced by the hearing of them.

Psal. 25. 1. Psal. 84. 21. 119, 145. Eccles. 15. 2. *Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7. p. 717, 719. Orig. *contra.* Cels. *l.* 8. *p.* 389.

2. It is repugnant to the ends of *publick vocal* prayer, for they are 1. a *symphony*, or mutual consent of those who pray in what they ask, according to that saying of our Lord *if two of you consent in any thing which you shall ask, it shall be done unto you*. 2. The glorifying God not onely with one mouth, but *with one heart*. So *Chrysostome*, *Oecumenius*, *Theophylact* upon that place. But how can the illiterate person, who understands not what the *Priest* doth say, be moved by it *to glorifie God in his heart*, together with him? or to conspire with him in the very thing he asketh? and if he cannot do this, how can he answer these great ends of publick prayer? Agreeable to this is even the doctrine of many *Schoolmen*, and other *Doctours* of the *R. Church.* for the ends of vocal prayer set down by † *Biel*, are first *the excitation of inward devotion. 2. The illumination of the mind. 3. The more easie calling of those things to mind we pray for, in the time of prayer. 4. The keeping of the mind from wandring. 5. The more complete rendring of what is due to God*, viz. *The doing it both with mind and body. 6. A kind of redundance from the soul upon the body from*

Matt. 18. 19. Rom. 15. 4. † *De Can. Missæ lect* 62. F. 170. A.

from the vehement affection and devotion of it, and laſtly *the inſtruction of others.* Now which of all theſe ends can be obtained by hearing of that prayer we underſtand not: ſure *Biel* thought that none of them could be obtained unleſs the prayer were known unto the people, whence in the ſame p'ace he aſſerts, that * *Vocal prayer ought to be known to the people for whom 'tis offered, which it cannot be*, ſaith he, *unleſs it be vocal, for the people ought in this to be conform to the Miniſters of the Church entreating God in a way poſſible to them, whence the Church did reaſonably appoint that the Miniſters of the Church ſhould pronounce ſuch prayers with a loud voice that they might come to the notice of All.* This it ſeems was anciently *the care of the Church*, not that they ſhould come to the knowledge of very few, and in ſome places of none at all, as, through the care of the *Trent Council* and the *R. Church*, it is at preſent. *Thomas Aquinas* in his *Summs* had before uttered theſe laſt words, and from him *Biel* did *verbatim* tranſcribe them, as alſo three of the ſeven ends of prayer, *viz.* 1. † *The excitation of the inward devotion by which the mind of the perſon that prays is elevated to God.* 2. *The paying what is due to God, that man may ſerve God with the whole that he hath from him, not onely with the mind, but with the body.* 3. *That there may be a redundance from the ſoul upon the body, according to that of the Pſalmiſt, my heart is glad, and my tongue rejoiceth*, and having given the opinion of theſe two great *Schoolmen* in this caſe, it will be needleſs to ſhew that others of them followed theſe leading *Doctours* of the *Schools.*

* *Oratio publica neceſſariò eſt vocalis; oportet enim quod talis oratio innoteſcat populo pro quo offertur, quod fieri non poteſt niſi ſit vocalis, debet namque ſe populus in hac Miniſtris Eccleſiæ conformare ipſum ſecundum modicum (l. modum) ſibi poſſibilem publice deprecando & ideò rationabiliter ſtatuit Eccleſia, ut Miniſtri Eccleſiæ hujuſmodi orationes etiam alta voce pronuncient ut ad notitiam omnium poterint pervenire, ibid. F. 169. B. & F. 170.*

22. q. 83. Art. 12.

† *Oratio eſt aſcenſus in Deum ille autem fieri non poteſt per voces niſi conjunctæ ſint menti.*

3. As for the circumſtances required to make this Service acceptable, and prevalent, or to preſerve it from being ineffectual and blame worthy, St. *Paul* requires. 1. That it be λογικὴ λατρεία, *reaſonable ſervice*, i. e. the ſervice of our rational faculty, that we ſhould *love* and *ſerve him with all our heart, and all our mind*, that we ſhould come unto him *with a true heart in full aſſurance of faith*; and ſerve him *with our ſpirit, and glorifie him with our ſoul, and body which are his*; particularly

Rationale officium. Tertull. *de Orat. cap.* 12. Rom. 12. 1. 1 Sam. 12. 20. Matt. 22. 37. Deut. 10. 12. Hebr. 10. 22. Rom. 1. 9.

1 Cor. 6. 19. Rom. 12. 11. 1 Cor. 14. 15. Rom. 10. 1. Deut. 4. 29. Joſ. 22. 5. 1 Chron. 22 19. Jer. 29. 13. 30. 21. Lam. 3. 41. Hoſ. 7. 14. Matt. 15. 8.

larly that we ſhould *pray with the underſtanding*, with *the deſire of the heart*, that we muſt ſeek him *with all our heart, and all our ſoul*, muſt *ſet our heart and our ſoul to ſeek the Lord God*, muſt *ſeek him with the whole heart*. Pſal. 119. 2. 10. *Search for him with all our hearts*, and engage our hearts to approach unto him, and lift up our hearts with our *hands unto God in the Heavens*, and they who do not *cry unto him with their hearts*, and who *draw nigh unto him with their lips, when their hearts are far from him*, are ſaid *to worſhip him in vain.*

Jam. 5. 16.

Moreover, the prevailing prayer muſt, ſaith St. *James*, be δέησις ἐνεργεμένη, a prayer put up with great devotion, *intention and inward working of the heart*, and ſutably the *Fathers* generally tell us, this intention of the mind is neceſſary, *becauſe God is not the hearer of the voice, but of the heart*, or as St. *Gregory*, *true prayer conſiſts not in the words of the mouth, but in the thoughts of the heart*, that we muſt knock with a pious excitation, and *fervent intention of the heart in pra er*, with many things of a like nature, but what poſſibility is there that the illiterate, who know not in the leaſt the meaning of the words the *Maſs Prieſt* utters, ſhould thus join with him in his prayer, ſerving God *with all his heart, ſoul and mind, engaging, and lifting up his heart to God, and praying with the underſtanding.* He indeed may think of other good things at the ſame time, or uſe ſome other prayers with which he is acquainted; but join with the *Maſs Prieſt* in his he cannot, for his heart knows nothing of it, conceives nothing of the ſenſe of the words ſpoken, and ſo is not affected with them, or moved by them to deſire any thing. He therefore loſeth all the advantages he might receive by theſe prayers ſpoken in a language underſtood, the excellency of devotion, the paſſion of deſires, the aſſent of the mind to God, the intellectual converſation with him, the actings of his faith, affiance, hopes, compunction, humiliation upon occaſion of the prayers recited, and whether it be reaſonable that in the publick Service all theſe advantages ſhould be loſt to the greateſt part of the *Catholick Church*, to them who chiefly need, and might entirely enjoy them from the ſervice miniſtred in their *Mother tongue*, let any reaſonable man judge.

Moral. 22. *c.* 18.

2. As

2. As for *Pſalmody, Praiſes and Thanksgivings*, the Argument is much the ſame, for theſe thankſgivings, ſaith the *Pſalmiſt*, muſt proceed * *from the ground of the heart*, theſe praiſes muſt be ſung *with underſtanding*, with *melody in the heart*, with *grace in the heart*, we muſt praiſe God *with the ſoul*, with *all that is within us*, *with all the heart*, *with upri*ghtneſs *of heart*, *with the whole heart*, Corde magis quam voce, *with a mind more imployed than the voice*, ſaith St. *Jerome*, and all the *Fathers* before cited; either then *let the people praiſe thee O God, yea let all the people praiſe thee*, is a *ceremonial* precept, not now obligatory, no not when they come into the *Temple* where *every man*, ſaith the *Pſalmiſt ſpeaketh of his praiſe*, and then St. *Paul*'s enquiry, *how ſhall he that is unlearned ſay Amen at thy giving of thanks*, was but a frivolous, and needleſs queſtion, or they muſt be excuſed from doing it as *Scripture*, and the *Fathers* ſay it ought to be done, *with the heart, ſoul and underſtanding*, or elſe the praiſes uſed in publick muſt be utter'd in a language they may underſtand. And ſurely were it ſo, they would receive great profit, and advantage by it, for their hearts would be filled with ſpiritual joy, with a deep ſenſe of the Divine goodneſs, and mercy to them in thoſe things, for which they praiſe him, they would be obliged by theſe conſiderations to a greater love, and a more chearfull obedience to ſo good a God, and why all theſe great benefits ſhould be loſt to all the illiterate Members of the *Church* of God, that is unto the greateſt part of the *Church Catholick*, which chiefly need theſe helps, I am not able to conceive. To loſe the benefit of publick Prayers and praiſes, can be nothing leſs than to loſe the benefit of the means of grace, and the ordinances of God from which we obtain pardon of ſins, are ſtrengthned in faith, confirmed in hope, increaſed in charity, are comforted in ſorrows, derive help from God, are made ſenſible of his love, and are encouraged in his ſervice, and I much fear they will have a great deal to anſwer for at the great day of judgment, who command and

Nihil eſt ſola voce canere ſine cordis intentione ſed ſicut ait Apoſtolus cantantes in cordibus veſtris. Biel *de Can. Miſſ. lec.* 62. F. 170. A. *Præſtaret fateor ſi eas intelligerent. Divus enim Hieronymus idem docet his verbis & canere igitur & pſallere & laudare dominum magis animo quam voce debemus* —— *quod & præcipit ſpiritus ſanctus in pſalmo per os* David *dicens pſallite Domino ſed ſapienter, & rurſus Auguſtinus pſalmis & hymnis cum oratis deum hoc verſetur in corde quod profertur in voce* Albertus Pius *Reſp. ad* Eraſm. *l.* 6. *de Cerim.* F. 116. B.

* Pſal. 47. 7. 1 Cor. 14, 15. Eph. 5. 18. Col. 3. 16. Pſal. 9. 1. 86. 12. 103. 1. 119. 7, 10.

Tertull. *de orat. cap.* 10. 13.

Cypr. *de orat. Dom. p.* 140.

Pſal. 29. 9.

plead for the performance of God's *Publick Service* in ſuch a manner as neceſſarily deprives ſo many of *Chriſt's ſheep* of ſuch ſpiritual advantages to be received by it; God grant that they who are concerned may lay this to heart.

Chap. 24. *p.* 61, 62.

Obj. But ſaith the Authour of Popery Miſrepreſented and Repreſented. " If at any time the Papiſt be preſent at the *Church* " *Offices*, the *Litany*, ſolemn Thankſgivings, exequies, *&c.* " *which are all performed in Latin*, or ſhould ſay any private " prayers, or ſing an hymn in the ſame language which he " underſtands not, yet is he taughtthat this may be done " with great benefit to his ſoul, and the acceptance of God, " if at theſe occaſions he does but endeavour to raiſe his thoughts " to Heaven, and fix his heart upon his Maker. For that God " doth not reſpect the language of the lips, but of the heart, " does not attend the motion of the tongue, but of the mind, " and if theſe be but directed to him in thankſgiving, in " praiſing, in petitioning, he need not doubt but that God " accepts his prayers and devotions; it being an undeniable " thing that to ſay prayers well and devoutly, 'tis not neceſ- " ſary to have attention on the words, or on the ſenſe of the " prayers, but rather purely on God. Of theſe three attentions, " this laſt being approved by all as of greateſt perfection, and " moſt pleaſing to God. And this he can have whetherhe under- " ſtands the words, or no, it being very uſual and eaſie for " a Petitioner to accompany his petition with an earneſt deſire " of obtaining his ſuit, though the language in which it is " worded be unknown to him.

Repl. To this it hath been lately anſwered, that *the publick Offices of devotion were deſigned for the uniting the hearts and deſires of the people in the ſame things*, (or in our Saviour's language that they might conſpire and agree in any thing which they ſhall ask) *there being one form of prayer for all to join together in, that with the united force of the whole Congregation their petitions may go up to Heaven.* Now in order to this united devotion it is plainly neceſſary that the people all know what they pray for. 2. That all the Devotion which the *Authour* mentions as neceſſary to be performed in *publick* by the common people, may be done as well at a ſilent Meeting where

no

not a word is ſpoken, as where the *Maſs Prieſt* ſpeaketh what they underſtand not in the loudeſt voice. *If at theſe* dnmb Meetings *they do but endeavour* to raiſe their thoughts to Heaven, and fix their hearts upon their Maker for that *God doth not reſpect the language of the lips, but of the heart, does not attend the motion of the tongue, but of the mind, and if theſe be but directed to him in thanksgiving, in praiſing, in petitioning, he need not doubt but that God accepts his prayers and devotions, and if this be ſufficient all publick forms muſt be unneceſſary.*

3. Whereas h: confidently adds that *it is a thing undenyable, that to ſay prayers well and devoutly it is not neceſſary to have attention on the words, or on the ſenſe of the prayers, but rather purely on God, of theſe three attentions the laſt being approved by all as of greateſt perfection, and moſt pleaſing to God.* This bold aſſertion is not onely without all preſident from *Scripture*, or the writings of the *Ancient Fathers*, touching publick prayer, or praiſes, but it is flatly oppoſite to both, and in it relf ridiculous, it is flatly oppoſite to St. *Paul*, who declares *he cannot ſay Amen well, and devoutly unto the prayers or the thanksgiving of the Prieſt, who knows not what he ſaith*; as ſure he cannot do, who attends not to the ſenſe of the words, the prayer or the thankſgiving which he uſeth. 'Tis flatly oppoſite to all the *Ancient Commentatours* on thoſe words of St. *Paul*, who do with one conſent declare that he who knoweth not the ſenſe or meaning of the words uſed in prayer or thankſgiving, cannot duly, or as he ought yield his aſſent unto it, or confirm it with his teſtimony. This bold Aſſertion expreſly is confuted by theſe ſayings of the *Fathers*, that *when the words of the prayer are unknown to them that are preſent—--no man receives benefit by it, that when it is not underſtood it hath no devotion, and is deprived of its effect. That we muſt ſing with underſtanding of the things we ſing, with conſideration of the thing ſpoken, ſtirring up our minds to underſtand*, and that otherwiſe *we onely ſing unto the air, onely honour God with our lips, when our hearts are far from him.* Laſtly 'tis a ridiculous aſſertion; for may I not as rationally ſay that to ſpeak well it is not neceſſary a man ſhould attend to the ſenſe of what he ſpeaks, but onely to the perſon to whom he ſpeaks, as that to pray well it is not neceſſary he ſhould attend to the ſenſe of what he prays, but onely to the God he prays to, can I pray devoutly without deſiring fervently that God would hear my

prayer, and can I have a fervent deſire of any thing of which I have no ſenſe? can I expreſs that deſire without a ſenſe of it, or attending to it, or if I could, is it fit ſaith * the *Father*, *that God ſhould attend to thy prayer when thou thy ſelf doeſt not do it, or regard that deſire which is ſenſeleſs, and unregarded by thy ſelf.*

* *Quomodo Deus præſtabit præcanti quicquid oraverit cum ad præcandum neque ex animo neque obſervanter accedat.* Lactantius *l.* 5. *c.* 19.

But 3. That men ſhould think it reaſonable to read the word of God unto the people in a tongue they do not underſtand, that is to deliver God's meſſage, his command concerning things which he requires them to do, or leave undone upon the greateſt penalties, in ſuch a manner as that the perſons concerned in that Meſſage, and bound to yield obedience to thoſe commands; ſhould be unable to diſcern his will and Meſſage to them, that they ſhould lie under a neceſſity of ſuffering the reproof of *Ephraim*, *I have written to them the great things of my law, but they have counted them as a ſtrange thing.* Or a thing not belonging unto them to know, or do, this I ſay is a practice in it ſelf ſo abſurd and irrational, ſo contrary to the policy and cuſtome of all *Nations* in matters of like nature. So repugnant to the great purpoſe and deſign of God in ſending of this meſſage by his *Prophets*, and inſpired Penmen, ſo plainly contradictory to the ſenſe, faith and practice of the whole body of *Chriſtians* through many Ages of the *Church*, that it is matter of exceeding admiration that any who are called *Chriſtians* ſhould ſet themſelves to juſtifie, and plead for this enormity, and more particularly, that they who do pretend a reverence for the concurrent practice of the *Church* of former Ages, and to hold nothing which hath not by Tradition been handed down unto them, ſhould be guilty of it. For do not all the *Kingdoms* of the world deliver to their Subjects thoſe Laws which they would have them practice in that language which they underſtand? did any *Nation* ever dream of promulgation of them in a tongue unknown? is not the thing a contradiction in it ſelf, if the *Miniſters* of this *Nation* ſhould unanimouſly ſay they judged it expedient that all our Laws, and all his *Majeſty's Proclamations* ſhould be read to the People onely in the *Latin* tongue, would they not render themſelves ridiculous, and juſtly incurr the cenſure of their *Civil Governours*? why then do men deal ſo with the Laws, Edicts, Meſſages of the great God of Heaven, as no man in his wits ever thought

Hoſ. 8. 12.

fit

fit to deal with any humane Laws on earth? for though ſome *Heathen Nations* have thought fit to keep their Laws concerning *Sacra* from the Peoples knowledge, yet never any Nation thought it fit to read thoſe laws unto them in a tongue unknown, and much leſs thoſe which they believed were of great importance to be known.

That this practice is abſurd and irrational I confeſs is ſomewhat difficult to prove, as it is to prove that a man walketh with his feet, and ſeeth with his eyes, or any other thing which ſhines already with the brigheſt evidence, becauſe 'tis difficult to bring a medium more evident to prove it by, for ſince the caſe is in this matter plainly this, whether *Chriſtians* ſhould hear the word of Life, and of Salvation, ſo as to underſtand their duty by it, and the way to Life, or onely hear it read unto them as the Sparrow, and the Wren, and the Dogs that come with them do, by hearing of a ſound which both do underſtand alike, that is not at all? whether it ſhould be read unto them to no purpoſe, or to very good purpoſe? whether they who are commanded to do all things to the *edification of the Church*, and to *follow after thoſe things whereby they may edifie others.* Should read thoſe Leſſons which by confeſſion of the *Trent Council contain great matter for inſtruction*, and the edification of the People, ſo as that they cannot be inſtructed, or edified in the leaſt by what they hear? whether men ſhould in the name of *Chriſt*, and as the mouth of God, read ſuch words as theſe unintelligibly, *Hear this O my people, give ear ye that dwell upon the earth. Hear and underſtand, take heed how you hear*; or indeed any other words ſpoken by them as by the mouth and meſſengers of God; this being in effect to ſay God commands you by me to do what he will not have you know, he by me ſpeaks to you to no purpoſe, and bids you underſtand what he knows you cannot. I ſay this being the plain caſe betwixt us and the *Church* of *Rome*, it is almoſt as hard, as it is needleſs to ſay any thing which is clearer than the very queſtion, or will convince that man who underſtands the meaning of the words, and is not ſatisfied.

3. That the faith, ſenſe, and practice of the whole *Chriſtian* world was for 500, I might ſay a 1000. years unanimouſly for us, I have already ſhewed, from many expreſs ſayings of

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the *Ancient Fathers*, and many practices and customes of the *Church* of God. To which we onely add at present.

1. That nothing is more common in the writings of the Fathers of the fourth, fifth and sixth Centurys than to say *thus and thus you have heard in the Gospel, the Epistle read unto you, or in the Psalms now read.*

2. That they constantly complain of them who did not listen diligently, and yield attention to the *Scriptures* read unto them in the *Church*, and do as frequently exhort them to the performance of this duty, it were easie to compose a volume on this fruitfull subject, but the contents of *Chrysostomes Ethicks*, or *Homilies* with which he doth conclude his expositions on the *Scriptures* will make this manifest beyond all contradiction, the contents of his first *Homily* on St. *Matthew*, run thus, that *we ought exactly to give heed to the Scriptures read to us*; his second on St. *John*, that *they who come to Church ought exactly to give heed to the things spoken*; his fifty third, that it *is very profitable exactly to listen to the holy Scriptures*; his third upon the second *Epistle* to the *Thessalonians*, that *we ought with gravity to come into the Church, and diligently to hearken to the things read unto us.* To omit many others to the same effect.

3. That they took care before they read the Scriptures to the People to quicken their attention to what was to be read out of the word of God to them. For to this end [k] *the Deacon as a common person cryed out a loud, let us attend to what is read, this he doth often*, saith St. *Chrysostome, and the voice he utters*, ἡ φωνὴ κοινὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐστὶν, *is the common voice of the whole Church.* [l] *After him comes the Reader*, and that he may engage us to *Obedience* to this exhortation of the *Church*, by the *Deacon*, *he crys out, thus saith the Lord.* And lastly that this practice is repugnant to the great purpose and design of God in sending of his message to the People by his *Prophets*, and inspired Pen men, will be exceeding evident if we consider.

[k] Κοινὸς ἔσηκεν ὁ διάκονος μέγα βόων καὶ λέγων προσέχωμεν, &c. *Hom.* 19. *in Act. Apost. p.* 723.

[l] Μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἄρχεται ὁ ἀναγνώσης ἔπειτα εἰς ἐπήκοον ἐκφωνεῖ λέγων· τάδε λέγει Κύριος. Ibid. *p.* 724.

1. That God of old required the *Scriptures* should be read unto them that they might *learn to do* what he required by Deut. 31. 11, 12. it. *When all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God*

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in the place which he ſhall chuſe, thou ſhalt read this Law before all Iſrael in their hearing, gather the people together, men, women and children, and the ſtranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear the Lord their God and obſerve to do all the words of this Law. St. *Paul* not onely doth aſſure us that this word of God is *profitable for inſtruction* but that *whatſoever things were written afore time, were written for our learning*: when therefore they are read to People ſo as they cannot learn to do them, and can receive no comfort and inſtruction by them, they muſt be read ſo as that the end which God deſigned in the reading of them cannot be obtained. 2 Tim. 3.16. Rom. 15. 4.

2. To make this farther evident, and ſhew the miſchievous effects of this contrivance, let theſe few queſtions be conſidered ſeriouſly.

1. Whether by this practice, and Tradition of Reading of the word of God in *Latin* to them who do not underſtand that tongue, they have not made *the word of God of none effect* to all that hear it thus read to them, and render it impoſſible for them *to hear and underſtand*, much more to *hear and do*, as *H. Scripture* frequently exhorts.

2. Whether by reading of *Chriſt*'s Goſpel thus, they do not hinder it from being what in Chriſt's mouth it was, ὁ λόγος ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ, *a word in power.*

3. Whether the word of God thus read unto them can be, as the *Apoſtle* ſtyles it, *quick, and powerfull, and ſharper than a two edged ſword*, or the *engrafted word which is able to ſave the ſoul*, or as it is ſo often ſtyled *the word of exhortation*, Act. 13. 15. Heb. 13. 22. *the word of Grace.* Act. 14. 3. 20. 32. *of Life* 1 Joh. 1. 1. *of Salvation.* Act. 13. 26. *of Wiſedom and Knowledge.* 1 Cor. 12. 8. *of Truth.* 2 Cor. 6. 7. Eph. 1. 13. *of Reconciliation.* 2 Cor. 5. 19. *of Righteouſneſs.* Heb. 5. 13. Heb. 4. 12. Jam. 1. 21.

4. Whether they who thus read it do not make it neceſſary that they who do ſo hear ſhould *not believe*, *regard*, *obſerve* it. Pſal. 106. 24. Exod. 9. 21. 2 Chron. 34. 21.

5. Whether

5. Whether they do not force ſuch hearers to be like thoſe unprofitable hearers in the Parable, *who hear the word of the Kingdom, and underſtand it not*, Matt. 13. 19.

6. Whether they do not fulfill to *Chriſtians* that which God threatned to his People for their ſins, *with another tongue will I ſpeak unto this People*, Eſaiah 28. 11, 12.

7. Whether they do not in part, or for that ſeaſon, deprive the People of a great bleſſing? the *Pſalmiſt* having ſaid, *bleſſed are the People which hear the joyfull ſound*, Pſal. 89. 15. And the *Evangeliſt* of the obſcureſt book of the *New Teſtament*, *bleſſed is he that readeth, and they who hear the words of this Propheſy*, Revel. 1. 3.

8. Whether they do not bring them under that dreadfull puniſhment and curſe God by his *Prophet* threatned to his People, ſaying, *hear ye indeed but underſtand not*, Eſa. 6. 9. and which was in our *Saviour*'s time fulfilled upon them *Matt.* 13. 14.

9. Whether they do not render it impoſſible for them to believe the word thus read unto them with the heart, to *take heed what*, or *how they hear*, to *lay it up in*, or *write it on the tables of their Hearts*, as *Scripture* doth require of all that hear it.

10. Whether according to St. *Chryſoſtome*, they do not even *ſtop the mouth of God*, or contribute to the ſtopping of it; for ſpeaking to ſuch as did not mind, or yield attention to the word read unto them in the *Church*: *Hear*, ſaith he, *and be filled with horror, ſuch an one as it were ſtops the mouth of God, for the mouth by which he ſpeaks, the mouth of the Prophets is the mouth of God*, and ſurely then they muſt do little better who order matters ſo that many of the hearers cannot mind, or yield attention to the word read in the *Church*.

Hom. 19. *in Act. Apoſt.*

Chap. 10. But ſaith the Authour of the *Papiſt Miſrepreſented and Repreſented*. The *Papiſt* truely Repreſented *doth not think it fit to be read generally by all without licence*, or, *in the vulgar tongue*,

not

not for any diſreſpect to it, but 1. *becauſe he underſtands that private interpretation is not proper for the Scripture,* 2 Pet. 1. 20. 2. *becauſe that in the Epiſtles of St. Paul are certain things hard to be underſtood which the unlearned and unſtable deprave, (as alſo the reſt of the Scriptures) to their own perdition.* 3. *Becauſe God hath given onely ſome to be Apoſtles, ſome Prophets other ſome Evangeliſts, and other ſome Paſtours and Doctours,* Eph. 4. 11. *for theſe reaſons he is taught that 'tis not convenient for the Scripture to be read indifferently to all men.*

Anſw. Let it be noted that theſe are reaſons why the *Papiſt* is to believe not onely that the *Scriptures* ſhould not be read by all in the *vulgar tongue*, but alſo that *'tis not convenient for the Scripture to be read indifferently to them.* And this diſcovers two of theſe reaſons, though they be very weak, yet to be very proper to the ſubject matter, the ſtrength and conſequence of them being as unintelligible to the common people as their *Leſſons* read in *Latin*, and being in this like unto their *Latin Service*, that doubtleſs they were not intended to inſtruct, or edifie, and much leſs to convince, for ſure no perſon in his ſenſes can hope to convince us with ſuch ſtuff as this. " The Scriptures were " indited by men not ſpeaking what their own ſpirit did ſug- " geſt, but what the *H. Ghoſt* ſuggeſted to them, therefore they " are not to be read indifferently to all men, or to be read in " publick in the *vulgar tongue.* God gave onely ſome *Apoſtles* " *Prophets, Evangeliſts, Paſtours and Teachers*, therefore theſe *Pa-* " *ſtours* and *Teachers* muſt not read the *Scriptures* in the vul- "gar tongue, or unto all indifferently. The ſecond reaſon ſeems at firſt view more plauſible, and is on all occaſions urged by the *R. Doctours*, and that it is indeed no better than theſe following. The wicked turn *the Grace of God into laſciviouſneſs*, therefore that Grace of God which brings Salvation, ſhould not indifferently be made known unto them. The word of God is to many *a ſavor of death unto death*, and therefore is not to be preached indifferently. In the Writings of the *Prophets*, and of *Moſes* were certain things hard to be underſtood, which both the learned *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, and the unlearned *Jews* perverted to the diſcarding of the true *Meſſiah*, and ſo unto their own *perdition*, therefore they were not to be read in the *Synagogues every Sabbath day*, therefore our

Jud. 4.

2 Cor. 2. 16.

Act. 15. 21.

Joh. 5. 39. Luk. 16. 31. *Saviour* did not well to ſay unto them indifferently *ſearch the Scriptures*, or *they have Moſes and the Prophets let them hear them.* Moreover the *Apoſtle Peter* in that very Epiſtle where he ſpeaks of the *unſtable and unlearned who wreſted the Scriptures to their own diſtruction*, doth inform his hearers that 2 Pet. 1. 19. they would do well *to take heed unto that word of propheſie*, which the unſtable did thus wreſt, *as to a light ſhining in dark places, and to be mindfull of the words which were ſpoken before by the holy Prophets, and of the commandment of the Apoſtles of the Lord and Saviour*; ſo far was he from thinking this Ch. 3. v. 2. a ſufficient reaſon for their being kept from reading or hearing of the *H. Scriptures* read intelligibly to them. To conclude then this Chapter, I doubt not but whoſoever ſeriouſly weighs theſe things will with *Caſſander*, ſay, *it were to be wiſhed that, according to the Apoſtle's command, and the cuſtome of of the Ancient Church, ſome heed were taken of the people in the publick Prayers, Pſalms and Leſſons of the Church, which are ſaid for their ſakes, and that the common people ſhould not always and altogether be kept ſtrangers from all communion in the Prayers and Divine leſſons. The words of Paul are manifeſt that what is ſpoken cannot be underſtood, unleſs you expreſs them in a ſignificant tongue, and that it cannot be that he, who, through unskilfulneſs, knows not what is ſpoken, ſhould ſay Amen to the thanksgiving of another, and that Oracle by whoſe admonition the Pope with the College of Cardinals is ſaid to have granted liberty to the* Sclavonians *to perform the Service in their Mother tongue, ſeems to belong to Chriſtians of all Nations; let every ſpirit praiſe the Lord, and every tongue confeſs unto him.*

De officio pii viri. p. 865.

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CONCLUSION.

The CONTENTS.

Shewing the use of this Treatise 1. *to confute the Doctine of Infallibility, and to demonstrate that the approved Councils of the* Church *of* Rome, *or the* Church Governours *presiding in that Church are not by God's appointment* Authentick Judges *of our* Controversies, *or infallible* Interpreters *of Scripture* §. 1. 2. *To shew the falshood of all the principal things asserted by* R. H. *in his Guide of Controversies.* §. 2. 3. *To engage all* Protestants *not to give heed to the pretensions of the* Church *of* Rome *to the forementioned privileges, till they see greater reason to own them Infallible in the Interpretation of Scripture and in the decision of Controversies, then is here offered to prove that in deciding of these two particulars, and acting sutably to those decisions they have done contrary to the plain verdict of the word of God, and the Tradtion of the Church for ten whole Centuries.* § 3.

HEre then is matter of fact sufficient to preserve from *Popery* all who are satisfied of the truth of what the *Church* of *England* hath asserted touching this particular, and plainly to demonstrate the falshood of the pretensions of the *Church* of *Rome*, and of her *Governours* to be infallible, and the vanity of all the elaborate Sophisms of *the Guide of Controversies.* For

1. If it be a thing *plainly repugnant to the word of God to have publick Prayers in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the People*, then the *Trent Council* must have erred in judging that *it was not expedient that the Mass should be every where celebrated in the vulgar tongue*, and in decreeing that *the custome of performing* the whole *Mass*, or publick Service *in* the Latin tongue throughout the West *should be retained.* Then also the continual practice of the *Church*,

agreeably to these decrees, must be a practice plainly repugnant to the word of God.

2. Hence all the Sophisms of the *Guide of Controversies*, may be sufficiently confuted. For hence it follows,

Guide Disc. 1. *ch.* 2. 1. That *if a promise of indefiency in necessaries was absolutely made by Christ to the Guide of the Catholick Church*; either the things defined by these *Councils* were not necessary to be defined, and so we can have no assurance that they truely were *Disc. p.* 131. defined by them, since he *contends not for an universal infallibility of General Councils*, but onely for their infallibility *in all things necessary to be defined*, or else the *Governours* of the *Church* of *Rome*, and the forementioned *Councils* were not the Guides of the *Church Catholick*, since they were not infallible, but actually err'd in these Decisions.

Guide Disc. 1. *chap.* 3. 2. Hence it must follow *that the subordinate Clergy may be a Guide to Christians when opposing the Superiour*, and that *a few* may have sufficient reason to *oppose a major part*, for actually it so happened that those few inferiour persons of the *Clergy* who opposed themselves against the celebration of the publick Service in a tongue unknown to the generality of the People, did guide *Christians* into the way of obedience to the command of *Christ*, and those many *Superiours* who determined the contrary, did guide them into the way of disobedience to his precepts, and so could be no Guides which *Christians* were obliged to follow.

3. Hence it must follow that these *Pastours and Governours* *Guide Disc.* 2. *cap.* 1. assembled in these *Councils*, *could have no Authority* from Christ *to decide* these *Controversies*, they then decided, since they could have no *Authority* from *Christ* to command all *Christians* subject to them, to do what plainly was repugnant to the word of God, or to violate his ordinance and precept.

4. Hence it must follow that these *Councils* ought not to be believed in proposing of these Doctrines, because they are not to be believeed in asserting that it is lawfull to violate the *Disc.* 2. *ch.* 2. commands of *Christ*, and that no parts of the *Church* were, or could be obliged *to submit their judgments* to these Decrees, because they cannot be obliged to act in repugnance to the word of God.

5. Hence it is evident that there can lye no obligation upon *Ibid. ch.* 3. *Christians*, in a *dissention of the Church Clergy to adhere to the Superiour*,

Superiour, or *in thoſe of the ſame order and dignity, to adhere to the major part*, becauſe no obligation can lie upon them to adhere to the Commands of men, obliging them to violate the Laws of *Chriſt*, or to act in oppoſition to the word of God.

6. Hence alſo it is evident that the *clearneſs of any thing in Scripture*, or Tradition gives no *ſecurity in reference to the judgment of Church Governours*, that they, aſſembled in *Council*, will not act in contradiction to what is clear from Scripture and Tradition. Seeing theſe Governours have in this matter judged contrary to the plain Word of God, and the Tradition of the *Church* of *Chriſt*. *Ibid. ch. 5.*

7. Hence it muſt follow that for knowing what *Councils* are obliging a *Chriſtian* cannot *ſafely rely on the moſt General judgment of the Weſtern Churches ſince the ſitting of thoſe Councils*, becauſe the generality of the *Clergy* of thoſe *Churches* have actually, in this matter judged and practiced in oppoſition to the command of *Chriſt*, and to the General Tradition of his *Church*. *Guide Diſc. 3. cap. 2.*

8. Hence it appears that no future *acceptance of theſe Decrees* can render them obliging, becauſe there can be no obligation upon any man to diſobey the Laws of *Chriſt*. *Ibidem.*

9. Hence it follows that no perſons diſſenting from, and oppoſing the definitions of theſe *Councils*, can upon that account be *Hereticks*, becauſe no perſon can be an *Heretick* for refuſing to act contrary to the plain Word of God, or the Tradition of the whole *Church Catholick*. *Ibid. chap. 3.*

10. Hence it is clear that no perſon ſeparating from the external communion of thoſe *Churches* which impoſe the belief of theſe Decrees as true, and a practice ſutable to them, as the Condition of Communion, can be on that account a *Schiſmatick*, becauſe no perſon can be obliged to profeſs that he believeth an untruth, or join in practice with them who diſobey *Chriſt*'s precepts, and act in oppoſition to his word, and the Tradition of the *Church* for a whole thouſand years. *Ibidem.*

11. Hence it appears that *Eccleſiaſtical Superiours, though departing from no other Superiours, may*, by impoſing theſe conditions of Communion, *become guilty of Schiſm*, for if a *Schiſm* do actually follow from theſe impoſitions, and they who therefore ſeparate, becauſe they will not profeſs that they believe an Errour, or becauſe they will not practice in oppoſition to *Ibid. ch. 5.*

theirs

their Lord's command, and the Tradition of the *Church*, be not the *Schiſmaticks*, the Impoſers muſt, without doubt, be guilty of that crime.

12. Hence it muſt follow that the definition of matters of Faith upon *Anathema* to *Diſſenters*, can be no evidence that they who do pronounce that *Anathema* are infallible, becauſe the *Anathemas* pronounced in theſe caſes were pronounced by *Councils* actually deceiving, and deceived.

Laſtly, Hence it is evident that the *Governours* of the *Church* of *Rome* diſperſed, or aſſembled in *Council*, cannot be the perſons on whom we are obliged to depend for the declaring the ſenſe of the *Fathers*, or the *Traditions* of the *Church* of former Ages, ſeeing in this Article they have ſo evidently declared againſt the ſenſe of the whole ſtream of *Fathers*, and the *conſtant Tradition* of the *Church*.

In a word, hence it is clear that no man ought to hearken to the pretences of that *Church* to be infallible, or by our Lord's appointment, the *Authentick Judge* of *Controverſies*, and the *Interpreters* of *Scriptures*, till he find greater evidence from *Scripture*, Reaſon and *Authority*, that to them, by our Lor's appointment, do belong theſe privileges, than they here find to prove God hath appointed that *the publick Service ſhould be read in a Tongue unknown unto the People*, and then I think we can have no great cauſe to fear any will be taken in this ſnare.

FINIS.

THE

FALLIBILITY

OF THE

Roman Church,

Demonstrated from the manifest Error

OF THE

2d *NICENE* & *TRENT* Councils,

Which Assert,

That the Veneration and Honorary Worship of Images, is a Tradition Primitive and Apostolical.

IMPRIMATUR.

Maii 28. 1687. *Guil. Needham.*

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The Preface to the Reader.

TO that which I have ſaid in the cloſe of this Diſcourſe, touching the Infallibility of the ſecond Nicene *Council, and her Authority in propoſing Articles of Faith, interpreting of Holy Scripture, and in declaring what was the Tradition of the Church of Chriſt; I think fit here, by way of Preface, to add theſe things.*

1. *That if ſhe hath a juſt and an aſſured Title to theſe* Privileges, *then muſt ſhe be infallible in the interpretation of theſe following Scriptures.*

(a) Let not a Clergy-man, from the time preſent, be placed in two Churches, this being an Argument of filthy Lucre, and alien from the Eccleſiaſtical Cuſtom; For we have heard from our Lord's Mouth, That no Man can ſerve two Maſters, for he will either hate the one, and love the other; or he will cleave to the one, and deſpiſe the other. *Let therefore every one, according to the Apoſtles Injunction,* remain in that Calling wherein he was called, and place himſelf in one Church only; for thoſe things which are done in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs for filthy Lucre, are alien from God. *Now either thoſe words of St.* Paul *do really command all Clergy-men to abide in that* Church *in which at firſt they were placed; and thoſe words of* Chriſt *do, in their true and proper ſenſe, forbid them to have two Benefices with Cure, or two* Churches *under their care, or they do not ſo: If they do, then do the* Doctors *of the* Church *of* Rome *continually practiſe what is forbid by* Chriſt, *and as continually neglect what is commanded by St.* Paul; *we alſo have, according to the determination of this* Council, *a full conviction that they are generally addicted to filthy Lucre, and are, above all other* Clergy, *tranſgreſſors of* Eccleſiaſtical Cuſtom. *If theſe Texts do not bear the ſenſe here put upon them,*

(a) Κληρικὸς ἀπὸ τῦ παρόντ Θ μὴ καταλαυέτω ἐν δυσὶν ἐκκλησίαις ἐμπορείας χᾶ αἰσχροκερδείας ἴδιον τῦτο, χᾶ ἀλλότριον ἐκκλησιαστικῆς συνηθείας· ἰκνέσαμεν γᾶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τ κυριακῆς φωνῆς, ὅτι ὐ δύναταί τις δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν, ἢ γᾶ τ ἕνα μισήσει, χᾶ τ ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει· ἢ τῦ ἑνὸς ἀνθέξεται, χᾶ τῦ ἑτέρυ καταφρονήσει· ἕκας Θ ἂν χρ τῶν Ἀποστολικὴν φωνὴν, ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθη, ἐν τύτῳ ὀφείλει μένειν χᾶ πρσεδρεύειν ἐν μιᾷ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Τὰ γᾶ δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν γινόμενα ὅτι τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ἀλλότρια τῦ Θεῦ καθεστήκασι. 2. Nic. Conc. Can. 15.

then hath this Council *erred in their interpretation of theſe* Scriptures; *and if they have ſo evidently erred in thoſe Interpretations of the* Scripture *which concern the Manners and Duty of the* Chriſtian Clergy, *why may they not err alſo in thoſe things which concern their Faith? Moreover, it being evident and confeſt, that the Command to tell the* Church, *eſpecially concerns Offences againſt good Manners; and that our Lord's Promiſe is to be with theſe Guides,* teaching Men to obſerve thoſe things he hath commanded; *ſurely it muſt be evident, that theſe Texts are impertinently alledged for the infallibility of* General Councils, *in their interpretations of the Holy* Scripture, *if they do not prove the infallibility of this* General Council *in their interpretation of theſe* Scriptures.

2ly, *This Council in her ſecond Canon, ſpeaketh thus; (b)* Since when we ſing, we promiſe to meditate in the Judgments of the Lord, *and* not forget his words *; it is moſt wholſom that all Chriſtians ſhould obſerve this, but eſpecially the Hierarchy: And therefore we command, that all who are promoted to a Biſhoprick, ſhould altogether know the Pſalter. *Now I deſire to know of the* Romiſh Doctors, *how they will reconcile the ſenſe here given of the* Pſalmiſt's *words, with their publick ſinging in an* unknown Tongue? *For if it be* wholſom, *that* all Chriſtians *ſhould obſerve this, and it be certain that they cannot do it, unleſs they do entirely know the* Pſalter: *'tis alſo certain, that when the* Pſalter *is only ſung in* Latin, *all* Chriſtians *cannot meditate in theſe Judgments of the* Lord, *how* wholſom *ſoever it may be to them ſo to do. Again, if the forementioned Privileges did certainly belong unto this* Council, *then muſt ſhe alſo be infallible in theſe following Deciſions,* viz.

1. *In that of* Canon *the* 3*d, which runs thus; (c)* All Elections made by Princes of Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons, ſhall be void, according to that Rule, which ſaith, If any Biſhop, by uſing the ſecular Powers, obtain a Biſhoprick, let him be depoſed; and they who do communicate with him, let them be excommunicated. *According to which* Canon, *all the* Elections *of* French *and* Engliſh Biſhops *muſt be void, and all* Chriſtian Princes *muſt be deprived of their juſt Prerogative in this Affair.*

2ly, *In*

(b) Ἐπειδήπερ ψάλλοντες συνταιτόμεθα τῷ Θεῷ ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασί σε μελετήσω, ὐκ ὀκνήσομαι τὴν λόγων σε, πάντας μὲ χειρανὰς ταῦτα φυλάτειν σωτήριον καὶ ἐξαίρετον δὲ τὲς ἱερατικὴν ἀμπεχομένους ἀξίαν, ἔνθεν ὀφείζομεν πάντα τ προφάλλεδαι μέλλοντα εἰς τ τ ὄπισκοπῆς βαθμὸν πάντως τὸ ψαλτήριον γινώσκειν. 2. Nic. Concil. Can. 2.

* Pſal. 119. 16.

(c) Πᾶσαν ψῆφον γινομένην παρὰ ἀρχόντων ὄπισκόπε, ἢ πρεσβυτέρε, ἢ διακόνε ἀκυρον μένειν κατὰ τ κανόνα τ λέγοντα, Εἴ τις ὄπισκοπ Θ κοσμικοῖς ἄρχοσι χρησάμενος, δι' αὐτῆς ἐγκρατὴς ἐκκλησίας γένηται καθαιρείδω κ ἀφορίζέδω, κ οἱ κοινωνοῦντες αὐτῷ πάντες. Ibid. Can. 3.

2ly, *In their first* Canon *they confirm all the* (d) Canons of the Apostles, and of the six Holy and Oecumenical Synods, and also of the Topical Councils assembled to make such Determinations; and of the Holy Fathers, because all these being enlightned by one and the same Spirit, decreed things expedient, whom therefore they anathematized, deposed, or separated from Communion, we also do anathematize, depose, and separate from Communion. *And in particular, they frequently* Anathematize *and condemn among the List of* Hereticks (e) *Pope* Honorius. *Now if all these* Canons *be not to be received, either as to Matters of Faith, or Manners; then hath this* Synod *dangerously erred in determining, that they were all to be received, as being made by Men,* enlightned by the Holy Ghost *in their decisions. If they be to be thus esteemed, to omit at present almost infinite Advantages, which this Concession gives to our Cause, then was the* sixth Council *in* Trullo *assisted by the* Holy Ghost *to determine thus*;

(d) Τῶν ἐκτεθέντων ὑπὸ τῆς πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων, τῆς τε ἁγίων οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων, καὶ τῆς τοπικῶς συναθροισθεισῶν ἐπὶ ἐκθέσει τοιούτων διατυπωμάτων, καὶ τῆς ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἐξ ἑνὸς γὰρ ἅπαντες καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα θεοῦ αὐχαυθέντες ὤφειλαν τὰ συμφέροντα. Καὶ ὃς μὲν ἀναθέμασι προσέβαλον, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀναθεματίζομεν, &c.

(e) Viz. Act. 7. p. 556, 588. vid. Act. 3. p. 165, 181. Act. 6. p. 421, 424.

1. (f) Because we know that in the Roman Church they have made a Canon, that they who are to be ordained Priests, or Deacons, shall promise no more to accompany with their Wives: We, following the old Canon of Apostolical appointment, will have the conjugal society of Holy Men, according to the Laws still firm and valid, by no means dissolving their conjugal Society with their Wives, nor defrauding them of the enjoyment of each other at times convenient. If therefore any Person be found worthy to be ordained Subdeacon, Deacon, or Priest, let him by no means be hindred from receiving these Orders, because he lives with his lawful Wife; nor shall any Man require him to promise, that after his Ordination he will abstain from conjugal Duties, lest by so doing we become injurious to that Marriage which God ordained, and our Lord blessed with his Presence. The Voice of the Gospel crying out, *What God hath joined, let no Man put asunder*; and the Apostle teaching, *That Marriage is honourable, and the Bed undefiled*; and saying, *Art thou bound to a Wife, seek not to loosed.*

(f) Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τάξει κανόνος προσβέβληται διαγγωνίζειν τοὺς μέλλοντας διακόνους ἢ πρεσβυτέρους χειροτονίας ἀξιοῦσθαι καθομολογεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἐάσουσι ταῖς αὐτῶν συναπολαύειν γαμετῶν ἡμεῖς. Syn. Trull. Can. 13.

2. *When*

2. *When they determine thus*; (*g*) Renewing the Canon made by the General Councils of *Conſtantinople* and *Chalcedon*, We decree, That the Chair of *Conſtantinople* ſhall enjoy equal privileges with that of *Rome*, and be magnified in Eccleſiaſtical Matters as that is.

(*g*) Ὀφείζομεν, ὥστε τὴν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαβεῖν πρεσβείων τὸν τῆς Πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης θρόνου, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκεῖνον μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι. Ibid. Can. 36.

3. *When they decree thus*; (*h*) Since we have underſtood that in the City of *Rome* they faſt on Saturdays in Lent, againſt the Tradition of the Church, it ſeemed good to the Holy Synod, that the Canon which ſaith, If any Clergy-man be found faſting on the Lord's Day, or any Saturday, except one only, let him be depoſed; if any Lay-man, let him be excommunicated, ſhall be inviolably obſerved in the Church of *Rome* alſo. *And*,

(*h*) Ἐπειδὴ μεμαθήκαμεν τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει, ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς ἡμέραις, καὶ σαββάτοις τοῖς ταύτης παραδόσει παρὰ τὸν παραδοθεῖσαν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἀκολουθίαν ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ, ὥστε κρατεῖν, καὶ ὅπου τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπαρασαλεύτως τὸν κανόνα, &c. Can. 55.

4. *When in their firſt Canon they Anathematize Pope* Honorius; *that is, they by God's Spirit were aſſiſted in the firſt Decree, to condemn the Practice and Conſtitutions of the* Church *of* Rome *of that Age; and much more the practice of the preſent* Church *of* Rome, *as contrary to the Voice of* Chriſt *and his* Apoſtles; *In the Second, to decree againſt the* Pope's Supremacy; *In the Third, to charge the* Church *of* Rome *with walking contrary to the* Tradition *of the whole* Church *beſides, and give Laws to rectify that Abuſe*; *In the Fourth, to declare, not only that a* General Council *may be infallible without the Confirmation, or even Concurrence of the* Pope, *but alſo may infallibly condemn him for an* Heretick.

Moreover, in this Nicene Council, *this pleaſant Story is twice related*, viz. "That a certain *Monk* being haunted with the "Spirit of *Fornication*, (a Spirit too familiar with ſuch Profeſſors of Continency) "who vehemently urged him to un-"cleanneſs. The old Man miſerably cried out, How long "will it be e're thou let me alone, thou haſt been with me "even to old Age? Then the *Devil* viſibly appearing, ſaid, "Swear to me thou wilt tell no Body what I ſhall now ſay to "thee, and I will tempt thee no more. Then the *Monk* "ſwore, by the High God, that he would tell no Man what "the *Devil* ſhould ſay. Whereupon *Satan* ſpoke thus to him; "*Worſhip thou no more the Image of the Bleſſed Virgin with her*

"*Son*

" *Son in her Arms, and I will no more moleſt thee.* The *Monk* " hearing this, notwithſtanding his Oath, goes the next day to " Abbot *Theodore*, and tells him all that the *Devil* ſaid. And " the *Abbot* commending him for it, farther told him, That *it* " *was better for him to frequent all the Stews in the City, than to* " *deny to worſhip, by that Image, the Lord and his Holy Mother.* " And when the *Devil* comes again, and taxeth the *Monk* with " Perjury, he tells the *Devil*, that he knew it very well, but " reſts ſatisfied in this, That it was only *Perjury againſt his God* " *and Maker. Where note,*

1. *That this ridiculous Tale is ſo acceptable to that Good* Synod, *that they command it to be read, Act the 4th; and Act the 5th they make a repetition of it.* P. 252. p. 381.

2ly, *That they condemn the* Monk's *Oath, as being* ὅρκῳ ἀσεβὴς, a wicked Oath; *and,* ὁ ψευδὴς ὅρκος, a falſe Oath, *and ſo not binding; and ſay, That* it was better to forſwear himſelf, than to keep an Oath for the deſtruction of Images; *and ſeem all to be pleaſed with the deciſion of Abbot* Theodore. *Now if this be good Divinity, then is it better to be perjured, and* take the Sacred Name of God in vain, *than not to worſhip Images; yea, it is better to commit Fornication, and make* the Members of Chriſt the Members of an Harlot, *than not to adore the Works of Mens hands.* Ibid. p. 253.

Now every Body knows, that Perjury and Fornication are Sins againſt the Law of Nature; and that no Law of Nature doth command the Veneration of the Images *of* Chriſt, *or of his* Bleſſed Mother, *that* Chriſt *and his* Apoſtles *ſaid expreſly,* Thou ſhalt not forſwear thy ſelf; thou ſhalt not commit Adultery; *but never ſaid,* Thou ſhalt worſhip Images: *Who then can want diſcretion ſufficient to diſcern, that this Determination made in the* Synod, *without exception of one Perſon, muſt be falſe?*

It would be endleſs to reckon all the idle Dreams, and fooliſh Stories, produced by this Synod, *in favour of their* Images. *But it is alſo needleſs, ſeeing the* (*i*) Council *of* Frankford *hath well obſerved, That when theſe* Fathers perceived that their Doctrine by no means would accord with Scripture,

(*i*) Illi eum errore ſuo Scripturas Divinas cohærere minimè poſſe ſenſerunt, ad Apocryphas quaſdam, & riſu dignas nænias pedem verterunt. Libr. Carol. l. 3. c. 30.

ture, they turn'd themſelves to Apocryphal and Ridiculous Tales.

And (k) Eſpencæus *doth ingenuouſly confeſs, That* the Greeks defended Images with the Apparitions of Devils, and the Dreams of Women, as is to be ſeen in the *Nicene* Council.

(k) Græci, qui Imagines defendebant, Dæmonum ſpectris & muliebribus ſomniis parum verecundè abuſi ſunt, ut in Nicæna Synodo videre licet. Comment. in 2. ad Tim. p. 155.

3ly, *Obſerve, That from the* Epiſtle *of* Germanus *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *cited with approbation by this* Nicene Synod, *we learn not only, That the People then received the Sacrament in both kinds, but alſo that they received both* (l) according to Chriſt's own Tradition, for the commemoration of his Death, and of his Reſurrection; *and that* they were divinely moved with an inſatiable deſire of partaking of his Holy Body and Blood; *which ſhews that then they held our* Lord's Tradition, *and the* Memorial of his Death *obliged the common People to receive both Kinds; and that their deſire of both, was a deſire* inſpired by God: *And then, what Inſpiration muſt that be which moved the* Council's *of* Conſtance, Baſil, *and* Trent, *to hinder them of the enjoyment of the Cup, and even to forbid them to deſire it, it is not difficult to determine?*

(l) Πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τῦ Χριςῦ ὅτι τῶν μεταλήψιν τῦ παναγίυ αὐτῦ σώμαΘ καὶ αἵματΘ, δι' ὧν τὴν μνήμην τῦ θανάτυ αὐτῦ, καὶ τ ἀναςάσεως καὶ τῶν αὐτῦ τελετῶν ἐνθέσιν ἀκορέςῳ ὀπτυμίᾳ, καὶ θεοκινήτῳ σπάδῃ κατεπείγονται μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτι τὰς παρὰς τὴν ὑδέπων ἡ ἔλαφος. Apud Conc. Nic. 2. Act. 4. p. 314.

4ly, *Obſerve, That one Reaſon which the* Fathers *of this* Council *give for the Worſhip of the* Image *of* Chriſt, *is this, becauſe* (m) he himſelf was not ſenſibly preſent with us, but only preſent as to his Divinity; *and that he was not to remain with us,* (n) σωμαΘικῶς, *corporeally.*

(m) Ὡς μὴ παρόνΘ βασιλέως ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτῦ πιμᾶται, ὥςε καὶ ἀςτίως τὸν δεσπότην τὴν ὅλων Ιησῦν Χριςὸν αἰδοῦνται ἡμῖν μὴ παρόνΘ (ἀδύνατον γάρ ἐςι τοῖς τ σαρκὸς ἡμῶν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ὡς δὲ Θεὸς πάντων πάρεςι) πιμητέον τῶν αὐτῦ εἰκόνα. Anaſtaſ. apud Syn. Nic. 2. Act. 4. p. 249.

(n) Οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνοις σωματικῶς ὡραμένην ἤμελλεν ἕως τῦ ἐνεςῶτος αἰῶνΘ παρελθόντως. Epiſt. Germani Epiſcopi Conſtantinop. apud Syn. Nic. 2. Act. 4. p. 305.

They therefore could not believe Tranſubſtantiation, *or his Corporeal Preſence in the Sacrament, for having that ſtill kept upon the Altar,*

Altar, or in the Pyxis *or* Ciborium, *had they believed* Christ *was corporeally present in it, they must have also thought that he remained still corporeally present with his* Disciples, *and his* Church *on Earth, and not denied such a presence with them as they plainly do; and must have owned some other presence of our* Saviour *with us, than that of his* Deity, *which yet apparently they do not. Moreover, they pronounce (o)* Anathema against all Persons who do not profess that our Lord was circumscribed as to his Humanity; *and therefore they pronounced this* Anathema *on all who held, That his Humanity was present in the Sacrament, by way of* Transubstantiation, *since 'tis agreed on all hands, that his Body is not there circumscribed, or present, after the manner of a Body.*

(o) Εἴ τις Χριστὸν ἢ Θεὸν περιγεγραμμένον οὐκ ὁμολογεῖ κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἀνάθεμα. Concil. Nic. 2. Act. 7. p. 578.

And so much for the Observations which concern the things delivered in the second Nicene Council. *What follows from the Doctrine here established, against the* Tenets *of the* Romish Church, *and the Assertions of the* Guide of Controversies, *is as followeth.*

1. *Hence it is evident, That* in Judges subordinate dissenting, *there is no* Universal Practice *obliging us* to adhere to the Superior, or in those of the same order and dignity to the Major part. *For neither could* Christians *be obliged to adhere to this false decision of the* Pope, *and second* Nicene *Council; nor did the* Councils *of* Frankford, Paris, *or the* German, French, *or* British Churches, *think themselves obliged so to do.* *R. H.* Disc. 2. c. 3. §. 23. p. 100.

2. *Here also it is evident, in the judgment of these* Councils *and* Churches, *That* the subordinate Clergy may be a Guide to Christians, when opposing the Superior; *for so these* Councils *and* Churches *thought themselves, when they opposed the* Pope *of* Rome, *and the Decrees of the* second Nicene Council; *and so undoubtedly they were provided the Decisions of that* Council, *approved by the* Pope, *be false.* *R. H.* Disc. 1. c. 3.

3. *Here also is demonstrated the fulness of that Assertion of* R. H. *That* Christians ought to submit to the Decisions of such Church Guides, declaring the Sense of the Fathers; *the* Disc. 2. c. 2. §. 19.

ſenſe which was impoſed on them by the Nicene Synod, *being notoriouſly falſe, and by the forementioned* Councils, *and* Churches, *declared ſo to be.*

R. H. Diſc. 3. c. 2. §. 13.

4. *Hence it follows, That* if acceptance of a conſiderable part of Church-Governors abſent from any Council, is that, and only that which renders it equivalent to a General Council, *The* ſecond Nicene Council, *for* 500 *Years after their ſitting, could not be General, ſeeing the greateſt part of the* Weſtern Church-Governors *were abſent from it, and for* 500 *Years did not accept of its Decrees, but reject, condemn, and abhor them; and how it ſhould become, after ſo long a Period, what for ſo many Years it was not, I am yet to learn.*

Diſc. 3. c. 3. §. 16.

5. *Hence it muſt follow, That if according to* R. H. all Perſons diſſenting from, and oppoſing a known definition of the Church in Matters of Faith, be Hereticks: *Then muſt that of the* ſecond Nicene Council *be no Definition of the* Church *in Matters of Faith; or all the forementioned* Councils, *and* Churches, *that ſo long diſſented from, and oppoſed it, muſt have been* Hereticks *during that whole time; and conſequently the* Pope *himſelf, and all that Communicated with them, for five Centuries, muſt be* unchurched *alſo.*

6. *Hence we Demonſtratively learn, That* Councils *by the* Church *of* Rome *reputed general, may confidently pronounce* Anathema's, *put their Decrees into their* Creeds, *and call Men* Hereticks *who diſown them, as did the* ſecond Nicene Council; *when yet it is extreamly evident, that their* Decrees *are falſe, their* Anathema's *wicked and unjuſt; and they whom they ſtile* Hereticks, *may be Good and* Orthodox *profeſſors of* Chriſtianity.

Diſc. 3. c. 10. p. 314.

7. *Hence it appears how abſurdly* R. H. *and other Romaniſts, aſſert, That none* can be ſufficient Judges of the Miſarguings of Councils, unleſs it be ſome following Councils of the ſame Authority; *and that* private Men can by no better way learn what is Tradition, but from the Church ſpeaking by her Councils; *and that* Apoſtolical Tradition cannot be known but by the Judgment of the preſent Church: *for ſure our Reaſon*

was

was given us for little purpose, if it cannot serve us to discover, that this Nicene Council *hath argued amiss, and delivered that as* Apostolical Tradition, *which was far from being truly such.*

8. *Hence also we may learn the vanity of the Objections framed against the use of Reason, in judging of the Truth or Falshood of Things defined by such* Councils, viz. *That* it is great pride for private Persons to oppose their Judgments to the Definition of a General Council; to think they can see clearly, what so many Persons could not see: *With many other things of a like Nature, urged with much* Rhetorick, *but with more weakness, by the* Roman Catholicks; *for in such Cases as these are, the private Person doth not rely upon his private Judgment, but on his Judgment concurring with the Judgment of all Learned* Protestants *in this and former Ages, and of the whole* Church *of* Christ *for Six Centuries; and with the major part of the* Western Church *for so many more; and with the Confessions of many learned Persons of the* Church *of* Rome: *And what absurdity it is to prefer the Judgment of so many, joyn'd with the clearest evidence of Scripture; what pride to follow the Evidence produced here, let any reasonable Person judge.*

Lastly, *Because some Persons take the liberty to say, The* Church *of* Rome, *and her* Councils, *do not require Men to venerate, to worship, or bow down to Images; let them know, that their* Trent Council *hath decreed,* eis debitum honorem & venerationem impartiendam esse, *that* due honour and veneration is to be imparted to them, *according to the Definition of the* second *Nicene* Council. Sess. 5.

And that the Fathers of that Council *generally say,* τὰς σεπτὰς εἰκόνας σέβομαι καὶ προσκυνῶ, (p) I worship and adore the Sacred Images, and anathematize those who do not so confess or practise. (p) Act. 2. p. 130, 132, 133, 136. Act. 3. p. 188, 189, 192.

In the 7th Session they declare, We should (q) ταύταις ἀσπασμὸν καὶ τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν ἀπονέμειν, salute and give them honorary Worship. *In the same Session they declare, That* it is without doubt acceptable, and well-pleasing to God, προσκυνεῖν καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι, to worship and salute the Images of Christ, the Blessed Virgin; of Angels, and all Saints. *Adding,* (q) P. 555.

That

That if any one doubt, or be wavering, touching the Worſhip of Holy Images, (r) τὸν τοιαῦτα διαπατίζει ἡ ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἡμῶν Συνόδος, our Holy Synod, aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt, doth Anathematize him.

(r) Act. 7. p. 584. vid. Act. 4. p. 248.

(s) Part. 3. Ch. 2. §. 24. The (s) Roman Catechiſm *enjoins the Pariſh Prieſt to declare, That Images of Saints are placed in the Church,* ut colantur, that they may be worſhipped; *and they have forced thoſe who held the contrary, to renounce it as* Hereſy. *When therefore any* Engliſh *or* French Papiſts *tell us, That they do not venerate, or bow down to Images; or that the* Church *of* Rome *doth not enjoin them ſo to do, they either know not what their* Church *doth teach, or wilfully prevaricate; all* Roman Catholicks *being obliged by theſe* Councils, *and taught by this* Catechiſm, *to pay this Veneration and Worſhip to them.*

Mendæ ſic emendandæ.

In Pref. p. v. l. 16. Marg. for τῃ r. τῇ.
In the Body of the Book, p. 2. l. 12. Marg. for ἀεπκῶς r. σχεπκῶς.

A DEMONSTRATION,

That the Church of *ROME*, and her Councils, have actually Erred, &c.

CHAP. I.

The Fathers of the Nicene *and* Trent *Councils, teach, That Image-Worſhip is a Tradition of the Apoſtles, received by all Chriſtians from the beginning.* §. 1. *The Councils of* Conſtantinople *and* Frankford, *in the ſame Age, ſay, It was the Tradition of the Apoſtles, and the Fathers, that Images were not to be worſhipped.* §. 2. *This laſt Aſſertion is proved*; 1. *From expreſs Teſtimonies of the Fathers, ſaying, They had no ſuch Cuſtom or Tradition*; *That Chriſt and his Doctrine taught them to reject and abandon Images*; *and, That they taught all their Converts to contemn them.* §. 3. 2ly, *That Image-Worſhip was by them repreſented as an Heatheniſh Cuſtom, It being, ſay they, proper to the Heathens to make and worſhip them, and proper to Chriſtians to renounce the Worſhip of them.* §. 4. 3ly, *When Heathens objected this to Chriſtians, That they had no Images or Statues, yea, that they laught at thoſe who had them*; *they own and juſtify the thing.* §. 5. 4ly, *They commend the Policy of the Jews for having none, and the Wiſdom of thoſe Gentiles who had none*; *and held it a mark of their own Excellency that they had them not*; *and that they ſhut their Eyes when they worſhipped, that they might not ſee any ſenſible Object.* §. 6. 5ly, *They anſwer and reject thoſe very Pleas when uſed by Heathens, which afterwards*

were used by the Nicene *Council, and the Romish Church, in the behalf of Image-worship.* §. 7. 6ly, *These Fathers represent the having Images of Christ, and of his Saints, for Worship, as a thing proper to the vilest Heretick.* §. 8.

AMongst the many Evidences that might be easily produced to shew, that the pretended *General Councils* of the *Church* of *Rome*, have, with great vanity, and most apparent falshood, defined, That they received the Doctrines, which they endeavoured to impose upon the *Christian* World, from *Primitive* and *Apostolical* Tradition; one is, The Veneration, or honorary Worship of the *Images* of *Christ*, his *Virgin Mother*, the *Martyrs*, and the *Saints* departed: For the second *Nicene Council*, and the *chief Bishops* mentioned, or residing in it, do very frequently, but also very falsly say, That the Doctrine and Practice there declared, and required, touching the *Adoration* of *S. Images*, is *Apostolical from the beginning*, and that *which hath been always practised by the Church of Christ.*

§. 1. Pope *Gregory* the Second, having, like a true *infallible Interpreter* of *Scripture*, told us, That in that Expression of our Lord's, (*a*) *Where the Carcass is, there will the Eagles be gathered together: by the Carcass was to be understood Christ*, and *by the Eagles, Religious Men, and Lovers of him.* He adds, That (*b*) *these Religious Men flew like Eagles to* Jerusalem; *and having seen our Lord, and* James *his Brother, and* Stephen *the first Martyr, they painted them as they had seen them:* And that *Men no sooner beheld them, but leaving the Worship of the Devil, they fell immediately to worship these Images; not indeed with* Latria, *but with Relative Worship.*

(*a*) ὁ χειστὸς ὃ τὸ πτῶμα, αἰετοὶ οἱ θεοσεβεῖς καὶ φιλόχειστοι ἄνθρωποι. Concil. Nic. 2. Con. To. 7. p. 12.

(*b*) ταύτας προσεκύνησαν καὶ λατρευτικῶς ἀλλὰ ἀσπικῶς. p. 13.

Pope *Hadrian* saith, That (*c*) *all Orthodox, and Christian Emperors, all Priests, and religious Servants of God, and the whole company of Christians, observed the veneration of Images and Pictures, for memory of pious compunction, and even till then worshipped them, as they received a Tradition from the beginning from the Holy Fathers to do.* That the special Honour, Adoration, and Veneration of them, was *delivered by the Holy Apostles.* And that *throughout the whole World, where-ever Christianity was planted,*

(*c*) Sicut à primordio traditionem à sanctis Patribus susceperunt. *Act.* 2. *p.* 103. Hoc enim traditum est à sanctis Apostolis. *p.* 110. & *p.* 99. In universo mundo ubi Christianitas est, ipsæ S. Imagines ab omnibus fidelibus honorantur. p. 106.

planted, these venerable Images were honoured by all the Faithful.

Tharasius, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, declares, That this of the Venerable Images, was (d) *the Tradition of the whole Catholick Church of God from the beginning.*

(d) παραδοθεῖσα ἐκ τῶν ἀρχῆθεν χρόνων. Act. 5. p. 348, & 388.

Gregory Bishop of *Possene*, cites for it a *Synod* of the *Apostles* met at (e) *Antioch, commanding Christians no longer to err about Idols, but instead of them, to paint the Image of Christ, God and Man.*

(e) ἀλλ' ἀντιχρίζειν τῷ θεανθρωπικὴν φήλην τῶ χριστῶ ἡμῶν. Act. 1. p. 64.

And *Leo* Bishop of *Rhodes*, adds, That the *Holy and Venerable Images were to be in the Church,* (f) *according to the Custom delivered of old Times from the Apostles.*

(f) χρὴ τὸν παραδοθεῖσαν ἔκπαλαι τῶν χρόνων συνήθειαν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων. Ibid.

And at the conclusion of many of their Actions, the Fathers (g) generally affirm, That they embraced and practised the worship of Images, κατὰ τὸν τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων παράδοσιν, *according to the Tradition of the Holy Apostles*; and καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν, οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου, (h) *as they delivered to them, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses of the Word.*

(g) Act. 2. p. 132, 133, 136, 152, 153. 3. p. 188. Act. 4. p. 328. 5. 389. 7. 576.

(h) Act. 2. p. 145.

Yea, the whole *Synod* doth frequently assert, they were taught thus to judge of the (i) *Adoration* of *Images by the Holy Fathers, and by their Doctrine delivered by God.* That their *Tradition* concerning it, was (k) ἔνθεος παράδοσις, *the Divine Tradition of the Catholick Church.* And that in defining and asserting it, (l) *they followed the Doctrine of the Holy Fathers taught them by God, and the Tradition of the Catholick Church, and knew this was the Doctrine of that Holy Spirit which dwelt in her.* That *they* (m) *followed in observing this Tradition, St. Paul and the whole Apostolical College*; and that *thus the Doctrine of the Holy Fathers was confirmed, thus the Traditions of the Catholick Church,* τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων εἰς πέρατα δεξαμένης τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, *from one end of the Christian World to the other, held and practised.* That *this was* (n) *the Doctrine received from the first Founders of the Christian Faith, and their*

(i) παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν θεοπαράδοτον διδασκαλίας. Act. 4. p. 321.

(k) Act. 7. p. 553. β.

(l) ἐπακολουθοῦντες τῇ θεηγόρῳ διδασκαλίᾳ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων, τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνοικήσαν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἶναι ταύτην γινώσκομεν. p. 556.

(m) πάσῃ τῇ θείᾳ ἀποστολικῇ ὁμηγύρει. ibid. item p. 588.

(n) παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πρωταρχῶν τῆς ἡμῶν διδασκαλίας. p. 581.

their Divine Succeſſors. And laſtly, they do often with full Voice (o) cry out, αὕτη ἡ πίστις τῶν Ἀποστόλων -- τῶν πατέρων -- τῶν ὀρθοδόξων, *this is the Faith of the Apoſtles, this is the Faith of the Fathers, this is the Faith of the Orthodox, this is that Faith which eſtabliſheth the World.*

(o) ἡ ἁγία Συνοδος ἐξεβόησεν. Act. 7. p. 576. Act. 8. p. 592.

And ſuitable to this is the Language of the *Trent Council*, which commands all *Biſhops*, and others, whoſe Office it is, *to inſtruct the People, to teach them diligently, That the Images of Chriſt, the Mother of God, and other Saints, are eſpecially to be had and retained in Temples; and that due Honour and Veneration is to be given to them, becauſe the Honour tendred to them, is referr'd to the Prototype; ſo that by the Images which they kiſs, before which they uncover their Heads, and proſtrate themſelves, they worſhip Chriſt, and venerate the Saints, whoſe Similitudes they are:* And this, ſay they, is done (p) *according to the cuſtom of the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, received from the firſt Age of the Chriſtian Faith, and the conſent of the Holy Fathers.*

(p) Juxta Catholicæ & Apoſtolicæ Eccleſiæ uſum, à primævis Chriſtianæ Religionis temporibus receptum Sanctorumque Patrum conſenſionem. *Seſſ.* 25.

§. 2. On the other hand, the *Council* of *Conſtantinople*, conſiſting of 338 *Biſhops*, aſſembled in the Year 754, declares, That (q) *this evil invention of Images, neither hath its being from the Tradition of Chriſt, or his Apoſtles, nor of the Holy Fathers.* And having forbidden all *Chriſtians* to worſhip any, or to place an *Image* in the *Church*, or in their private Houſes, they conclude unanimouſly thus, (r) αὕτη ἡ πίστις τῶν Ἀποστόλων,--τῶν πατέρων,--τῶν ὀρθοδόξων, *this is the Faith of the Apoſtles, this is the Faith of the Fathers, this is the Faith of the Orthodox.*

(q) Ὅτε ἐκ θεσπεσίου χειρὸς ἢ Ἀποστόλων ἢ πατέρων τὸ εἶναι ἔχει. Concil. Nic. 2. p. 452. εἰκόνα ἢ προσκυνῆσαι, ἢ στῆσαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. p. 508.

(r) Ibid. p. 532.

The *Council* of *Frankford*, conſiſting of 300 *Biſhops*, aſſembled by *Charles* the *Great*, out of *Italy*, *Germany*, and *France*, A. D. 794. declares, That the (s) *ſecond* Nicene *Council had offended in two things*; (1.) *in decreeing that Images ſhould be worſhipped:* And, (2.) *in ſaying falſly, that this was delivered to them from the Apoſtles.* They add, That (t) *leaving the Traditions of the Ancient Fathers, who decreed, That Images ſhould not be worſhipped, they endeavoured to bring into the Church new and unuſual Cuſtoms.* That *they*

(s) Quia ut hoc facerent, ab Apoſtolis ſibi traditum mentiebantur. *Lib. Carol. l.* 2. *c.* 25, 27.

(t) Relictis priſcorum patrum traditionibus, qui imagines non colere ſanxerunt, novas conari & inſolitas Eccleſiæ conſuetudines inferre. *Præſat. in lib.* 1.

they endeavoured to bring into Christian Religion the new Adoration of Images, (u) *without the Doctrine of the Holy Fathers, and the consent of their fellow Priests throughout the World.* That *this of Image-Worship, was,* (w) impudentissima traditio, *a most impudent Tradition.* And that this pretended Tradition *was* (x) *neither to be found in the Oracles of the Prophets, nor in the Writings of the Gospels, nor in the Doctrines of the Apostles, nor in the Relations of the former Holy Synods, nor in the Doctrines of the Orthodox Fathers.* That *it was instituted by them,* nullo Antiquitatis documento, vel exemplo, *without all Instruction, or Example from Antiquity.*

(u) Absque Sanctorum Patrum doctrina & consacerdotum per diversas mundi partes consensu. *L.* 4. *c.* 21.

(w) *Præfat. p.* 10.

(x) Neque in Evangeliorum tonitruis, neque in Apostolorum dogmatibus, vel quorumlibet Orthodoxorum Patrum doctrinis uspiam reperimus insertam. *L.* 4. *c.* 13.

A *Synod* held at *Paris*, under *Ludovicus Pius*, and *Lotharius*, Anno Dom. 824, saith, That *the* (y) *second* Nicene *Council declared for Image-worship against the Divine Authority, and the Sayings of the Holy Fathers.* And that (z) *they determined against the Worship of them according to Divine Authority, and,* juxta sententias sanctorum Patrum, *according to the Judgments of the Holy Fathers.*

(y) Contra Authoritatem divinam & sanctorum Patrum dicta. *P.* 23.

(z) Ed. Pith. *p.* 25, 26.

Agobardus, Bishop of *Lions*, having declared against all *Image-worship*, saith, (a) *This is sincere Religion*, is Mos Catholicus, hæc Antiqua Patrum Traditio, *this is the Catholick Custom, this is the Ancient Tradition of the Fathers, as is easily proved even out of the Book of Sacraments which the Roman Church useth.* And again, (b) *None of the Ancient Catholicks did ever think that Images were to be worshipped or adored.*

(a) *L. de Imag.* §. 30. *p.* 263.

(b) Nullus Antiquorum Catholicorum unquam eas colendas, vel adorandas fore existimavit. *P.* 265.

Hincmarus, Arch-bishop of *Rhemes*, informs us, That (c) *this* Nicene *Synod was condemned and evacuated by a General Synod call'd by the Emperor* Charles *the Great, according to the way of the Scripture, and the Tradition of the Ancients.* (d) *Aimoinus* also complains of them, That *they had decreed touching the Adoration of Images*, alitèr quàm Orthodoxi Patres antea definierunt, *otherwise than the Orthodox Fathers had before defined.*

(c) Secundum Scripturarum tramitem, traditionémque Majorum. *Opusc.* 55. *cap.* 20.

(d) De Gestis Franc. *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 28.

In

(e) In ea Synodo confirmatum ſt Imagines adorari debere, quod omnino Eccleſia Dei execratur. *Annal. Part.* 1. *ad An.* 791.

In that Synod, ſaith, (e) Roger Hoveden, *it was confirmed, that Images ſhould be adored; which the Church of God doth wholly execrate.*

Now in this Matter let the Truth lie where you pleaſe, 'tis ſure no little Prejudice againſt receiving any thing as a Tradition, upon the evidence of a few *ſingle Fathers*, in Matters of meer Speculation, as ſome *Traditionary Doctrines* of the *Church* of *Rome* moſt ſurely are; that in a thing of this Nature, which muſt be either daily practiſed, or omitted by the *Church*, whole *Councils*, of 300 *Biſhops* at the leaſt, in the ſame Age, maintain ſuch contradictory Aſſertions; one ſaying, frequently and expreſly, That *this was the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and all the Ancient Fathers*; the others as expreſly, That *it never was the Doctrine of either of them.* One, That *this was the practice of all faithful Chriſtians*; the other, That *they never found it practiſed by any of the Orthodox Profeſſors.* But though ſuch contradictory Aſſertions in another Caſe, might cauſe a wary Perſon to ſuſpend his aſſent to either of them, yet I am confident, that whoſoever is unprejudiced, muſt in this caſe give in his Verdict againſt the Doctrine and Aſſertions of the *Trent* and of the *ſecond Nicene Council.*

§. 3. For notwithſtanding all the confident Aſſertions of theſe *Councils*, the Teſtimonies of the *Ancient Fathers* are ſo full and clear againſt that Honour and Veneration of Images, which by theſe Councils is impoſed upon all *Chriſtians*, with an *Anathema* to them who do aſſert, or even think the contrary, that he who doth impartially read them, and doth not conclude that the whole *Church* of *Chriſt* did, for 500 Years and more, condemn this practice; and in plain terms, or by juſt conſequence aſſert, they had *no ſuch Tradition*, cannot ſuſtain much loſs, if he quite want the uſe of Reaſon.

(a) Τὰς τῶν ἁγίων ἰδέας οὐκ ἐν ἔικισιν ἐξ ὑλικῶν χρωμάτων ἀναμορφῶν παρειλήφαμεν. Apud 2 Nic. Concil. Act. 6. p. 492.

(b) ὑμῖν ᾧ οὐκ ὕλης αἰδητῆς αἰδητὴν τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐςιν. Protrept. p. 34. β.

For, (1.) the *Fathers* do expreſly ſay, The *Church* of *Chriſt* hath no ſuch Cuſtom, or *Tradition.* (a) *We Chriſtians*, ſaith *Theodotus*, *have no Tradition to form the Images of Saints in material Colours.* (b) *An Image*, ſaith *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *is indeed dead Matter, formed by the hand of the Artificer; but we (Chriſtians) have no ſenſible Image of ſenſible Matter.*

St.

St. *Ambroſe* ſaith, That (c) *Rachel who hid the Images, is*, or ſignifies, *the Church. Which Church knows no empty Idea's, or vain Figures of Images, but knoweth the true Subſtance of the Trinity.* (d) *We*, ſaith St. *Jerome*, *have but one Husband, and worſhip but one Image, to wit, the Image of the Inviſible and Omnipotent God.* (e) *We*, ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*, *do by their Writings enjoy the preſence of the Saints, having the Images, not of their Bodies, but of their Souls.* (f) *We have no care*, ſaith *Amphilochius*, *to figure by Colours, the bodily Viſages of the Saints in Tables.* So certain is it that they had no ſuch Cuſtom in the five firſt *Centuries*, That,

(c) Quæ Eccleſia inanes ideas & vanas neſcit ſimulacrorum figuras. De fuga ſæc. c.5. p.246.

(d) Nos autem unam veneramur imaginem, &c. in Ezech. c. 16. p. 189. F.

(e) ἀγὰ τ σωμάτων αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ τ ψυχῶν τὰς εἰκόνας ἔχοντες. Apud Concil. Nic.2. Act.6. p.

(f) ὁ γὰ τοῖς πίναξι τὰ σαρκικὰ πρόσωπα τ ἁγίων διὰ χρωμάτων ὀπτικὰς ἡμῖν ἐντυπῶν. Ibid. p. 484.

2. They plainly tell us, that the firſt thing they taught their Converts, was the contempt of Images. (g) *We plainly ſhew forth the gravity*, or decorum, *of our Principles, and do not hide them, as* Celſus *doth imagine, ſeeing even to thoſe who are firſt entred among us, we teach the contempt of Idols, and of all Images*, ſaith *Origen*. (h) *God*, ſaith he, *cannot wholly overlook the Chriſtians, becauſe they are the Men who deſpiſe Images of humane Art, and endeavour to aſcend by Reaſon unto God himſelf; they tranſcended not only Images, but the whole frame of Creatures to aſcend to the God of all the World.*

(g) Τοῖς πρώτοις εἰσαγομένοις καταφρόνησιν τ πάντων ἀγαλμάτων ἐμποιήσωμεν. In Celſum, l. 3. p. 120.

(h) Τὰ μὲ τ ἀνθρωπίνης τεχνῆς ὑπερφρονεῖν. L. 8. p. 412. γένῳ ὑπερβᾶν μὲ ὑμόνον ἀγάλματα, &c. l. 2. p. 91.

3. They add, that they were taught thus to abandon, and forſake all Images and Statues by the *Religion* they embraced, and by the Doctrine of the *Holy Jeſus*.

(i) *The Chriſtian Doctrine*, ſaith *Origen*, *doth not permit them to be ſollicitous about Images and Statues, or about the Works of God, but to tranſcend them, and to lift up the Soul to the Creator.* (k) *They*, by the *Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt*, ſaith he, *are moved to relinquiſh all Images and Statues, and to look up, by the Word, unto the Father.* Again, (l) *The Chriſtian*, ſaith He, *doth not look upon Images, for he is taught by Chriſt to ſeek nothing which is*

(i) μὴ τυτάζειν πρὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἢ τὰ ἰδρύματα. L. 5. p. 255.

(k) Διὰ τ τ Ιησ τ Χριστ διδασκαλίαν καταλείπειν πάντα ἀγάλματα ἢ ἱδρύματα. L. 7. p. 359.

(l) ἔμαθε γὰ ἀπὸ τ Ιησ μηδὲν μικρὸν τετέχθαι ἀϊδίτων ζητεῖν. L. 7. p. 362.

little

little or ſenſible, but only thoſe things which are Great, and truly Divine. He adds, That (m) *the Prophets had foretold of the coming of Chriſt to cauſe them to deſiſt from the worſhip of Idols, and of Images, and of Dæmons.* (n) *Other Nations, as the* Scythians, Africans, *&c. abſtain from Images,* ſaith he; *but they do it not upon the ſame account upon which we Jews and Chriſtians are averſe from it, for we abſtain by reaſon of the Commandment, which ſaith, Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelf an Idol, nor the ſimilitude of any thing in Heaven or Earth; which things do not only cauſe us to reject Images, but make us ready to die, rather than we will defile our conception of God with any ſuch Impiety.*

(m) Προφητεύων ἤδει τὴν τοῦ Ιησοῦ ἐπιδημίαν ἀφιστάνουσαν τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων θεραπείας.

(n) Οὐ μόνον ἐκτρέπονται ἀγάλματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ἑτοίμως ἔχουσι, &c. L. 7. p. 375.

Arnobius ſaith, That (o) *Chriſt had elevated the Chriſtian from fruitleſs ſigns made of vile Earth, to the Stars, and Heaven, and made us to preſent our Prayers and Supplications to the God of all things.*

(o) Qui ab ſignis inertibus atque ex viliſſimo formatis luto ad Sydera ſublevavit & Cœlum. *Adv. Gent.* L. 1. p. 22.

§. 4. 4. They ſay, that it was proper to the *Heathens* to make and worſhip Images; and it is frequent among the *Fathers,* to call them Worſhippers of Images, inſtead of *Heathens,* and to deſcribe the *Chriſtian* as one who hath left off, and hath renounced that practice. (p) *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſpeaks to the *Heathens* thus; *Art hath deceived you with its Deluſions, leading you to honour Images and Pictures.* (q) *We are not like the* Getæ, *and* Cilicians, *and other Nations, to which we are compared by* Celſus. *For they provide Images for their Gods; but we,* ſaith *Origen, remove from God all Honour by ſuch things, as judging them more fit for Devils.* And again, he repreſents them as Men, (r) *who having fallen from the true knowledge of God, under a vain Imagination of Piety, worſhip Images:* And he repreſents the *Chriſtians,* as thoſe who *by the Conduct of the Word, or Reaſon, aſcended from Wood and Stone, Silver and Gold, and all that was precious in the World, to the Creator of all things.* (s) *What Enſign do we bear before us,* ſaith *Tertullian, but that firſt Wiſdom, which inſtructs us not to worſhip the frivolous Works of Mens Hands, that Abſtinence where-*

(p) Περαγῆσαι ὀπὶ τὸ πιμᾶν καὶ προσκυνεῖν ἀγάλματα καὶ γραφάς. Admon. p. 39. A.

(q) ἡμεῖς δὲ τῷ διὰ τῶν τοιούτων τιμὴν ἀνελόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου ὡς ἁρμοζόντων μᾶλλον δαιμονίοις. L. 3. p. 131.

(r) Φαντασίᾳ δ' εὐσεβείας ἀγάλματα σέβοντες. L. 4. p. 177.

(s) Quid enim inſigne preferimus niſi primam ſapientiam qua frivola humanæ manus opera non adoramus: qui vult intelligere qui ſunt Chriſtiani iſtis indiciis utatur neceſſe eſt. Ad Nat. l. 1. c. 5.

by

by we do refrain from the Goods of others, &c. *He that will understand who are Christians, must know them by these Marks and Tokens.* (t) *You are the Men who make Images of Gold*, saith *Arnobius*, *which we Christians cease to do.* (u) *This is the Doctrine of the Holy Prophets which we Christians follow; this is our Wisdom, which they who either worship Images, or defend vain Philosophy, deride.* (x) *Innumerable of all Nations*, saith *Origen*, *are turned to the Christian Faith, not without the great hatred of those who worshipp'd Images*; whereas they who have left all Images and Statues, is his description of the *Christians*.

(t) Vos simula ra effingitis ex auro, *l.* 2. *p.* 98. Quæ quidem nos cessamus facere, *l.* 6. *p.* 189.

(u) Isti qui fragilia colunt. *L.* 7. *c.* 26.

(x) Eorum qui simulacra venerabantur. περὶ Αρχ. L. 4. c. 1.

Accordingly we find the *Fathers* still representing this as an *Heathenish Custom.* (y) *If you speak of the Greeks, and other Heathens*, saith *Theophilus*, *they are the Men who worship* ἀπεινοσίματα νεκρῶν ἀνθρώπων, *the Images of dead Men.* (z) Helen, *when she had found the Cross, did worship Christ, but not the Wood, because that*, saith St. *Ambrose*, *was the Error of the Heathens.* (a) *It is no marvel*, saith *Eusebius*, *that those of the Heathens, who of old were cured by our Saviour, should do such things*, (*i. e.* erect his Image, as did the Woman cured of her bloody Issue) *since we have seen the Images of the Apostles*, Paul *and* Peter, *yea, and of Christ himself, kept painted with Colours on Tables, for that of old they were wont imprudently, by an Heathenish Custom, thus to honour them whom they counted their Saviours, or Benefactors.* This therefore was an *Heathenish*, and not a *Christian Custom*: For had *Christians* customarily had such *Statues*, and *Pictures*, why doth *Eusebius* make this a Badg of *Heathenism?* Why doth he say, *It was no marvel that Heathens should do thus?* If the Images of *Christ*, and his *Apostles*, had been then common in all *Christian* Oratories, why is it mention'd as so rare a thing that *he had seen them?* Why, lastly, doth he say that this was done ἀπερισκέπτως, that is, according to *Valesius*, *imprudently, and inconsiderately?* *Adamantius* the *Manichæan* cites those words of the second Commandment, *See that you make no Effigies, or Images, for I am a jealous God*, to reprehend the Zeal of the God of the Old Testament; to which St. *Austin* answers,

(y) Ad Autolyc. l. 1. p. 76.

(z) Hic enim Gentilis est error. Orat. de obit. *Theod.* p. 61.

(a) Ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπερισκέπτως ὅια σωτῆρος ἐθνικῇ συνηθείᾳ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τοῦτον τιμᾶν εἰωθότων τὸ τρόπον. Hist. Eccles.. l. 7. c. 18.

Effigies & Imagines. Contra Adam. cap. 13.

(b) Vult ergo videri favere se simulacris, quod propterea faciunt ut miserrimæ & vesanæ suæ sectæ etiam paganorum concilient benevolentiam. *Ibid.*

answers, That (b) *he only quarrels with God's Zeal, because it forbad Images, and so would seem to favour Images, which,* saith he, *these Men do to conciliate the favour of the Heathens to their mad and miserable Sect,* where we learn, not only that *Simulacra* and *Imagines,* are with St. *Austin* the same thing, but also that it was only *Heathens* who then favoured Images, and those who had a kindness for them. *Agobardus* in the 9*th* Century, saith, That (c) *to use the Images of the Apostles, or our Lord himself, for the Honour of Religion, or any Veneration, is to use them after the manner of the Heathens,* and that *if* Constantine *did adore the Images of St.* Peter *and* Paul, (d) *he did it from the pestiferous Custom of Idolatry.* So generally and so lately was this esteemed an *Heathenish* and *Idolatrous* Custom by the *Fathers* of the Church.

(c) Ob religionis honorem aut aliquam venerationem more Gentilium. De Imag. *p.* 248.

(d) Ex consuetudine Idololatriæ pestifera. p. 252.

§. 5. 5. This thing was so notorious to the *Heathens,* that they object it to the *Christians* as their Crime, that they had no Images, that they would not make, would not endure, much less venerate them, and that they laugh'd at those who did. *Celsus objects,* saith *Origen,* That (e) *we avoid the making of Images.* And again, (f) *In this, that they will not endure Images, they are like unto the* Scythians, *&c. and other irreligious and lawless Nations, who dedicate no Image to their Gods, and count them Fools that do so.* And a third time; *thou laugh'st at our Images.* (g) *For this cause you lay great Impiety to our charge,* saith *Arnobius, because we make no Images, or shape of any of the Gods.* In a word, When *Adrian* the Emperor had commanded that (h) *Temples should be made in all Cities without Images,* it was by them conjectured that *he made them for Christ,* saith *Lampridius*; who adds, That *he was forbidden to proceed in this Enterprise, by those who, consulting the Oracles, found that all Men would turn Christians, if this, according to their wishes, should fall out.* Whence evident it is that it was not the use of *Christians* then to have *Images* in

(e) Ἡμᾶς ἀγάλματα ἰδεῖν φεύγειν. L. 8. p. 389, 404.

(f) Οὐκ ἀνέχονται ἀγάλματα ἰδεῖν γε Σκύθαι τοῦτο. L. 7. p. 373.

(g) Quod non deorum alicujus simulacrum constituamus aut formam. *L.* 6. *p.* 189.

(h) Christo Templum facere voluit [Severus] quod & Adrianus cogitasse fertur, qui Templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris jusserat fieri. Hist. August. c. 43. Qui consulentes sacra, repererunt omnes Christianos fieri, si id optato evenisset. *ibid.*

in *Churches*, but that the contrary was *according to their wiſhes.*

6*ly*, If we conſider what the *Fathers* anſwered to this Accuſation of the *Heathens*, we ſhall more fully be convinced, that they did not venerate, but did intirely reject the uſe of *Images*, as vain, ridiculous, and inconſiſtent with the *Chriſtian* Faith, and the true worſhip of a *Deity*. For,

Whereas the *Heathens* complain'd that *Chriſtians* laughed at their Images. That *Origen* replies, *(i) that they did not laugh at the inſenſate Statues, but at thoſe who worſhipped them.* And he juſtifies this practice of the *Chriſtians*, by ſaying, That *(k) any Man of ſound Reaſon could not but laugh at them who look'd upon Images, and by the contemplation of them, thought to aſcend from what was ſeen, and was a Symbol, to what was underſtood.*

(i) Οὐ δὲ καταγελῶμεν τῶν ἀψύχων ζοάνων, ἀλλ' εἰ ἄρα τοῖς προσκυνοῦντων αὐτοῖς. L. 8. p. 404.

(k) Τίς γὰρ νοῦν ἔχων ἂν καταγελάσεται τῶν ἐμφερῶν τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν, &c. l. 7. p. 362.

2*ly*, They anſwer, by diſtinguiſhing betwixt ſuch *Images* as were the work of an Artificer, ſaying, That theſe they did reject; and ſuch as were ſpiritual, conſiſting in the reſemblance of the Vertues and Perfections of their Lord, and theſe they owned, as acceptable to God, and ſuch as they regarded. *(l) The Images which are agreeable to God*, ſaith *Origen*, *are not ſuch as are framed by ſervile Artiſts, but thoſe Vertues which are formed in us by the Word of God, and are the Imitations of the Firſt Born of the Creation, in whom are the Examples of Juſtice, Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence, and Godlineſs, and all other Vertues. (m) In all therefore who are furniſhed with theſe Vertues, are the Images with which we think it meet to honour the Prototype of all Images, the Image of the Inviſible God, his only Son; and (n) they who put off the old Man, with his Works, and put on the New, which is renewed in Knowledg according to the Image of him that created him, by receiving this Image of their Creator, make ſuch Images in themſelves as God regards*, inſinuating, that God liked no other. *(o) In ſum*, ſaith he, *all Chriſtians do attempt to make ſuch Images, as we have now related, not ſuch as have no Life or Senſe, nor ſuch in which wicked Damons may reſide*; that is neither ſuch Images as were in uſe amongſt the *Heathens*, nor ſuch as are now uſed by the *Church*

(l) Ἀγάλματα δὲ πρέποντα θεῷ, οὐκ ὑπὸ βαναύσων τεχνιτῶν κατασκευασμένα, &c. L. 8. p. 389.

(m) Ἐν πᾶσιν οὖν ἐσὶν ἀγάλματα οἷς πρέπον εἶναι πεπείσμεθα τιμᾶσθαι τὸ πρωτότυπον πάντων ἀγαλμάτων. Ibid.

(n) Ἀγάλματα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς πυιοῦσιν ὁποῖα βέλεται ὁ ὁτὶ πᾶσι θεός. Ibid.

(o) οὐκ ἄψυχα καὶ ἀναίσθητα, οὐδὲ δαιμόνων ἐνδιαιτητά.

of *Rome*, for theirs, I ſuppoſe, have neither Life nor Senſe: (p) *Let therefore any Man that will*, ſaith he, *compare the Images I have now mentioned, framed in the Souls of pious Perſons, with the Images of* Phidias, *and* Polycletus, *and the like, and he will manifeſtly diſcern that the latter are void of Life, and corrupted by Time:* and therefore he concludes, That *there is no compare betwixt the Images of Chriſtians, and of Heathens.* So that the Images which are obnoxious to the Injuries of Time, and which are void of Life and Senſe, were then accounted *Heathen Images*, the Images of *Chriſtians* were then only thoſe which are framed in the immortal Souls of Men. According to that of *Theodotus Ancyranus*, (q) *We have no Tradition to form the Images of Saints in material Colours, but we are taught to expreſs their Vertues, recorded in the Writings concerning them, as their living Images.* And that of *Amphilochius*, (r) *We are not concerned to frame the fleſhly Perſons of the Saints by Colours upon Tables, but to imitate the Vertues of their Converſations.*

(p) Ἐκεῖνα μὴ καὶ ἄψυχα εἶναι καὶ χρόνῳ φθειρόμενα· Ταῦτα ὃ ἐν τῇ ἀθανάτῳ μένειν ψυχῇ ἐδημία σύγκεισίς ἐστιν ἥν παρ' ἡμῖν πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα ἥν ἐθτῶν. Ibid. p. 390, 391.

(q) Ἀλλὰ τὰς τύπων ἀρετὰς οἷον πινας ἐμψύχους εἰκόνας ἀναμάττεσθαι δεδιδάγμεθα. Apud Conc. Nic. 2. Conc. To. 7. p. 492.

(r) Οὐ γὰρ τοῖς πίναξι τὰ σαρκικὰ πρόσωπα ἥν ἁγίων διὰ χρωμάτων ὀπτμελὲς ἡμῖν ἐντυπῶν. Ibid. p. 484.

3. To the Compariſon made by *Celſus* betwixt them and the *Scythians*, *Moors*, and *Perſians* in this Matter, *Origen* replies (s) That *it is true, both they and Chriſtians were averſe from Images, but then the Chriſtians rejected them on better Grounds than Heathens did*, viz. *becauſe they would not violate the Commandment forbidding the uſe of them, and becauſe they dreaded to debaſe the Divine Worſhip, by bringing it down to Matter ſhaped in ſuch a Manner and Figure. And* (t) *becauſe finding by the Doctrine of Chriſt the way of Piety towards God, they avoided thoſe things which by appearance of Piety made Men wicked.* Which paſſages aſſure us, not only that the *Chriſtians* of thoſe Times abſtained from all religious uſe of *Images* but alſo that they did it in obedience to the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, and the *Commandment* forbidding it, *i.e.* upon the very Motives which move us to do ſo.

(s) Κατάγειν τὸ λεὶ τὸ θεῖον θρησκείαν ὅτι τὸ τοιαύτην ὕλην ὕπως ἐσχηματισμένην. L. 4. p. 374.

(t) Εὑρόντες ὅτι διὰ τὸ Ἰησοῦ διδασκαλίαν τὸν τρόπον τὸν εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας φεύγομεν τὰ φαντασία εὐσεβείας ἀθεβεῖς ποιοῦντα. L. 8. p. 391.

4*ly*, *Arnobius* in anſwer to the ſame Objection of the *Heathens*, That *Chriſtians* did contemn the Deities, becauſe they had

had *no Images of any of them, nor did they worſhip their Effigies*; whereas (*u*) *the Heathens made, and with religious Obſervation did regard them*; gives this reaſon why the *Chriſtians* had them not, *viz.* (*x*) *Becauſe*, (ſaith he) *we do conceive, that if they certainly be Gods whom we worſhip, and have that eminence which by that name is ſignified, they will deride, or be offended with ſuch kind of Honour.* 2*ly*, He tells them, that he is not able to determine, (*y*) *whether they themſelves do this ſeriouſly, or with intention to deride what they pretend to worſhip: For* (*z*) *if it be certain*, ſaith he, *they are Gods whom you worſhip, and that they have their Habitation in the higheſt Heavens, what reaſon can induce you to frame theſe Images of them?* Which Reaſon doth as much concern the *Roman Images*, for they are *Images* of *Chriſt*, the *Virgin Mother*, and of thoſe Saints and Martyrs whom they ſuppoſe to *live in Heaven.* 3*ly*, He calls upon the *Heathens* to clear up their Underſtandings, and conſider, That (*a*) *thoſe Images before which they lie proſtrate, and which they humbly adore, are Wood, Stones, Braſs, Silver, or Gold*; and ſuch are alſo all the Images of *Roman Catholicks.* And having urged theſe, and many other Arguments, he concludes, (*b*) *He had ſufficiently demonſtrated how vainly Images were made.* Whence evident it is, that *Chriſtians* then eſteemed it a vain ridiculous thing, and a diſhonour to that *Jeſus* whom they owned as God, to worſhip him by *Images*, and that they had no Image of any thing in Heaven. And indeed, the very ſilence of the *Chriſtians*, as to the Matter of *Images*, when they profeſſedly reply to this Impeachment of the *Heathens*, is a ſufficient Argument that they allowed no uſe of Images in their Religious Worſhip, and that they paid no Veneration to them: For ſhould any *Heathen* now object againſt the *Church* of *Rome*, That *they had no Images, would they not anſwer, They had the Images of Chriſt, his Virgin Mother, and of his Bleſſed Saints and Martyrs?* This therefore ſhould in honeſty and reaſon have been the Anſwer of the *Ancient Chriſtians* to the like Objection

(*u*) Sequitur ut de ſimulacris dicamus quæ multa arte componitis & religioſa obſervatione curatis. *L.6.p.*194.

(*x*) Honorum hæc genera aut riſui habere ſi rideant, aut indignè perpeti. *P.*189.

(*y*) Utrumne iſtud ſerio & cum propoſito faciatis gravi, an ridendo res ipſas. *Ibid. p.* 194.

(*z*) Si enim certum eſt apud vos Deos eſſe quos veneremini, atq; in ſummis cœli regionibus degere, quæ ratio eſt, ut ſimulacra iſta fingantur à vobis? *p.* 195.

(*a*) Simulacra iſta, quæ templis in omnibus proſtrati, & humiles adoratis, oſſa, lapides, æra ſunt, *&c.* p 200.

(*b*) Satis demonſtratum eſt quam inaniter fiant ſimulacra, p. 210.

jection of the *Heathens* made againſt them, had it been ſuitable to the received Principles and Practice of their Times.

Moreover the *Heathens*, as *Lactantius* informs us, thought an Image ſo very requiſite to the performance of Religious Worſhip, That (c) *they imagined there could be no Religion where there was no Image.* And this induced them to conceive, that albeit they knew not of any *Images* the *Chriſtians* uſed, yet had they ſome concealed amongſt them. And hence *Cæcilius* asks the *Chriſtians*, (d) *Why is it that you hide and conceal the Thing you worſhip, be it what it will? Why have you no Altars, no Temples, no known Images?* not doubting but they had ſome Images concealed. To this Imagination of the *Heathens*, *Origen* thus replies, *We openly declare the venerable Principles of our Religion, and do not hide them as* Celſus *doth imagine, for we teach our Converts the contempt of Idols, and of all Images.* *Octavius* alſo takes notice of it in theſe words; (e) *You think we hide what we worſhip, if we have not Temples with Images and Altars.* And then he anſwers in behalf of *Chriſtians*, with a free inſinuation that they had no ſuch things, and gives theſe Reaſons why they had them not; *What Image ſhall I make of God, ſince if you rightly do eſteem it, Man is the Image of his Maker? What Temple ſhall I build, when the whole World cannot contain him? What Sacrifices ſhould I offer, ſince a good Soul and pure Mind is the Offering that he will accept?* (f) *theſe* (and not Temples, Images, or Victims) *are the holy Services which we preſent unto our God.* Whence it is evident that Images were not admitted then amongſt the *Sacra* of the *Chriſtians*; and that they held it not convenient to make an Image of that *Jeſus* whom they aſſerted to be God.

(c) Nec ullam Religionem putant, ubicunque illa non fulſerint. *L.* 2. *c.* 6. *p.* 169. Ed. Leyd.

(d) Cur occultare quidquid illud colunt magnopere nituntur? cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota ſimulacra? *P.* 10.

L. 3. p. 120.

(e) Putatis nos occultare quod colimus ſi delubra & aras non habemus,--quod enim ſimulacrum Deo fingam cum ſi rectè exiſtimes ſit Dei homo ſimulacrum? p. 36.

(f) Hæc noſtra ſacrificia, hæc Dei Sacra ſunt. *Ibid.*

Now briefly to reflect upon theſe things; Can it be reaſonably imagined, that they who ſo expreſly tell us, *They had no Tradition to make the Images of Saints, no ſenſible Image, no Images of their Bodies*; and that *they knew no vain Figures of Images*; that they who declare that they themſelves *deſpiſed*, and *taught their Converts the contempt of Images*; that their *Religion*, and their *Saviour*, taught them not to be ſollicitous about them, but

but *to relinquish*, *abstain from*, and *to abandon* them; that they who teach that it *was proper to the Heathens* to honour Images and Pictures; that the Custom was *Heathenish* and *Idolatrous*, and only *fit for Dæmons*; and that *Christians* were to be known by this, that *they would not adore the Works of Mens Hands*; that *they had left all Images and Statues, and that this was their wisdom*; that they to whom it was continually objected by the *Heathens*, that *they neither had*, nor *would endure Images*; that they *avoided the making Statues*, and *laughed at them* who did it: And who in answer to these things, not only do confess the thing, but also justify and glory in it, telling their Adversaries, That Images were vainly made by him, *who was the Image of his Maker*, and should make no other Images; that *they deservedly laughed at them*; and that the *Heavenly Powers themselves, if they were subject to that Passion, would laugh* at such Votaries; I say, Can it be reasonably conceiv'd, That they who say such things, should make it matter of their *Faith*, that Images were to be worshipped, and in their constant practice should adore the *Images* of *Christ*, and of his *Saints*?

§. 6. Nor do the *Fathers* only declare, in their *Apologies* and Conflicts with the *Heathens*, they had no Images; but they commend themselves, and others, upon that account, and say, it was a thing to be commended, both in them and others. And,

On this account they mightily commend the *Jewish Polity*, because it taught them, not only to transcend all Images, but all created Beings, and to ascend to the Creator of the World, saying, That (g) *he that doth inspect their Laws and Constitutions, will find, that they were Men who had a shadow of the Heavenly Life on Earth, because they had no Image-makers in their Common-Wealth.*

(g) ὑπερβᾶν ἃ μόνον ἀγάλματα. Orig. adv. Celsum l. 2. p. 91. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ εἰκόνας ποιούντων. L. 4. p. 181.

As for themselves, they declared, That they on this account (h) *were Men, or something more excellent than Men, because they did not venerate, but did transcend all Images, and go immediately to God.* And (i) *if we do not worship Statues, and cold Images, like to those dead Men which they represent, do we not deserve praise rather than punishment*, saith *Tertullian*, *for the refusal of this ancient Error?*

(h) Ἄνθρωποι ὄν, καὶ εἴ τι ἀνθρώπων πρεσβύτερον. L. 4. p. 177.

(i) Nonne laudem magis quam pœnam merebatur repudium agniti Erroris. *Apol.* cap. 12.

Yea,

Yea, they declare their humble confidence, That (k) *God would not overlook them, but vouchsafe them some manifestation of his Goodness, and give them some Fruit of his Providence, amongst other Reasons for the very Cause, because they, despising Images of Humane Art, endeavoured directly by Reason to ascend to God.*

(k) Οὐ γὰρ ὑπερόψεσθαι τοῦτο τὸν Θεὸν, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῖς τινα ἐπιφάνειαν γενέσθαι. L. 8. p. 412.
Καὶ τούτοις ἀπονέμει καρπὸν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν. Ibid.

And lastly, As for those *Heathens*, who for some time worshipped the Deity without *Images*, they say, They served God (l) *more purely when they had no Images*; and that *their Religion would have been better had they done so still.* But as for those who retained them, and looked upon them when they worshipped, or did esteem them Sacred, they declared, they could not but look upon them (m) *as Men of a lame and infirm Mind*, they could not *but laugh at their folly.* And they do frequently apply that passage of the *Psalmist* to them, (n) *They that make them, are like unto them*; as judging it the extremity of Error in them who had the use of Reason, to worship Stocks and Stones. Now sure we cannot reasonably think these *Fathers* practised themselves what they thus laughed at, and condemned in others: That they admired the *Jewish Polity*, because it did permit no Images in their Sacred Worship, and yet conceived these things not only well consistent with, but even an advantage to the *Christian Polity*; or that, at the same time, they could conceive themselves praise-worthy for rejecting, and even despising Images of humane Art; and yet not only have them, but think them worthy of their Veneration, and by them should ascend unto that *Jesus* whom they owned as their God: We therefore may be well assured from these Sayings, that the *Christians* of those times did not look upon Images when they performed their Worship to God the *Father*, or his Son *Christ Jesus.* And to assure us yet farther that they did not do it, they inform us, that when they paid their Worship to the due Object of it, they did *shut their Eyes*, and thought it was their Duty so to do; and that this practice did enable them the better to lift up their Minds to God.

(l) Dicit Antiquos Romanos plusquam annos 150, Deos sine simulacro coluisse, quod si adhuc remansisset castius Dii observarentur. *Aug.* de C. D. l. 4. c. 13. Agob. de Imag. §. 24.

(m) Orig. l. 7. p. 362, 367.

(n) August. & Theodoret. in *Psal.* 113.

Origen,

Origen, in allusion to those words of *Christ*; *I am come into the World, that they who see not, may see; and they who see, may be made blind*, saith, That (o) *the Word makes the Eyes of the Soul to see, but blinds those of the Senses, that the Soul may without distraction behold what it ought: if therefore any Man act after the manner of Christians, the Eye of his Soul is open'd, but that of his Sense is shut; and by how much more he openeth his better Eye, and shuts the Eyes of his Senses, by so much more he seeth, and contemplates better God, and his Son, who is the Word and Wisdom.* And again, (p) *Even the meanest Christian shutting the Eyes of his sense, and opening those of his Soul, transcends all the whole World, and shames the wise Men of the World, who, ἐνορῶντες τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, looking upon Images, by contemplation of them, do endeavour to erect their Minds to God.* St. *Basil* saith thus, (q) *I do not confess with my Lips, that I may appear to many so to do, but, shutting my Eyes, inwardly in my Heart, I shew my inward groanings to him that seeth in secret:* They therefore doubtless thought not *Images* then needful to excite Devotion, or to move compunction in them, though by the (r) Second *Nicene* Council they were afterwards declared useful to these Ends.

(o) Παντὸς ἂν τῦ χεῖρον χειρωνίζοντος ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐγήγερτο ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ ὁ τῆς αἰσθήσεως μεμύκει. l. 7. p. 358.

(p) Χειστιανὸς ἂν καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης--μύσας τὸν τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὀφθαλμὸν ὑπεραναβαίνει τὸν ὅλον κόσμον. p. 362.

(q) Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ καρδίᾳ ὅμως μύων. In *Psalm.* 37. To. 1. p. 208.

(r) *Act.* 2. p. 103.

§. 7. And therefore whereas *Heathens* had many of the same pretences for having, and for using Images in their solemn Worship, which that *Nicene* Council, and the Church of *Rome* have since took up, the Sayings of the *Fathers* equally confute them both. For,

1. Whereas the *Trent* Catechism saith, That the having Images in Churches, and the giving Worship and Respect unto them, tends, *maximo Fidelium bono*, (s) *to the great benefit of the Faithful.* And the Second *Nicene* Council doth frequently in effect declare the same. *Theodotus* smartly puts this Question to those who used them in his Time; (t) *Let them say, who do erect such Forms, What profit can redound unto them by so doing? or to what spiritual Contemplation are they led by that remembrance?* (u) *Clemens* of *Alexandria* expressly saith, That they are, ἀργὰ καὶ βέβηλα, *vain, and Prophane.* (w) *Lactantius*,

(s) *Part.* 3. *cap.* 2. *Sect.* 24.

(t) Εἰ πάντωσαν οἱ τὰς τοίας ἢ ἀναστηλοῦντες μορφὰς ποίας ἐκ τούτων ἄρα καταπλαύσιεν ὠφελείας ἢ ἐν ποίᾳ διὰ τῦτων ἀναμνήσεως ἀνάγονται πνευματικὴν θεωρίαν. Conc. Nic. p. 492.

(u) Strom. 7. p. 714.

(w) L. 2. §. 5. p. 161.

tius, that they are, *insensibilia & vana, vain and insensate things.* *Origen* and St. *Austin*, That they were *dangerous* and *hurtful* to the *Christians*, and for that cause avoided by them.

2. Whereas the *Heathens* said, That they used their Images (*x*) *only to represent things invisible, by what was visible*; *and to teach them, as it were, to read the Things concerning the Gods out of these Image-Books*; that these Things were as Letters which did instruct them in the Knowledg of God, and by inspection of which they attained unto it: That the Divinity was to be propounded to the Mind, and these Things only to be used, (*y*) *to bring God to their remembrance, and, as it were, a Manuduction, or way to bring him to their Minds.* That they were but (*z*) *as Glasses whereby to represent God to them*; and that they ought to be approved, ὃ ταῦτα τιμῶντες, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτων τὸ θεῖον, *who do not worship them, but by them the Godhead.* The *Fathers* having mentioned these Notions of the *Heathen Wisdom*, say, That nothing can be more ridiculous, and greater matter of their shame; and that they are more like to (*a*) *writers of Fables, than Divines*; that *God was not honoured by such Symbols*; that they who *know the Truth, ought not to think to honour the Divine Vertues by Images made of insensate Matter*, but they *should openly teach all, not to admire things obvious to Sense, but only the invisible Maker of them, and worship his invisible and incorporeal Vertues, not thinking to honour the Divinity with insensate Statues, which can have nothing well-pleasing to God, nor be the Images of Divine Powers, but with sound Doctrine, and a pure Mind.* By all which Sayings, they equally condemn the *Symbolical* Images of the *S. Trinity* and *God the Father*, tacitly allowed by the (*b*) *Trent Council* in these words, *(When 'tis expedient for the unlearned, in Figures, to express the Histories and Narratives of Holy Scripture, they must be taught, That the Divinity is not therefore pictured, as if it could be seen by a corporeal Eye, or express'd by Colours, or by Figures)* and † received generally in all *Roman Churches.*

(*x*) Τὰ περὶ θεῶν γράμματα καθάπερ ἐκ βιβλῶν τῶν ἀγαλματικῶν porphyr. apud *Euseb.* præpar. Evang. l. 3. c. 7.

(*y*) Max. Tyr. dissert. 38. p. 370, 377.

(*z*) Plutarch. de Iside & Osir. p. 382.

(*a*) Ταῦτα μὲ ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι μυθολογοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ θεολογοῦσιν. Athanas. contr. Gent. p. 21, 23. Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. 3. c. 13. l. 5. c. 14.

(*b*) Doceatur populus non propterea divinitatem figurari, quasi corporeis oculis conspici, aut coloribus vel figuris exprimi possit. *Sess.* 25. Jam enim receptæ sunt fere ubique.

† Bell. de Rel. Sanct. l. 2. c. 8.

And,

And, 2*ly*, whereas the (c) *Nicene Council*, and the *Roman Church* have introduced Images of *Chriſt*, the *Bleſſed Virgin*, and the *Saints*, under the ſame pretence; as tending, 1. to Inſtruction, *viz. The Images of Chriſt being framed*, ſay they, *that his Incarnation may be made known to all*; and the Images of the *Apoſtles*, *Prophets*, *Martyrs*, to be a *ſhort VVriting*, and *Excitation*, and *teaching of the People*, eſpecially the *moſt ſimple*. And, 2*ly*, for the *remembrance of the Prototypes*. I ſay, whereas theſe are the *Romiſh* and the *Nicene* Pleas, the *Fathers* do expreſly ſay, (d) *They cared not to make any ſuch Images of Saints, becauſe they had no need of them*; (e) they knew not *to what ſpiritual contemplation they could be erected by ſuch remembrance of them*; they had the Writings of the *Saints*, which were their living *Images*, and with them were content. St. *Auſtin*, ſpeaking of ſome who ſaid, That *our Lord Chriſt had written Books of Magick, and committed them to St.* Peter *and* Paul; he conjectures, that they therefore made mention (f) *of theſe two Apoſtles, becauſe they had in many places, particularly at* Rome, *ſeen thoſe two pictur'd with him.* And then he adds, (g) *So verily deſerve they to err, who ſought Chriſt and his Apoſtles, not in the Holy Bibles, but on painted VValls*; an Expreſſion which deſerves to be conſidered by them, who have taken from them thoſe Books in which St. *Auſtin* judged it fit to ſeek *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, and ſubſtituted in their room theſe *VVall Lecturers*, which it is evident he approved not of. And much leſs the *Council* of *Frankford*, witneſs theſe words; (h) *VVhat madneſs is it to ſay, That by a painted Image we may come to the memory of Chriſt's Preſence on Earth. Oh unhappy Memory! which, that it may remember Chriſt, who never ſhould recede out of the mind of a good Man, needs the beholding of an Image.*

(c) Ἵνα γνωρίζηται πᾶσιν ἡ ἔνσαρκος αὐτῦ οἰκονομία— εἰς σύντομον γραφὴν καὶ διδασκαλίαν τῦ λαῶν μάλιστα τῦ ἁπλουστέρων. Act. 1. p. 60.

(d) Ὅτι οὐ χρήζομεν αὐτῶν. Amphil. apud 2. Nic. Concil. Act. 6. p. 484.

(e) Διὰ τί τύπων ἀναμνήσεως. Theodot. ibid. p. 482.

(f) Credo quod pluribus locis ſimul cum illo picta videruntur.

(g) Sic omnino errare meruerunt qui Chriſtum & Apoſtolos ejus non in Sanctis codicibus, ſed in pictis parietibus quæſierint. De Conſ. Evang. L. 1. c. 10.

(h) Quæ veſania eſt dicere per imaginem ad memoriam veniemus de ejus in terra præſentia. *Lib. Carol.* l. 4. c. 2.

3. The *Heathens* ſay, That by beholding of their *Images* and *Statues*, they aſcended to the *Prototype*; and that their *Images* were invented for this End, confeſſing, That if any one was able ſtreight to erect his Soul to Heaven, and go

directly to God, (i) ὀδὲν ἴσως δεῖ τούτοις ἀγαλμάτων, *such, in likelihood, could need no Images.* The Second (k) *Nicene Council* in like manner ſaith, That *they worſhip the Images of Chriſt, his Bleſſed Mother, and the Saints, That by their Pictures they may be able to aſcend, by Memory, unto the Prototype.* And *becauſe the more they view their Images, the better are they excited to the remembrance and deſire of the Prototype, and to give honorary Worſhip to the Images.* Now this, as you have heard, the *Fathers* have declared to be the very thing for which they laught at the *Philoſophers*, that by looking upon Images and Symbols, they thought to aſcend to what was underſtood and repreſented by them, declaring, That *Chriſtianity* taught them to overlook theſe things, and to aſcend immediately to God, and to his Son; and that the *rudeſt Chriſtian* did ſo, by ſhutting of his bodily Eyes, and not by looking upon what was ſenſible. Accordingly the (l) *Council* of *Frankford* teacheth, That *to contemplate Chriſt, who is the Vertue and Wiſdom of God; or to behold the Vertues, which by God were derived upon his Saints, they needed not that corporeal ſight which was common to them with unreaſonable Creatures, but the Spiritual only.*

(i) Max. Tyr. differt. 38. p 369.

(k) Ὡς διὰ τ αὐτῶν ἀναζωγραφήσεως εἰς ὑπόμνησιν καὶ μνήμην ἀνάγεσθαι δύνασθαι πρὸς τὸ πρωτότυπον. Act. 4. p. 320. Διανίστανται πρὸς τὰ δι' πρωτοτύπων μνήμην καὶ ὑπόθεσιν. Act. 7. p. 556.

(l) Non corporeus nobis viſus, ſed Spiritualis eſt neceſſarius. *Lib. Carol. l. 2. c. 21.*

4*ly*, The *Fathers* of the Second *Nicene* Council, do not only ſtile theſe Images *Sacred* and *Holy*, but declare, They ſalute them *in hope of being made partakers of Sanctification by them*; aſſerting, That by paying honorary Worſhip to them, they expect, (m) ἐν μεθέξει γίνεσθαί τινος ἁγιασμοῦ, *to be made partakers of ſome Holineſs*; and that they really do, μεταλαμβάνειν ἁγιασμοῦ, *derive ſome Holineſs from the Action.* And doubtleſs the *Heathens* had the ſame conceit, as is evident from the frequent Aſſertions of the *Fathers* againſt them, and conſequently againſt the Second *Nicene* Council, That *there could be nothing Sacred, nothing Holy in an Image, or in any thing made by an Artificer.* Accordingly the (n) *Council* of *Frankford* ſaith, *They ought not to be called Holy:* And the *Synod* held at (o) *Paris*, ſaith, *The Second* Nicene *Council erred not a little, not only in ſaying, That Images were to be adored, but alſo in calling*

(m) Act. 4. p. 265, 321, 453, 492.

(n) Nec Sanctæ dici debent. L. 3. c. 2.

(o) Qui--Sanctus nuncupari ſanxerunt, & ſanctimoniam ab eis ſe adipiſci poſſe profeſſi ſunt. p. 20.

calling them Holy; and ſaying, That Holineſs might be had by them.

Now can it rationally be ſuppoſed, that they who thus declared, That Images were *needleſs*; that *they knew no advantage could be received by them*; that all Men were to be taught *not to admire them*; that *they deſerv'd to err who ſought Inſtruction from them*; that as for *Chriſtians*, even *the rudeſt of them rather choſe to ſhut their Eyes, when they performed their Devotion*, than *to employ them about ſenſible Objects*, with many other things of a like nature: Can it, I ſay, be well imagined, that theſe very Men ſhould judg theſe very *Images* fit to inſtruct, to ſanctify, to work compunction in them, yea, to be Objects worthy of their Veneration?

§. 8. Once more the Fathers repreſent this as a practice proper to the vileſt *Hereticks*: For of the *Carpocratian* and *Gnoſtick Hereticks*, it is related by (p) *Epiphanius*, That *they had many Images, ſome painted, others framed in Gold and Silver, and other Matter, which they ſaid, were the Repreſentations of Chriſt made under* Pontius Pilate. *Carpocratians*, ſaith (q) *Irenæus*, *have ſome painted Images, ſome alſo made of other Matter; ſaying, That their Images of Chriſt were made by* Pilate; *and theſe they crown and place with the Images of* Plato, Ariſtotle, *and* Pythagoras, *and perform other Rites unto them as the Gentiles do*; that is, *they cenſed and worſhipped them*, ſay (r) *Epiphanius*, and (s) *St.* Auſtin. Thus of *Marcellina*, a *Carpocratian Heretick*, it is related by *Epiphanius* and St. *Auſtin*, That *ſhe made the Image of Chriſt, and* Paul, *and* Homer, *and* Pythagoras, *and did cenſe, worſhip, or bow down to them.* Beſides, St. *Auſtin* doth affirm of *Carpocrates*, That he (t) *was reputed to have held, That Chriſt was only Man*, and ſo could not intend to give him the Worſhip due to God. And *Bellarmine* himſelf confeſſeth, That (u) *without doubt, they, of whom* Irenæus *ſpeaks, did worſhip the Image for the Relation which it bore to Chriſt.* And thus the Doctors of the *Church* of *Rome* allow it worthy of Worſhip, and ſo muſt be condemn'd by *Irenæus* as much

(p q) Imagines quaſdam depictas, quaſdam de reliqua materia fabricatas habent, dicentes, formam Chriſti factam à Pilato, & has coronant, & reliquam obſervationem circa eas ſimiliter ut Gentes faciunt. *Epiph.* Hær. 7. p. 108. *Iren.* l. 1. c. 24.

(r) Εἰκόνας ἢ πεποιηκας ἐν κρυφῇ Ιησῦ, καὶ Παύλου, καὶ Ὁμήρου--ταύτας ἐθυμία, καὶ προσκυνεῖ. Anaceph. p. 140.

(s) Colebat Imagines adorando incenſumque ponendo. Auguſt. Hær. 7.

(t) Hic Ieſum hominem tantummodo putaſſe prohibetur. *Ibid.*

(u) Iſti cum Chriſtum colerent proculdubio imaginem ejus propter ipſum colebant. De Imagine Sanctorum, c. 24. §. ſexta Ratio.

as

as are the *Carpocratians*. Here then is undeniable conviction that what the *Second Nicene Council* have decreed to be the Worſhip due unto the Images of *Chriſt*, and all the *bleſſed Spirits*; and what the *Church* of *Rome* doth daily practiſe, was deemed, in the *purer Ages* of the *Church*, a practice proper to the vileſt *Hereticks*. *They have theſe Images*, ſay the *Fathers*; *They offer Incenſe, and bow down to them*; and in this *they do like Heathens*, and therefore not like *Chriſtians*: Therefore the *Chriſtians* of thoſe Ages did not ſo; for what is more abſurd, than to reprove theſe *Hereticks* for doing that which the beſt of *Chriſtians* daily practiſed?

CHAP. II.

The Arguments of the Fathers againſt the Worſhip of Heathen Images, conclude equally againſt thoſe now uſed by Chriſtians as, v. g. 1. *That it was incongruous to worſhip or bow down to them, becauſe they were made of Earth, inſenſate Earth, the ſame with that of which Veſſels were made for common uſes, and they were ſenſual Objects, and therefore were not to be adored, but trod upon, contemned, and caſt away.* §. 1. 2ly, *Becauſe they were worſe than Beaſts, imperfect Inſects, and dead Things, which yet it would be a vile and unbecoming thing for Men to bow down to.* §. 2. 3ly, *Becauſe the Artificer who made them was better, whom yet 'twas ſhameful to adore, that being the Works of Mens Hands, they could not be holy, valuable, acceptable to God, and ſo not fit to be adored; that the Works of God were not to be adored in honour of him, much leſs the Works of Mens hands in honour of the Saints.* §. 3. 4ly, *That Man, who was the Image of God, and was made upright, was not to adore the Images of Men, or venerate earthly Things.* §. 4. 5ly, *Becauſe if what they worſhipped were Heavenly Powers, they would laugh at, or be angry with ſuch Worſhippers if they were in Heaven; it were better neglecting Images to look up thither; that if Images were made for the commemortion of the Dead, or of the Abſent, they were not to be worſhipped.* §. 5. 6ly, *Becauſe Images were dangerous,*

as tending to debaſe the Soul, and render the Divine Majeſty contemptible. §. 6. 7ly, *Becauſe they were the Invention of the Devil.* §. 7. *That the Fathers could not have ſpoken theſe things, which equally conclude againſt all Image-worſhip, if they themſelves had worſhipped Images.* §. 8. *That had this been their practice, the Heathens muſt have then retorted theſe things, as afterwards they did.* §. 9. *That many of theſe Sayings of the Fathers are expreſly condemned in the Second* Nicene *Council.* §. 10. *That the Church of* Rome *hath perſecuted many for ſaying the ſame things, and forced them to renounce them as great Hereſies.* §. 11.

THis will be farther evident, if we conſider the Objections which the *Holy Fathers* make againſt that worſhip of Images which had obtained in the *Heathen* World. For they produce ſuch Arguments againſt it, as equally deſtroy *all Image-worſhip*, whatſoever be the Object repreſented by the Image; and do as fully prove it is unlawful to worſhip Images of *Chriſt*, and of departed *Saints*, as to adore the Images of *Heathen Deities*: ſo that it muſt be granted, that either in their days *Chriſtians* did neither bow to, nor proſtrate themſelves before the Images of *Chriſt*, the *Bleſſed Virgin*, or the *Saints* departed; or that they practiſed that which they themſelves moſt vehemently reproved in the *Heathens*. Now theſe Arguments of the *Fathers* are taken; (1.) From the conſideration of Images themſelves: And here they argue,

§. 1. 1. From the Matter of them, thus, That *(a) the Materials of carved Images were only poliſhed Earth, which Chriſtians were taught to tread upon, and to contemn, and therefore could not, without*

(a) Κρυσός ἐστι τὸ ἄγαλμά σε, γῆ ἐστιν, γῆν ὃ ἐγὼ πατεῖν ὑπερσχυνεῖν μελέτησα. Clem. Alex. protrept. p. 38. De ſimulacris ipſis nihil aliud deprehendo quam materias ſorores eſſe vaſculorum inſtrumentorumq; communium. Tertul. Apol. c. 12. Περσχυνοῦντες λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις ὐκ ὁρῶσιν ὅτι τὰ ἴδια ὅμοια τοῖς ποσὶ πατοῦσι καὶ κατίουσι. Athanaſ. contr. Gentes, p. 15. Quis autem non intelligat nefas eſſe rectum animal curvari ut adoret terram quæ idcirco pedibus noſtris ſubjecta eſt, ut calcanda nobis non adoranda ſit, Lact. l. 2. c. 17. p. 228. Non eſt dubium quin Religio nulla ſit ubicunq; ſimulacrum eſt--Quia nihil poteſt eſſe cœleſte in ea re quæ fit ex terra, Ibid. c. 18. p. 229. Deum cujus ſedes illa eſt, quem oculis non poſſumus animo contemplemur, quod profectò non facit qui æs, aut lapidem, quæ ſunt terrena, veneratur, Ibid. cap. 1. p. 140. Stultiſſimi ſunt qui non intelligunt eſſe mortiferum, relicto Deo vivo, proſternere ſe, atq; adorare terrena, qui neſciunt, & illos æternam pœnam manere qui figmenta inſenſibilia fuerint venerati, Epit. cap. 1. p. 736. Cum vos terræ ſubmittitis humilioreſq; facitis, ipſi vos ultro ad Inferos mergitis ad mortemq; damnatis. Lact. l. 2. c. 2. p. 148.

out wickedneſs, adore, what they did trample under feet; and that *to humble themſelves to what was as to Matter Earth, was to humble themſelves to Hell, and to condemn themſelves to death.* That *they who adore them, conſider not that they daily burn, and tread upon the like Matter*; that *they are made of the ſame Matter with our Common, and perhaps impurer Veſſels.* That *there can be no Religion where there is an Image, becauſe Religion conſiſts in things Divine and Heavenly, whereas there can be nothing Heavenly which conſiſts of Earth.* That *certainly he doth not in his Mind contemplate God, who giveth Veneration to an Image.*

That (*b*) *this Matter is inſenſate, and that it is a certain Maxim among Chriſtians,* ἀναίσθητον ὑλὴν μὴ σέβειν, *that they are not to worſhip that which hath no ſenſe.* That *it is great folly to adore what is void of ſenſe, when every one that hath ſenſe, knows thoſe things are not to be worſhipped which are made by God, and have ſenſe.* That *they are Fools, and blind, who know not that they ſhall everlaſtingly periſh, who worſhip Figments void of ſenſe.*

(*b*) Tu ergo adoras inſenſilem, cum unuſquiſq; habens ſenſum, nec ea quidem credat adoranda quæ à deo facta ſunt, & habent ſenſum. Clemens Recogn. l. 5. §. 16.

(*c*) That *nothing is to be worſhipped, but wholly to be caſt away, which is the Object of our Senſes, and is ſeen with mortal Eyes*; and that our *Saviour came to free God's Worſhip from theſe ſenſual Objects.*

(*c*) Nec ponderare ſecum unamquamq; rem poteſt vulgus indoctum, ut intelligat nihil colendum eſſe quod oculis mortalibus cernitur, Lact. l. 2. c. 3. p. 149. Origen. l. 7. p. 362. ſupra Auguſt. contra Acad. l. 1. c. 1.

§. 2. 2*ly*, Comparing theſe inſenſate Images with other things, to wit, with Beaſts, and with dead Things, they diſcourſe thus;

That (*d*) *if it be a moſt vile and unbecoming thing for Men to worſhip and bow down to Beaſts, it is more ſhameful for them to worſhip*

(*d*) Τὰ ὃ καὶ παντός ἐστιν ἀπιώτερα ζώων τὰ ἀγάλματα· εἰ γὰρ καὶ πνεῦμα θεῖον ζώων καὶ πάσας ἔχει τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὥσπερ ἐγὼ καὶ σύ· ἀλλὰ γε ἀμείνους εἰσὶ θεὸν ζώων τούτων καὶ θεῖον ἀγαλμάτων τέλεον ὄντων κωφῶν, ἔχουσι γὰρ αἴσθησιν μίαν, τὰ ὃ οὐδὲ μίας αἰσθήσεως μετέχει τὰ ἀγάλματα. Clem. Alexandr. protrept. p. 33, 34. Πῶς ὃ οὐκ ἄν τις οἰκτειρήσειε αὐτούς, καὶ χάριν τοῦτο, ὅτι βλέποντες αὐτοὶ τοῖς μὴ βλέπουσι προσκυνοῦσι. Athanaſ. contr. Gent. p. 15. Melior eſt etiam beſtia, ut ſi pudeat adorare beſtiam quam fecit Deus videntem, audientem, &c. viderent quam pudendum eſſet adorare malum & carens vita ſenſuq; ſimulacrum, Auguſt. in Pſ. 113. vide Tertul. Apol. l. 12. Minucium p. 26. Arnob. l. 6. p. 202. Theodoret. in Pſ. 113. Clem. Rom. recog. l. 5. §. 16. Chryſoſt. in Eſ. Hom. 2. p. 1037.

worſhip and bow down to Images, they being more diſhonourable than any living Creature; A Mouſe, a Worm, a Mole, a Serpent being much better than an Image, becauſe they have ſenſe, which Images have not; The Birds of the Air being more honourable, becauſe they have life and motion, which Images have not; they can frame Voices with their Throats, which Images cannot; they judg Images to be things void of Senſe, and therefore neſt, and make their Habitations in them, and even mute upon them. That they are worſe than any dead thing, for that once lived, whereas Images never did enjoy one moment of Life.

§. 3. 3ly, From the conſideration of the *Artificer*, or the efficient Cauſe of *Images*, they argue thus;

That the (e) *Artificer who made theſe Images, muſt be eſteemed better than his own handy-work, becauſe he gave unto it that perfection it enjoys; and 'tis impoſſible there ſhould be more perfection in the Work, than in the Artificer; that therefore it is much more ſhameful to adore the Image which he makes, than to adore the Man himſelf.*

(e) Melior eſt qui fecit quam illa quæ facta ſunt, & tamen factorem ipſum nemo ſuſcipit aut veretur. Lact. l. 2. c. 2. p. 146. Πολλῶ ἂν μᾶλλον δικαιότερον ἦν ὁ τεχνίτην αὐτὸς προσκυνεῖν, ἢπερ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶ πεποιημένα. Athanaſ. contr. Gent. p. 15. item p. 11, & 23. Auguſt. in Pſ. 113. Artifex melior eſt eis, quia ea potuit membrorum motu atq; officio fabricare, quem tamen Artificem te utiq; puderet adorare. p. 1305.

That (f) *nothing can be Sacred which is the Work of Mens hands.* That *the Works of ſervile Artiſts, and Stone-cutters, cannot be Sacred.* That *it is a thing written by God in the Hearts of Men, that nothing is to be eſteemed Sacred, or Holy, or of much value, which is the Work of the Mechanick, or Artificer;* That *Images made by ſervile Men, of earthly Matter, muſt be vain, earthly, and prophane.*

(f) Τί δ' ἂν καὶ οἰκοδόμων, καὶ λιθοξόων, καὶ βαναύσε τέχνης ἄγιον εἴη ἔργον· Τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων βαναύσων κατασκευαζόμενα ἀγάλματα, τε καὶ ἱερὰ ἐκ τῆς ὕλης τῆς ἀργῆς γίνεται, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὰ ἂν εἴη ἀργὰ, καὶ ὑλικὰ, καὶ βέβηλα--ἀκέτ' ἂν ἱερὰ καὶ θεῖα τῆς τέχνης τὰ ἔργα. Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. p. 714, 715. Ἱερὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν χρὴ νομιζειν, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ ἄξιον καὶ ἅγιον οἰκοδόμων τε ἔργον καὶ βαναύσων. Orig. contr. Celſum p. 6, 7.

That the (g) *Heathens had no juſt reaſon to quarrel with the Chriſtians, for ſaying, They were Men of a lame and infirm Mind,*

(g) Μὴ ἀλαναστέωσ Κέλσου ἐπὰν χωλὸς λέγωμεν, καὶ τὰς βάσεις τῆς ψυχῆς πεπηρωμένας, τὸς ἐπὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἱερὰ ὡς ἀληθῆ ἱερὰ σπεύδοντας, καὶ μὴ ὁρῶντας, ὅτι οὐδὲν βαναύσων ἔργον δύναται εἶναι ἱερόν. Orig. in Celſum p. 367.

who repaired to that which falsly was esteemed Sacred, as if it truly were so; and who did not see that nothing could be sacred which was the Work of servile Artists.

(h) Ὅπερ εἰ ἦν ἐξεταδὲν καὶ γενημένον Κέλσῳ καὶ ἀμαθίων ἡμῖν ἐνεκάλει, οὐδὲ φρονέτατ' ἂν μὴ λέγειν τυφλώττειν τὰς ἐν ὑλικαῖς τέχναις ἀνθρώπων τὰ κατὰ τὰ ἀγάλματα οἰομένας ἐνδείκνυσθαι τῷ εὐσεβεῖαν. Orig. ibid. Τί δ' ἂν ἔχοι θεοφιλὲς ἢ τὸ ξοάνων ἀψύχων πρόνοιαν; πόσας δ' εἰκὼν ἐνθέως γένοιτ' ἂν δυνάμεως ἢ τοιῶν ὑ σωμάτων μόρφωσις. Euseb. præpar. Ev. l. 5. c. 14.

That (h) *the curiosity of making Statues, hath in it nothing acceptable to God.* And that *the Heathens ought not to forbid Christians to assert, That they are blind who think that Piety doth appertain to Images, or Statues, made out of Matter by the Art of Man.* No, 'twas reserved to a *General Council* of *Christian Bishops* to forbid this, and to stile those *Images* which were the Work of the Artificer, ἅγιαι, ἱεραὶ, σεβάσμιαι, προσκυνηταὶ, the *Holy, Sacred, Venerable, Adorable Images*, a thousand times.

(i) Μὴ δεῖν χειρῶν ἀνθρώπις προσκυνεῖν φεύγομεν Justin. M. Dial. 2. p. 66. Vos impii lapides & signa & opera manuum hominum adoratis. Tharacus apud Baron. A. D. 290. §. 5. Λῆρον ἐυρήσατε τὴν συνήθειαν ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναίδητα θεραπόμενοι. Clem. Alex. protrep. p. 29. Non sit nobis Religio humanorum operum cultus. August. de vera Relig. c. 55. vid. Agob. p. 257.

That *it was* (i) *an impious and foolish custom to adore the works of Mens hands*; and that *such worship of humane Works, should be no part of the Religion of a Christian.*

(k) Summopere pensandum esse, quia si opera manuum Dei non sunt adoranda & colenda, nec in honorem Dei, quanto magis opera manuum hominum non sunt adoranda & colenda, nec in honorem eorum, quorum similitudines esse dicuntur? Agob. §. 28. p. 261. Vid. Clem. R. Recogn. l. 5. §. 16. Claud. Taurin. Bibl. Patr. To. 4. p. 147.

That *it was* (k) *seriously to be thought upon, That if the Works of God's Hands were not to be adored and worshipped, no not in honour of that God who made them, much less were the Works of Mens hands to be adored in honour of them whose Similitudes they are said to be.*

§. 4. 4*ly*, From the Dignity, the Quality, the Posture of the Persons worshipping, they plead thus, *viz.*

(l) Est autem perversum & incongruens ut simulacrum hominis à simulacro Dei colatur, colit enim quod est deterius & imbecillius. Lact. l. 2. c. 17.

That (l) *Man is the Image of God, whereas the Images of Heathen Deities and Saints are but the Images of Men. Now nothing can be more perverse, or more incongruous, than that the Image of a Man should be adored by him who is the Image of his Maker, because he by so doing worships what is worse and weaker*

weaker than himſelf. That *if any Image was to be adored or worſhipped, it ſhould be* (m) *that of the Creator, rather than the Creature,* viz. *Man whom God made according to his Image and Similitude.* That *if Men were to be adored, it ſhould be rather living Men, than painted;* that is, *when they have the Similitude of God, rather than that of Stones and Wood, void of Life, Senſe, and Reaſon.*

(m) Si ulla Imago eſſet adoranda vel colenda, Creatoris potius eſſet quam Creaturæ; nempe hominem fecit Deus ad Imaginem & ſimilitudinem Dei--Certe ſi adorandi fuiſſent homines, vivi magis quam picti; id eſt, ubi ſimilitudinem habent Dei, non ubi pecorum; vel, quod verius eſt, lapidum, ſive lignorum, vita, ſenſu, ratione carentium. Agob. de Imag. §. 28. p. 262.

That (n) *if Holineſs is to be aſcribed not to God only, but to that which is framed in honour of him, it may fitly be applied to the Church, which to the Honour of God is made holy by the acknowledgment of him; or to him whom God doth prize and honour, in whom he dwells, in whoſe juſt Soul we may perceive the Divine Character, and Sacred Image, and who is an Image dedicated to the Honour of God; but the word Sacred is not to be applied to that which is made by ſervile Arts, or is adorned by the hand of a Jugler.*

(n) Εἰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν δικαίως λαμβάνεται ὅ τε Θεὸς αὐτὸς, καὶ τὸ εἰς πιὸν αὐτὸν κατασκεύασμα, πῶς ἂ κυρίως τοῦ εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν ἁγίαν γινομένην ἐκκλησίαν ἱερὸν ἂν εἴποιμεν Θεοῦ τὸ πολλοῦ ἄξιον, καὶ ἃ βαναύσῳ κατεσκευασμένον τέχνῃ, ἀλλ' ὑδὲ ἀγύρτα χερὶ διεδεδαλμένον. Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. p. 715.

That (o) *Man himſelf is far more excellent, becauſe he doth what Images cannot; and he hath Senſe, and Life, and Reaſon which they want; and that if Images could move, they would rather adore Men that made them.* That *Men would think it a reproach and injury to be compared to them, or to be like them in their want of Life, and Senſe, and Motion; and that therefore they ſhould bluſh to worſhip that which they would not be like, or compared to:* and *they who made and worſhipp'd them, were,* as the Pſalmiſt ſaith, *like unto them, deſtitute of Manhood, and fallen into ſuch abſurdity, that it was juſt with God to deprive them of ſenſe.*

(o) Melior & tu, quamvis ea non feceris, quoniam quæ illa non poſſent, facis. Auguſt. in Pſ. 113. p. 1305. Nec intelligunt homines ineptiſſimi, quod ſi ſentire ſimulacra & moveri poſſent ultro adoratura homines fuiſſent à quibus ſunt expolita. Lact. l. 2. c. 2. p. 146. Velim autem dicerent mihi hi qui idola colunt, ſi optant ſimiles fieri his quos colunt: vultne aliquis veſtrum ſic videre quomodo illi vident, &c. quales ergo dii habendi ſunt iſti quorum ſimilitudinem habere contumelia eſt? Clem. R. Recogn. l. 5. §. 15.

That (p) *God had made Man upright, with a face looking up to Heaven,* and *ſo would have us to look up to Heaven in the Acts of our Religion*; that *hence it appeared, that thoſe Religions could not be ſuitable to humane Reaſon, which cauſed this Cœleſtial Being to bow down and venerate earthly things*; and that *he renounced the Being,* and *the very Name of Man, who did not look upward, but downward in his Religious Service of God.*

(p) Quid ante inepta ſimulacra & figmenta terrena captivum corpus incurvas?---ad cœlum atq; ad Deum ſurſum vultus erectus eſt, illuc intuere, illuc oculos erige, in ſupernis Deum quære, ut carere inferis poſſis. Cypr. Ep. ad Demetr. Ed. Ox. p. 191, 192. Cum nobis ſublimis vultus ab Artifice Deo datus ſit, apparet iſtas Religiones Deorum non eſſe rationis humanæ, qui (quæ) curvant cœleſte animal ad veneranda terrena. Lact. l. 2. c. 1. p. 139. Ipſi ergo ſibi renunciant, ſeq; hominum nomine abdicant, qui non ſurſum aſpiciunt ſed deorſum. p. 140.

That *the Heathens ſerved God more purely when they had no Image, and that their Religion would have been better if they had ſo continued.*

Auguſt. de C. D. l. 4. ubi ſupra.

§. 5. 5*ly*, From the conſideration of the Object worſhipped by theſe *Images*, and in honour of whom by the *Heathens* they were ſaid to be made, or really were made, they frame theſe Arguments againſt the Adoration of them, *viz.*

That *whatſoever deſerveth to be called a God, or placed among the Heavenly Powers, if it be capable of laughter, will deride this kind of Honour; or if prone to anger, will be provoked to Indignation by it.*

Arnob. l. 6. p. 189.

That *if the Gods be in Heaven, it is a folly to direct our Eyes to Stones, and Wood, and Walls, when we addreſs our ſelves to them; and that we rather ought to direct our Eyes to Heaven where we believe they are.* (q) That *it were better, wholly omitting theſe vain and inſenſate things, to direct our Eyes thither, where is the Seat and Habitation of the God of Heaven; and that God muſt be ſought in the Heavens, that we may be freed from Hell.*

Ibid. p. 195. ſupra.

(q) Quanto igitur rectius eſt, omiſſis inſenſibilibus & vanis, oculos eo tendere ubi ſedes ubi habitatio eſt Dei veri? Lact. l. 2. c. 5. p. 161. vid. p. 148.

That (r) *the Religion of the Heathens is vain, becauſe the Images they worſhip are the Effigies of dead Men.* That *Images are either*

(r) Docui Religiones Deorum triplici ratione vanas eſſe: una, quod ſimulacra ipſa quæ coluntur, effigies ſunt hominum mortuorum. Lact. l. 2. c. 17. p. 227. Quid ſibi volunt ipſa ſimulacra quæ aut mortuorum aut abſentium monimenta ſunt? nam omnino fingendarum ſimilitudinum ratio iccirco ab hominibus inventa eſt, ut poſſet eorum memoria retineri qui vel morte ſubtracti, vel abſentia fuerant ſeparati: Deos igitur in quorum numero

numero reponemus!—si in mortuorum, quis tam stultus ut colat? si in absentium, colendi ergo non sunt, si nec vident quæ facimus, nec audiunt quæ precamur. Lact. l. 2. c. 2.

either for the commemoration of the Dead, or of the Absent; it being therefore folly to adore either the Dead or Absent, it must be much more folly to adore their Images.

§. 6. 6*ly*, From the Form of Images they also gather many Reasons to condemn them; saying,

That (*s*) *the shape of a carved or painted Image, through the gayness of the Art, tends to debase the Soul, and to expose it to erroneous Opinions of the Deity, to render vile and contemptible the Divine Majesty, and by a shew of Piety to make Men wicked; and that therefore they refused to make or use them, and were by* Moses *forbidden so to do.*

(*s*) Opinio & mens imperitorum artis concinitate decipitur. Minuc. p. 25. Ὑμᾶς δ' ἀλλ' ἡ χαυλειὰ ἀπατᾷ ἡ τέχνη, &c. Clem. Alex. protrept. p. 39. Ἐξευτελίζει γὰρ τὸ τοῦ θείου σεμνότητα ἡ ἐν ἑτοίμῳ τῆ ὄψεως συνήθεια, καὶ τῷ νοητῷ ἰσόμοιρον δι' ὕλης σεβάζεσθαι ἀπιμάζειν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ δι' ἀιδιότητος. Strom. 5. p. 559. Species membrorum parit in unoquoq; sordidissimum erroris affectum, ut quoniam in illo figmento non invenit vitalem motum, credat numen occultum, effigiem tamen viventi corpori similem; seductus forma, & commotus authoritate quasi sapientum institorum obsequentiumq; turbarum, sine vivo aliquo habitatore esse non putat. August. in Psal. 113. p. 1306. Orig. adv. Celsum l. 8. p. 391.

That (*t*) *Images were rejected by them, because they could not without danger use them; For who, say they, adores or prays, looking upon an Image, who is not so affected as to think to be heard by it; for the Figure of the Members almost extorts this; and this is the greatest cause of this mad Impiety, that the form like unto one living, whose likeness makes it to be supplicated to, doth more prevail in the affections of miserable Men, than the evidence that it doth not live at all, doth that it ought to be contemned by him who indeed is living. For Images prevail more to bow down the unhappy Soul, in that they have a Mouth, Eyes, Ears, Nostrils, Hands and Feet, than these Considerations can prevail to correct the Error of it, that they will not speak, see, smell, or walk.*

(*t*) Quis autem adorat vel orat intuens simulacrum, qui non sic afficitur, ut ab eo se exaudiri putet?--Hoc enim facit, & quodammodo extorquet illa figura membrorum, ut animus vivens in sensibus corporis magis arbitretur sentire corpus, quod suo corpori simillimum videt. Illa causa est maxima impietatis insanæ, quod plus valet in affectibus miserorum similis viventi forma, quæ sibi efficit supplicari, quam quod eam manifestum est non esse viventem, ut debeat *à vivente contemni*. Plus enim valent simulacra ad curvandam infelicem animam quod os habent, oculos, aures, manus, pedes habent, quam ad corrigendum quod non loquentur, &c. August. in Psal. 113. p. 1307.

§. 7.

§. 7. 7ly, As to the extrinsecal impulsive Cause, or first Inventor of Images, and Image-worship, they declare expressly, That (u) *the Devil and his Angels were the Inventors and Introducers, both of the Images, and Image-worship of Heathen Gods, and of the Saints.* That *the Devil brought into the World the Artificers of Images, and Statues:* That *they were evil Angels who taught Men to make them.* That *they had clearly proved that the first invention of Images, and Statues, was from the Devil.* That *it was manifest, that this vain counsel of painting the Visages of the Saints, was one of the Methods of Satan, an Invention of Men acted by the Devil.* For which assertions they are frequently *Anathematised,* and condemn'd to Hell by the Second *Nicene* Council.

(u) Artifices Statuarum, & Imaginum, & omnis generis simulacrorum diabolus sæculo intulit. Tertul. de Idol. c. 2.

Εὔδηλον ὡς ματάια ἦ τοιαύτη ἐπίνοια, καὶ διαβολικῆς μεθοδείας εὕρημα. Theodotus Ancyr. apud 2. Nic. Conc. Act. 6. p. 492.

Πεφάσει δικαίᾳ ἀεὶ ὑπεσδύνων τὴν διάνοιαν ὁ διάβολος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνδριάντας ἀγάλματα διὰ ποικιλίας τεχνῶν διέγραψε. Epiph. Hær. 79. interprete Agobardo. Agit hoc nimirum versutus, & callidus humani generis inimicus, ut sub prætextu honoris sanctorum rursus Idola introducat, rursus per diversas effigies adoretur. De Imag. §. 31.

Ἡγοῦμαι διὰ τούτων ἀπελήλεγχθαι σαφῶς δαιμονικήν τινα γεγονέναι τὴν παλαιὰν τῶν πρώτων τῆς ξοάνων ἴδρυσιν. Euseb. præpar. Evang. l. 4. c 16. p. 161.

In a word, *Lactantius* not only laughs at them who kiss, and worship, and bow down to these (x) *great Puppits,* as he thinks fit to call them, but also at the vanity of such as *adorn them with Gold, or Jewels, that cover them with Vails, or precious Garments; that offer Incense, or sweet Odours, or consecrate Gold or Silver to them;* and who they are who do these things at present, we are not to learn.

(x) Frustra igitur homines auro, ebore, gemmis deos excolunt & exornant. Ergo his ludicris, & ornatis, & grandibus pupis, & unguenta, & thura, & odores inferunt, his peplos & indumenta pretiosa. L. 2. c. 4. p. 154, 157.

§. 8. And now let any Man of Reason judg, whether all these Considerations do not as much concern the *Images* of *Saints,* and even of our *Blessed Lord,* as they concerned the Images of *Heathen Deities?* whether their *Images,* as well as those of *Heathens,* be not *made of Wood like to that we burn;* or *of polish'd Earth like to that we tread upon, and trample under feet,* and of which *Vessels are oft made for viler uses?* whether they be not *sensual Objects, things void of sense,* and *without Life, Motion,* or *ability to speak?* whether they be not *made by the Artificer,* are not *the work of servile Artists, Stone-cutters, Mechanicks?*

chanicks? whether they be not the *Works of Mens hands?* whether they be not in the *Roman Church adored*, and *reverenced by Men made upright after God's Image*, and *dedicated to his Honour*, and who *have what Images have not*, and *do what Images cannot do?* whether any who adore them, *desire to be like unto them?* whether the *Images* which *Papists* reverence, be not the Images of *Heavenly Powers*, of Beings now *in Heaven*, the Images *of dead* or *absent Persons*, or made for the Commemoration of such Persons? And being so, Whether these Sayings of the *Fathers* do not equally concern them both? Or, whether they do not equally condemn the *Worship* of the *Images* of *Saints*, and *Heathen Deities?* If then these very *Fathers* had themselves made and worshipped *Images* subject to all, or any of these Characters, and had received a *Tradition* from *Christ* and his *Apostles* so to do themselves, and teach all *Christians* so to do, who can imagine that they would have spoken such plain and frequent Contradictions, both to their Practice and their Doctrine, and talk'd as if they equally intended to condemn, and even ridicule the *Christian* and the *Heathen* way of Worship?

§. 9. Again, suppose the *Fathers* could have been thus destitute of common sense, and void of fore-sight, Would not the *Heathens* have taken this advantage to retort upon them all that they argued against their *Image-Worship*; and tell them, That which they condemned in them, was only what themselves did daily practise, and taught all *Christians* to observe? Could *Celsus*, *Porphyry*, *Hierocles*, *Eunapius*, *Julian*, and all the other *Heathen* Wits, have wholly waved and neglected such a plain Advantage? Put case they heard these *Fathers* daily telling them, that 'twas *a wickedness to adore that which was made of Earth*; that it was *impious and foolish to adore the Works of Mens hands*, or *what was void of sense*; that *they renounced the Name or being of a Man, who bowed down to venerate earthly things*; that *they could not but judg them impotent and blind, who called such things Sacred*, or *deemed it piety to adore them*; and that they could not chuse but *laugh at* and upbraid their Folly. Should all the *Pagans* know, that what they thus objected against their *Image-worship*, was of equal force against that which themselves did daily practise; that there were *Images* in every *Christian Church*, made by Mens hands of Earth, as

void

void of ſenſe as any they adored; and that the *Chriſtians* did eſteem, and call them Sacred, adore, bow down to, venerate them; could they abſtain from ſaying, in the words of the Apoſtle, *Thou art inexcuſable*, O Chriſtian, *whoever thou art, that judgeſt* us for doing theſe things; *for wherein thou judgeſt another, thou condemneſt thy ſelf, for thou that judgeſt doſt the ſame things?*

When this Corruption began to ſpread it ſelf through the *Eaſtern Churches*, and to be countenanced at *Rome*; and many had ſubmitted to theſe ſuperſtitious Practices, the *Heathens* preſently began thus ſmartly to reply upon thoſe *Chriſtians* who condemned their *Image-worſhip*. *(a)* What, have you not alſo in your *Churches Images* of *Saints*; and do not you pay worſhip to them? What is the practice of you *Chriſtians*; *(b)* do not you *repreſent in Images* that which you call *a God*, *viz.* your Saviour? *(c) Why therefore do you complain of us, who are your ſelves more ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to the like practices?* The *Heathens*, ſaith *Taraſius*, Patriarch of *C. P.* and the great Champion of Image-worſhip, defended their Idols by condemnation of the Martyrs, ſaying, *(d) Why ſtrive you with us, and refuſe our Images, when you have Images of your own?* Why is it then, that the more Ancient *Pagans*, *Hierocles*, and *Lucian*, *Porphyry* and *Celſus*, *Cæcilian* and *Symmacus*, *Julian*, *Eunapius*, and others, object ſuch things againſt the Worſhip of the *Chriſtians*, as were moſt evidently falſe, *viz. the Worſhip of the Sun, an Aſſes Head, of the Clouds*, and *the Prieſts Genitals*; or moſt apparently impertinent, as *the Worſhip of a crucified Malefactor*, but never mention this; which if the practice of the *Chriſtians* had given them occaſion ſo to do, had been ſo proper, and ſo obvious, that the moſt rude and unſkilful Adverſary could ſcarce neglect to mention, or avoid taking notice of? Theſe Perſons, ſurely, neither wanted skill nor Wiſdom to know what made for their Advantage, and what was proper to retort upon their Adverſaries. They had no kindneſs for the *Chriſtians*, which might induce them to wave this obvious Reply to theſe Accuſations of the *Chriſtians* brought againſt them; nor could they poſſibly be ignorant of what the *Chriſtians*

(a) Ὁ Ἕλλην εἶπεν, ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις εἰκόνας; οὐ γεγράφετε τοῖς ἁγίοις ὑμῶν, καὶ προσκυνεῖτε αὐτάς; 2 Nic. Conc. Act. 5. p. 353.

(b) Καὶ οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἁγίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ ὑμῶν. Ibid.

(c) Τί οὖν καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ὃ φατε θεῖον ἐν εἰκόσιν, οὐκ ἐγχαράττετε πῶς ἂν διαλοιδορεῖσθε ἡμῖν δεισιδαιμονέστερον ἐφ' ὁμοίαις πράξεσι διακείμενοι; Act. 5. p. 373.

(d) Τὰ ἡμέτερα ὁμοιώματα παραιτεῖσθε ἔχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἰδίας εἰκόνας. Ibid. p. 376.

Christians practiſed in this kind, they being ſome of them *Apoſtates* from the *Chriſtian* Faith, and admitted to their publick Worſhip. 'Tis therefore certain, that the Practice and Doctrine of thoſe purer Ages, gave them no occaſion to retort theſe things.

§. 10. 3*ly*, Let us reflect a little upon the Language and Deportment of thoſe who have profeſſedly admitted of the Veneration of the Images of *Chriſt* and of his *Saints*, and ſee if we find any thing reſembling theſe Sayings of the *Fathers* in their Words or Actions. Since that this Image-worſhip hath obtained amongſt the *Latins*, who ever heard ſuch Language from them?

What *Romaniſt* will ſay, *The Chriſtian Doctrine did not permit them to be ſollicitous about Images and Statues, but to relinquiſh them, to reject them*; that *Chriſt came to cauſe them to deſiſt from the worſhip of them*, and *to elevate them from earthly Images to Heaven?* Who of them will declare, That all the Images of *Chriſt*, and of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, which they ſolemnly adore at *Rome*, were *falſly called Images*; that they were *worſe than Mice, and Worms, and Moles?* Who of them will pronounce it *an inſignificant and needleſs, a ridiculous, ſhameful, fooliſh, incongruous, perverſe, impious, irreligious, heretical, heatheniſh*, and *deviliſh practice, to adore an Image or a Statue?* Where ſhall we find amongſt them theſe general Axioms, That *Chriſtians muſt not worſhip that which is a Creature, that which hath no ſenſe*; that *it is impious and fooliſh to adore the Work of Mens hands*; that *this ſhould be no part of the Religion of a Chriſtian*; that *it is folly to adore the Dead, or Abſent, and much more folly to adore their Images*; that *the Devil brought into the World the Artificers of Images and Statues?* Since then the *Fathers*, without diſtinction, or exception, do frequently aſſert theſe things, and many more of a like nature, it is evident they did not worſhip or bow down to Images, as do the Members of the *Church* of *Rome*: For if no Man would thus ſpeak, who meaneth as the *Papiſts* do, ſurely theſe *Fathers* were far enough from their Opinions. Is any Man ſo void of underſtanding, that being only to declare that Earthly Princes are not to be obey'd and reverenced *as Gods*, he ſhould continually teach, without all limitation and diſtinction, *That Earthly Princes are not to be obeyed or reverenced?* ſince then the *Fathers* generally ſay, That

Images are not to be admitted or reverenced by any *Chriſtians*; and that *they ought not to bow down to them*, and do not limit theſe Expreſſions, it is exceeding clear that they intended not only to declare they were not to be worſhipped with *Latria*, but alſo that no outward and inferior Worſhip ſhould be given to them.

After the introduction of Image-worſhip into the *Eaſtern* and ſome *Weſtern Churches*, we find their Language and their Practice as oppoſite to theſe Diſcourſes of the *Fathers*, as is Light to Darkneſs. For then we never hear, That *whatſoever is the Work of an Artificer, is vain, earthy, and prophane*; that *nothing of this Nature can be ſacred, valuable, pious*; but always ſpeaking of their Images, as in the Second *Nicene* Council, under the Titles of *Sacred, Holy, Venerable, adorable Images.* Then they profeſſedly deny, condemn, endeavour to confute the Axioms ſo frequent in theſe Holy *Fathers.* For inſtance;

1. *Nothing is to be worſhipped*, ſay the *Fathers*, *which is made with Hands*; *it is impious and fooliſh to adore*, τὰ χειροποίητα, *things made with Hands.* This Propoſition thoſe good *Fathers* will by no means admit of, without their Reſtrictions; *(e) Thou haſt written*, ſaith P. *Hadrian*, to the Emperor *Leo Iſaurus*, *That things made with hands are not to be venerated.* And having called him *(f) proud, arrogant Dunce*, he very learnedly informs him, That this was only true of the *Manufacta Diaboli noxia & execranda, hurtful, and execrable* manufacta *of the Devil, not of things made with Hands for the Miniſtry and Glory of God.* In his Epiſtle to the Emperors, *Conſtantinus* and *Irene*, approved by the whole *Council*, he objects thus; *(g) You will ſay, That God himſelf forbids us to adore things made with hands*; and anſwers thus, That *(h) every thing upon Earth is made with hands, it being made by God*; and then flies to his old diſtinction, betwixt the Images of *Dæmons* and of *Saints. Theodorus*, Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, ſaith, That *(i) ſome contentious Perſons urge, That the Images of Saints ought not to be worſhipped, as being made with hands. But let them know*, ſaith he, *that the*

(e) Scripſiſti non eſſe manufacta veneranda. 2 Nic. Conc. p. 10.

(f) Indoctus, Craſſus, arrogans, ſuperbus, Ibid. Manufacta diaboli noxia & execranda dicebat, quâ ſunt manufacta ad miniſterium & gloriam Dei.

(g) Sed dices, quia ipſe Deus interdixit adorare manufacta Act. 2. p. 114.

(h) Quid eſt ſupra terram quod non ſit manufactum, cum à Deo ſit factum. Ibid.

(i) Ὡς ὐ δεῖ τὴν ἀγίων περσκυνεῖν τὰς εἰκόνας χειροποίητους ὄσας. Act. 3. p. 185.

the Cherubim, the Ark, the Propitiatory, the Table, were by God's Precept made with hands, and were worshipped; and then he rests in the distinction of Pope *Hadrian*. *Leontius* triumphs over this Objection, thus; (*k*) *Tell me, thou, who thinkest nothing that is made with hands, and nothing created is to be adored; shalt thou kiss thy wicked Wife, and may not I kiss the Image of the Blessed Virgin?*

(*k*) Εἰπέ μοι ὁ νομίζων χειροποίητον μηδὲν ἢ ὅλως κτιστὸν προσκυνεῖν. Act. 4. p. 237.

These Fathers, many of them clearly say, That *Images were the Invention of the Devil*: And in that (*l*) *Council* is pronounced an express *Anathema* upon all that say so; and as I shall hereafter shew, they have either expressly, or in effect, denounced their *Anathema*'s against all these *Fathers*, and almost all that they have said.

(*l*) Τοῖς λέγουσι διαβολικῆς μεθοδείας ἐφεύρεμα τὰς θ. εἰκόνας πίνειν, ἀνάθεμα. Act. 1. p. 57.

§. 11. Moreover, in the late Persecutions, in the days of *Henry* the *7th*, the *Papists* forced *Christians* to renounce those very things as *Heresies*, which are so fully and expressly here asserted by the *Fathers*. For instance;

1. The Renunciations of some of them run thus; *I have kept, and held, by the space of two Years, one suspect Book of Commandments, written in the same, That no Man should worship any thing graven, or made with Man's hands; whereby, after that Doctrine I have believed, that no Man ought to worship Images.* *Thomas Taylor*, Jan. 22. 1490.

2. *I have misbelieved, and to divers manifestly shewed, That Images of Saints are not to be worshipped, after the Doctrine of a Book of Commandments, which I have had in my keeping, wherein is written, That no Man shall worship any thing made or graven with Man's hands; attending the words of the same literally, and not inclining to the sense of the same.* *Augustine Steve*, Jan. 28. 1490.

3. *I have holden and believed, that the Images of the Crucifix, of our Blessed Lady, and of other Holy Saints, should not be worshipped; for nothing wrought, or graven with Mens hands, ought to be honoured or lowted to, as I have read divers times in an English Book that we call the Commandment Book.* *Thom. Boughton*, May 28. 1499.

4. *I have believed, and divers times shewed, that Images of Saints be not to be worshipped, saying, and holding, That no such thing is to be worshipped, that is graven and made with Man's hands.* *William Prior*, Jan. 28. 1490.

John Tanner, Jul. 15. 1491. 5. *I have ſpoken againſt worſhipping of Images, that we ſhall worſhip no Stocks, ne Stones, ne nothing made or graven with Man's hand; no likeneſs of things in Heaven, in Earth.*

Simon Waiver. 6. *I have affirmed, That Images made of Stocks and Stones are not to be worſhipped, or ſhould not be worſhipped, nor nothing made with Man's hands.*

Thomas Taylor, Ibid. Some of them renounce and confeſs after this manner; *I have ſaid them Foolis which goeth to St.* James *in pilgrimage; adding, that St.* James *had no foot to come againſt them, no hand to welcom them, neither tong to ſpeak to them; ſo reproving the worſhip of Images.*

Alize Higuel, Feb. 5. 1490. *I have openly ſaid, before divers, That Images of Saints be not to be worſhipped; that when devout Chriſtian People of their Devotion, be wont to offer their Candles burning to the Image of St.* Leonard, *I have for their devotion called them Fools: furthermore ſhewing in this wiſe, when St.* Leonard *woll ete a Candle, and blow out an oder, then I will offer him a Candle, elſe woll not: Alſo, when I have ſeen Cobwebs hanging before the Face of the Image of our Lady, I have ſaid, and reputed them Fools that offereth to that Image; but if ſhe would blow away the ſame Cobwebs from her Face——*

Robert Makam, June 17. 1506. *I have affirmed, and ſaid, That the Crucifix, and other Images in the Church, made of Stocks and Stones, are but Idols, and ought not to be worſhipped; adding, and ſaying, that* Ball *the Carpenter, or* Pyke *the Maſon, could make as good as the Crucifix, for it is but a crooked Stick.*

John Bennet, Feb. 7. 1507. *I have ſaid, That no manner of Image ought to be worſhipped, for that they can neither ſmell, ſpeak, nor hear.*

Sometimes their Confeſſions, and Abjurations, run after this manner, *viz.*

Iſabel Dort, July 19. 1491. *I have ſaid, That it were better to give a poor, blind, or lame Man a Penny, than to beſtow their Mony in Pilgrimages, and worſhipping the Images of Saints; for Man is the very Image of God, which ought all only to be worſhipped, and no Stocks, ne Stones.*

Thomas Stochin, March 22. 1498. *I uſed to ſay, We ſhould rather worſhip the Image that God hath made, that is to ſay, the poor Man, than the Image that Man hath made, and painted, the which ſtandeth in the Church.*

All theſe things they renounce, as *contrary to the common Doctrine and Determination of the Univerſal Church of Chriſt,* and *as falſe Doctrines, contrary to the Chriſtian Faith, as great Hereſies,*

ſies, and falſe Opinions, reproved, and damned by all Holy Church; and *againſt the Doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles.* And yet theſe Sayings thus condemned by the Second *Nicene* Council, and thus renounced as *great Hereſies*, in all parts where the Power of the *Church* of *Rome* prevailed in theſe latter Ages, are either the expreſs Sayings and Doctrines of the *Ancient Fathers*, or little different from them in ſenſe; whence any Man may eaſily diſcern how great an oppoſition there muſt be betwixt the Doctrine of the *Ancient*, and of the preſent *Church* of *Rome*; the true *Catholick Church* of *Chriſt* in the *Primitive Ages*, and that which now uſurps the name of *Catholick*.

CHAP. III.

That the Ancients did not bow down to, or venerate Images, is farther proved; 1. *Becauſe they never were concerned, as are the Romaniſts, to Anſwer the ſeeming repugnancy of this practice to the Second Commandment, or to uſe any of the Diſtinctions ſo frequent in the ſecond* Nicene *Council to that effect.* §. 1. 2*ly, Becauſe they anſwer all the Objections urged by the* Nicene *Council, againſt the Proteſtant ſenſe of this Precept*, viz. *the inſtance of the Cherubims, and of the Brazen Serpent*, &c. §. 2. 3*ly, Becauſe many of them declare, that this Precept rendred the very Art of making Images unlawful to the Chriſtians.* §. 3. 4*ly, Becauſe they generally declare, that by this Precept the Chriſtian is forbid to give any outward Worſhip to Images, or to bow down to them.* §. 4. 5*ly, Becauſe they reject and confute all the Diſtinctions uſed by the ſecond* Nicene *Council, and by the Romaniſts, to reconcile this Precept to their Practice, aſſerting*; 1. *That this Command is moral and perpetual, and obligatory to all Chriſtians.* 2. *That this Precept doth not only forbid the Worſhip of Images with* Latria, *but all outward Adoration of them.* 3. *That this is the Second Commandment, and not a part of the firſt only.* 4. *That not only Idols, but Images, are by this Precept forbid to be adored.* §. 5.

§. 1.

§. 1. THat the *Ancients* knew nothing of this pretended *Tradition*, will be ſtill more evident from their Diſcourſes touching that Commandment, which ſo expreſly ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not make unto thy ſelf an Idol, nor the ſimilitude of any thing in Heaven or Earth.* For had they generally practiſed, had they received a *Tradition* touching the Veneration of the Images of *Chriſt*, his Bleſſed *Mother*, and the *Saints* and *Martyrs*, is it not wonderful that none of all the *Fathers* ever did that which all *Chriſtians*, who entertained the Worſhip of them ever did, *viz.* That they ſhould never offer any Anſwer to the obvious Objection from this *Commandment* againſt it, or in the leaſt attempt to reconcile this Precept with their Practice; or to propoſe any of thoſe Diſtinctions, Limitations, or Excuſes, which are ſo frequent in the Writings of the *Romiſh Doctors*, and which they judg ſo neceſſary to prevent *Idolatry*, and to inform aright the Minds of them who venerate their *Images*, and to ſatisfy the importunity of thoſe who ſcruple at it, and do ſuſpect it is a breach of this *Commandment*? The Matter of this *Image-worſhip* looks ſo ill, it ſeems ſo manifeſtly repugnant to the Command, forbidding us to *worſhip any ſimilitude of any thing in Heaven or Earth*; it is at leaſt in appearance ſo like to that very practice which they derided in the *Heathens*, that it was highly reaſonable, if this had been the Doctrine and Practice of their Times, that theſe *Primitive Fathers* ſhould at leaſt have conſidered, and ſtated the *Queſtion*, How far, and in what ſenſe it was lawful; and with what Intention, and in what Degree, and with what Cautions and Diſtinctions this might lawfully be done. The preſent *Doctors* of the *Church* of *Rome*, are not ſo careleſs now adays, as were the Fathers in this Matter. When they write *Catechiſms* for the Inſtruction of the People, ſometimes they (*a*) wholly leave out this *Commandment*; ſometimes they do abbreviate it, and make it only ſay, *Thou ſhalt not worſhip Idols:* Or if they be ſo daring as to preſent the whole Commandment to the view of *Roman Catholicks*, they carefully expound, and clog it with many Limitations and Diſtinctions, that their Proſelytes may not be tempted to think the words do mean what in their plain and obvious ſenſe they do import.

(*a*) Vid. *Dall.* de Imag. P. 77.

† Thus

Thus was it also with the *Bishops* of the Second *Nicene* Council, who introduced this *Image-worship* into the *Eastern Church*. *Constantinus*, Bishop of *Constantia* in *Cyprus*, seems to insinuate, That the Reason which moved God to make this Injunction, was not the Evil of Image-worship, but the propenseness of the *Jews* unto *Idolatry*; *For*, saith he, (*b*) *when the People were moved to commit Idolatry, then God spake thus to* Moses, *Thou shalt make no similitude to serve them.* In other places they affirm, That God doth only here forbid (*c*) *the worship of them with* Latria; the worshipping of Images (*d*) *as Gods*, but not the worship of them with *Doulia*; and often do observe, that προσκύνησις, or (*e*) *outward Worship, by saluting*, or *bowing of the Body*, is not appropriated to God, but is an Honour oft given to the Creatures, and therefore is such Worship as may be given to *S. Images.* And sure it may be charitably presumed, that the *Fathers* of the *Primitive Church* were as heartily concerned for the Instruction of their Flocks, and were as able to perceive as *Roman Catholicks*, that seeming opposition which the Veneration of *Images* bears to this *Commandment*; and yet we do not find in all their Writings, for five hundred Years, one Caution to inform the People, that this Law concerned not that *Image-worship* they are supposed to have practised, and derived down unto Posterity.

(*b*) Ὅτι ὅ ἐκινεῖτο ὁ λαὸς πρὸς εἰδωλολάτρειαν, τηνικαῦτα ὁ θεὸς εἶπε πρὸς Μωσεῖ, Ὃ ποιήσεις πᾶν ὁμοίωμα πρὸς τὸ λατρεῦσαι αὐτοῖς. Act. 4. p. 200. vid. Act. 6. p. 468.

(*c*) Ἀσπασὼν καὶ πιστικὴν προσκύνησιν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν. Act. 7. p. 555, 584.

(*d*) Μὴ προσκυνεῖν ὡς Θεόν. Act. 5. p. 355, 376. 412.

(*e*) Τὴν μὲν προσκύνησιν ἀπολύτως καὶ μόνῳ εἴρηκεν τὸ δὲ λατρεύσεις αὐτῷ μόνῳ εἴρηκεν. Act. 7. p. 584. Act. 4. p. 248.

Clemens Alexandrinus, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, and other Writers of the *Ancient Church*, make frequent mention of this Precept, especially when they discourse against that *Image-worship* which the *Heathens* practised; but they afford not one *Iota* to distinguish that Worship they condemned in the *Heathens*, from that which they are said to have then given to the *Images* of *Christ*, and of his *Saints*; or to except them from the Censure they so generally pass upon all *Image-worship*; or to inform us, that the worship of such *Images* is well consistent with the Second *Commandment*.

§. 2. To make this Argument yet more convincing, let it be considered, That these very *Fathers* thought themselves concerned to answer those Objections which *Papists* now, and other worshippers of *Images* before them, made against that sense of the

the *Commandment* which *Proteſtants* embrace; *viz.* That *God by it forbids all outward Worſhip, or Veneration, to be paid to Images.*

For whereas they object the (f) *Cherubims* placed in the *Jewiſh Temple*; *Tertullian* anſwers, That when God forbad *the making the likeneſs of any thing in Heaven or Earth*; in the next words, *Thou ſhalt not worſhip them, he ſhewed the Cauſe of that Prohibition, was the removal of Idolatry*; *and therefore*, ſaith he, *the (g) Cherubims ſeem not here forbidden, becauſe they were not made for Worſhip, but for Ornament.*

(f) Ἴσασιν οἱ λέγοντες, μὴ δεῖν τῶν ἁγίων προσκυνεῖν τὰς εἰκόνας χειροποιήτους ὅσας-- ὡς τὰ χερουβὶμ- χειροποίητα ἦσαν, καὶ προσεκυνήθητο. Theodorus Patr. Hieroſ. 2. Concil. Nicen. Act. 3. p. 185. vid. Act. 4. p. 197, 236. Act. 6. p. 468. Act. 2. p. 107, 115.

(g) Sic Cherubim & Seraphim--certe ſimplex, Ornamentum, longe diverſas habendo cauſas ab Idololatriæ conditione, ob quam ſimilitudo prohibetur. contr. Marc. l. 2. c. 22.

Clemens of *Alexandria*, to the ſame Inſtance anſwers, That (h) *the Cherubims were the Symbols of Angels glorified, not the Images of Saints*; *for he who had adviſed them to make no graven Idol, would not himſelf have made the Image of Saints, or Holy Things.*

(h) Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ὁ μηδὲ γλυπτὸν εἴδωλον δημιουργεῖν παραινέσας αὐτὸς ἀπεικόνισεν τῶν ἁγίων ἄγαλμα. Strom. l. 5. c. 564.

2*ly*, The framing of the *Brazen Serpent* by *Moſes*, is alſo pleaded in favour of *Image-worſhip* in the Second (i) *Nicene* Council. Now to this *Tertullian* anſwers, That *this was done by* (k) Moſes, *not as an Image of Idolatry, but as a Figure of their Remedy*; that it was done, *not in derogation to the Law, but as a Figure of the Croſs.*

(i) Πλὴν δείξω σοι ὅτι καὶ Μωσῆς ὁ ταῦτα νομοθετήσας ἐκελεύθη-- καὶ τὸ ὄφιν τὸ χαλκοῦν δημιουργῆσαι. Act. 5 p. 356, 357. Act. 2. p. 108, 109.

(k) Non in Idololatriæ titulum, ſed in figuram Remedii. Contr. Marc. l. 2. c. 22. Non ad derogationē Legis, ſed ad exemplarium cauſæ ſuæ. L. de Idol. c. 5.

(l) Juſt. M. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 321, 322.

(l) *Juſtin Martyr* in like manner ſaith, That *it was a Figure of the bleſſed Jeſus, who was to ſave us from the bitings of the old Serpent*; *for otherwiſe*, ſaith he, *How can we reconcile it with the Command of the ſame God, to make no kind of Image?*

(m) Ne facias adverſus legem ſimulacrum aliquod, niſi & tibi Deus jufferit. De Idol. cap. 5.

Tertullian ſpeaks thus to the *Chriſtian*, (m) *If thou obſerveſt the ſame God, thou haſt his Law, make no Similitude*; *if thou reſpecteſt the Precept of the Similitude that afterwards was made, imitate thou* Moſes; *make no Image againſt the Law, unleſs God alſo do command thee.*

†

3*ly*,

3*ly*, To the Objection made by (*n*) *Damascen*, and before him by *Celsus*, That *God made Man after his own Image*, *Origen* replies, That (*o*) *it is one thing to be an Image of God, another thing to be made after his Image.* And that *this Image of God is preserved in the Rational Soul, made like in Vertue to to him*, not in the Lineaments of the Body.

(*n*) De fide Orth. cap. 93.

(*o*) Μὴ ἰδὼν διάφορεν εἰκόνος Θεῦ, καὶ τῦ κατ' εἰκόνα Θεῦ. L. 7. p. 376. Τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα Θεῦ ἐν ψυχῇ λογικῇ τῇ πίᾳ καὶ ἀρετὴν σώζεσθαι φαμέν. Ibid. vid. l. 8. p. 389.

These are the Exceptions made against this Law, which the *Ancient Fathers* diligently take notice of, and shew not to be Breaches of, or Contradictions to this Precept. Whereas, had then the *Christians* been accustomed to worship or bow down before the Images of *Christ*, and of the *Blessed Virgin*, and the *Saints* departed, this Practice would have ministred more weighty Scruples to imploy their Pens: And therefore we have reason to conclude, their practice gave them no occasion to answer those Objections which *Romanists* are so industrious to solve, and they, who were concerned about lesser Matters, never mention.

§. 3. But then if we consider, That these *Fathers* who are so profoundly silent in the Particulars now mentioned, so unconcerned to shew, that any Veneration of any *Images* whatsoever, was any ways consistent with this Precept, are very loud, and frequent in declaring, as many of them do, That this *Commandment* rendred the very Art of making *Images* unlawful to the *Christian*, that with one Voice they say, That *it forbad all outward Veneration, and bowing down to any Images whatsoever*; and that they do as fully contradict, and overthrow all the Distinctions, Shifts, and Excuses of the *Romanists*, whereby they do endeavour to avoid the Condemnation of this Law: I say, when we consider this, we cannot have the least suspicion left, that they should practise in their Actions, or in Mind approve, what they in words so fully have condemned. And,

1. We find that many of them have declared expresly, That God by this Commandment forbad the very making of an Image, and rendred the very Art of Painting, and engraving Images, unlawful to the *Christian*.

Clemens of *Alexandria* stiles it, (*p*) κακοτεχνία, *an evil Art*: and adds, That *we Christians plainly are forbidden to exercise this deceitful Art, the Pro-*

(*p*) Προτρεπ. p. 30. ἀπηγόρευται ἡμῖν ἀναραγδὸν ἀπατηλὸν δείζεσθαι τέχνην. p. 41

phet

phet having ſaid, Thou ſhalt not make the ſimilitude of any thing in Heaven or in Earth.

Origen declares, That (q) *the Jewiſh Polity admitted of no Painter or Statuary, the Law ejecting all ſuch out of it.* And all theſe Arts of graving and of painting Images, he alſo ſtileth *Arts of Wickedneſs.* And again, (r) *As for Painters, Carvers, Image-makers, we think that they who do reſpect their Evil Arts, not taking off their Minds from all things viſible, and ſenſible, to fix them upon him who is Light, are yet in Darkneſs.*

(q) Ἐκβάλλον]ος πάντας τὰς τοιαύτας ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆ νόμῳ, l. 4. p. 181. Τῶν ζωγεάφων, καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιῶν κακοτεχνίαι, l. 6. p. 321.

(r) Φήσομεν καθῆσθαι μὴ ἐν σκότῳ πάντας τὰς εἰς τὰς ζωγεάφων, καὶ πλαστῶν, καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἐνορῶντας κακοτεχνίας, &c. l. 6. p. 321.

Tertullian ſaith, (s) *Even of the Work of ſuch Perſons, I enquire, Whether it can pleaſe that God who forbad any likeneſs to be made, how much more of his Image? The Author of Truth loves not what is falſe; whatſoever is feigned, is Adultery with him. The Divine Law proclaims, Thou ſhalt make no Idol; and adding, neither the likeneſs of any thing in Heaven or Earth; hath, through the World, forbidden the Servants of God to exerciſe ſuch Arts.*

(s) Jam vero ipſum opus perſonarum quæro, an Deo placeat qui omnem ſimilitudinem vetat fieri? De Spect. cap. 23. Et conjungens, neque ſimilitudinem, &c. toto mundo ejuſmodi artibus interdixit ſervis Dei. De Idol. c. 4.

And to this Objection of the *Image-maker*, *I have no other Trade to live upon:* He anſwers, *What haſt thou to do with God, if thou wilſt live by thy own Laws?* (t) *The Church permits all Men to labour, but not to labour in thoſe Arts which the Diſcipline of God receives not.*

(t) Patet Eccleſia omnibus, ſi nulla exceptio eſt artium, quas Dei diſciplina non recipit, c. 5.

Chryſoſtom ſaith, *I* (u) *condemn the Arts of making Pictures as no Arts, for they only tend to ſuperfluous Expence; whereas the Name of Arts is only to be given to thoſe Trades which appertain to things neceſſary, and belonging to the Life of Man. For God for this cauſe gave us Wiſdom, that we might find out Methods by which we might advantage our Life. But tell me, Where is the profit of making little Images, or Animals on Walls or Garments?*

(u) Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ζωγεαφικὴν, οὐδὲ τὴν ποικιλτικὴν εἴποιμι ἂν ἔγωγε τέχνην εἶναι—τὸ δὲ ζώδια γίνεσθαι, ἢ ἐν τείχοις, ἢ ἐν ἱματίοις, τί χρήσιμον εἴπέ μοι; in Matt. Hom. 49. p. 316, 317.

And laſtly, The (w) Council of *Conſtantinople*, conſiſting of 338 Biſhops, calls this, τὴν ἀθέμιτον τῶν ζωγεάφων τέχνην, *the unlawful Art of making Pictures.* Judge therefore whether the *Chriſtians* of thoſe five firſt *Centuries*, could have any cuſtom received

(w) Apud Concil. Nic. 2. Act. 6. p. 425. Τῶν ζωγεάφων κακοτεχνία. Ibid. p. 505.

received from *Tradition*, to adore what they declared unlawful for any Chriſtian Man to make, though he did not adore it, Whether they held it neceſſary that *Images* ſhould be worſhipped, who held it both ſuperfluous and wicked that they ſhould be made?

§. 4. But, 2*ly*, theſe *Fathers* do with one Voice declare, That by this Precept the *Chriſtian* is forbidden to worſhip, to bow down, or to give outward Veneration to any Image whatſoever.

Origen, in that very *Homily* upon *Exodus*, which *Romaniſts* do cite in favour of their Expoſition of the word *Idol*, to ſignify a thing that hath no real Being in the World, is very clear in this Particular, declaring, (*x*) That *the Command forbiddeth not only to make an Idol, but alſo the ſimilitude of* all things; *ſo that if any Man, in any Metal of Gold, Silver, Wood, or Stone, makes the reſemblance of any four-footed Beaſt, Serpent, or Bird, and ſets it up to be adored, he maketh not an Idol, but a Similitude; or if he make a Picture to that end, he doth the ſame:* And, *that the Word of God comprehending all theſe things together, caſts away, and abjures them; and doth not only forbid an Idol to be made, but alſo the ſimilitude of all things which are on the Earth, in the Waters, and the Heaven; adding, and ſaying, Thou ſhalt not adore nor worſhip them.* (*y*) *Now, it is one thing to adore, another thing to worſhip; for a Man may unwillingly adore, as they who flatter Kings, who are addicted to ſuch things, may ſeem to adore Idols, when in their Hearts they know an Idol is nothing in the World; but to worſhip, is to be devoted to them with our whole Affection, and Study; both which the Divine Word cuts off, providing, That thou ſhouldſt neither worſhip them with thy Affection, nor adore them in appearance, or external ſhew.*

(*x*) Quæ nunc ſermo Dei univerſa complectens ſimul abjurat, & abjicit, & non ſolum Idolum fieri vetat, ſed & ſimilitudinem omnium in terra, &c. Hom. 8. in Exod.

(*y*) Aliud eſt colere, aliud adorare; poteſt quis & invitus adorare--colere verò eſt toto his affectu & ſtudio mancipari, utrumq; ergo reſecat ſermo divinus ut neq; affectu colas, neq; ſpecie adores. Ibid.

The other Author whom they cite to countenance their Expoſition of the Word *Idol*, is *Theodoret*; who there declares indeed, That *Idols ſignify things which have no Exiſtence*: but then he adds, That *Similitudes here ſignify the Images of things ſubſiſtent, as of the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Men*;

(z) Τούτοις κελεύει μήτε προσκυνεῖν, μήτε λατρεύειν, ἐπίδηλα συμβαίνει πᾶσι προσκυνῆσαι δὲ μὴν καὶ λατρεῦσαι καὶ ψυχῇ, ἐδίδαξεν ὡς ἐκάτερον ἀσεβές, in Exod. q. 38.

which things, ſaith he, (z) *the Commandment enjoins us neither to worſhip outwardly, nor with* Latria, *or with the Worſhip of the Soul, teaching both theſe kinds of Worſhip to be wicked.*

Clemens of *Alexandria* writing againſt the *Antitactes*, who rejected the God of the *Old Teſtament*, and acted in oppoſition to his Commands, tells them, that if they would act ſuitably to their Principles, (a) *Seeing God, by* Moſes, *had forbidden to make any graven or molten Images, they ſhould adore them*; plainly inſinuating, that this Adoration was forbidden by this Precept. I have already ſhew'd, that (b) *Origen* declares, That *Chriſtians* abſtained from the worſhip of all Images, by virtue of this Command; and that which ſaith, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve:* And *Tertullian*, That the *Cherubims* ſeem therefore not to be forbidden here, becauſe they were not made for Worſhip, but for Ornament. *Epiphanius* ſaith, That (c) *if the Son of God had been a Creature, God would not have propounded him to be worſhipped, he himſelf having ſaid, Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelf any Similitude, and thou ſhalt not worſhip it. God*, ſaith *Fulgentius*, (d) *in the firſt Precept of the Decalogue, moſt vehemently forbad all the Faithful to give Adoration or Service to any Creature: and commanding himſelf to be adored, he wholly forbad that any one ſhould dare to adore or ſerve a Creature. And therefore in the end of that firſt Commandment he ſpeaketh thus of all things he created, Thou ſhalt not worſhip them, nor ſerve them.*

(a) Ὑμᾶς ἀκόλουθον ἦν καὶ τὰ γλυπτὰ προσκυνεῖν. Strom. l. 3. p. 441.

(b) L. 7. p. 375.

(c) Πῶς ἂν ἔκλισεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἐπέταξε προσκυνεῖσθαι; Hær. 69. p. 759.

(d) Omni creaturæ adoratio & ſervitus vehementiſſimè prohibetur.--Prorſus interdixit, ne quis auderet creaturam adorare creaturæque ſervire. Ad Donat. p. 592, 593.

In the ſixth and ſeventh *Centuries*, when the *Hiſtorical* uſe of *Images* began to find admittance in the *Church*, and *Chriſtians* were permitted to adorn the Walls and Windows of the *Church* with them; or to engrave and paint them, the better to expreſs or repreſent the *Hiſtory* of *Parables* recorded in *Scripture*, they do excuſe themſelves from being thereby guilty of the breach of this *Commandment*, or any other of like nature, by this diſtinction, That they had Pictures *only for Remembrance, not for Religious Veneration.*

Thus

Thus when *Serenus*, Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, finding his People prone to worſhip Images, did, after the Example of good *Hezekiah*, break and remove them from the *Church*, though *Gregory* the *Great* approves not of his breaking of them, yet he commends his (*e*) *Zeal againſt the adoration of what was made with Hands*; declaring it *the peoples Sin, which was to be forbidden by all means*; and bids him, *calling them together, ſhew, from the Teſtimonies of the Scripture, that it is not lawful to adore any thing that was made with hands, becauſe it is written, Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.* He adds, That he was moved with an inconſiderate Zeal in breaking of them, to prevent their being worſhipped, *becauſe they were ſet up in Churches, not to be adored, but only to inſtruct the Minds of the Simple*, and eſpecially the *Pagans*, which abounded in his *Dioceſs*; and that it was *one thing to adore a Picture, another, by the Hiſtory of a Picture, to learn what was to be adored.* Where this great *Pope*, without diſtinction or limitation, condemns all adoration of an Image, declaring, in oppoſition to the Fathers of the (*f*) ſecond *Nicene* Council, That *nothing was to be adored which was made with hands*: And proving this from that very Teſtimony of Scripture, which in that Council is twice ſaid to make nothing againſt the *Adoration* of them, becauſe the word *only* is not join'd to *Adoration*, but to the Service of *Latria*. He alſo doth command *Serenus* to forbid the adoration of them, *omnibus modis*, *by all manner of ways* oppoſing to this forbidden Adoration, the having of *them* (*g*) *only for Inſtruction*; which manifeſtly proves, that the Adoration rejected and condemned by him, as contrary to the *Holy Scriptures*, was all kind of Adoration, all that is more than uſing of them for Inſtruction only.

(*e*) Et quidem zelum vos ne quid manufactum adorari poſſit habuiſſe, laudamus, ſed frangere eaſdem imagines non debuiſſe judicamus. Tua Fraternitas ab earum adoratu populum prohibere debuit, l. 7. Ep. 110. Convocandi ſunt, eiſq; ſacræ ſcripturæ eſt teſtimoniis oſtendendum, quod omne manufactum adorare non licet, quoniam ſcriptum eſt, Dominum tuum adorabis; ſi quis imagines facere voluerit, minimè prohibe adorare, vero omnibus modis veta. Al. de vita Ep. l. 9. c. 9.

(*f*) Act. 4. p. 248. 7. 584.

(*g*) Frangi non debuit, quod non ad adorandum in Eccleſiis, ſed ad inſtruendas ſolummodo mentes neſcientium collocatum. Ibid.

To weaken this plain Teſtimony of ſo great a *Pope*, they have ſince put words into an *Epiſtle* writ by him to *Secundinus* the *Monk*, in which he is made to ſpeak according to the late Diſtinctions of the *Schools*; and to admoniſh that *Monk* not to worſhip the Image of our Saviour,

viour, (h) *as a God*; and to inform him, That *Christians do not prostrate themselves before it, as before the Divinity*; concluding hence, that he elsewhere condemned only the worshipping of *Images* as Gods: But the *gross Forgery* is happily detected by the industry of (i) Dr. *James*, who collated this Epistle with seven good *Manuscripts*; in all which no such words were to be found.

(h) Imaginem salvatoris nostri non ideo petis, ut quasi Deum colas. Nos quidam non, quasi ante Divinitatem, ante illum prosternimur. Epist. l. 7. Ep. 54.

(i) *Corruption of the true Fathers*, p. 75, 76.

(k) *No Word of God forbids that Images be made*, saith *Bede*; *but it by all means doth forbid that they be made unto this end*, viz. *that they be worshipped and adored.*

(k) Apud Gerson. Comp. Theol. Expl. 1. præcept. To. 2. F. 25.

This Command, saith *Agobardus*, (l) *must not be only understood of the Similitude of false Gods, but also of the Heavenly Creatures, or of those things which humane Fancy hath invented for the Honour of God.* And from them, and the 4th of *Deuteronomy*, he saith, (m) *this chiefly ought to be observed, That if the Workmanship of God's Hand is not to be adored, no not in Honour of that God who made it; much less may we adore the Workmanship of Man in honour of those Persons whose Images they are said to be.* And hence, as you have seen already, the Councils of *Frankford*, and *Paris*, and the *Western Clergy*, condemned the Decree of the second *Nicene* Council, as being, *contra Authoritatem Divinam, & Scripturarum tramitem*, against Divine Authority, and the course of Scriptures.

(l) Non de solis similitudinibus alienorum Deorum, sed & de cœlestibus creaturis. Lib. de Imag. p. 221.

(m) Quanto magis opera manuum hominum non sunt adoranda & colenda, nec in honore eorum quorum similitudines esse dicuntur? p. 222.

§. 5. Moreover, these Fathers clearly and abundantly confute all the Distinctions used by the *Romanists*, and by the Second *Nicene* Council, to reconcile their Practice with this Precept, and all the specious Pleas they have invented for that end; as *v. g.*

1. Do they, with Mr. *Thorndyke*, say, that this Commandment is not (n) *perpetual*, and *moral*, and so not obligatory to the *Christian?*

(n) Num Deus primum per naturalia præcepta, quæ ab initio infixa dedit hominibus, admonens eos, id est, per Decalogum, quæ si quis non fecerit non habeat salutem, & nihil plus ab eis exquisivit. Iren. l. 4. c. 28. & c. 31. Decalogi quidem verba ipse per semetipsum omnibus similiter Dominus locutus est, & ideo similiter permanent apud nos, extensionem & augmentum, sed non dissolutionem accipientia per carnalem ejus adventum.

The

The *Fathers* generally aſſert againſt them, That all the Precepts of the *Decalogue*, excepting only the carnal Obſervation of the *Sabbath*, oblige all *Chriſtians*; that the words of the Decalogue *Chriſt ſpake alike to all, and therefore they remain alike with us, receiving their Augmentation and Extenſion, but not their Diſſolution from our Saviour's Advent*, they being natural and common *to all*. That they were not only ſpoken to the *Iſraelites* going out of *Egypt*, (o) ſed multo magis ad te, *much more to the Chriſtian.* (p) *What ſhall we ſay that the Decalogue, excepting the carnal obſervation of the Sabbath, doth not belong to us? Who is ſo wicked*, ſaith St. *Auſtin*, *as to ſay, That therefore he obſerveth not thoſe Precepts, becauſe he is a Chriſtian?*

(o) Origen Hom. 8. in Exod.

(p) Numquid propterea dicturi ſumus, non ad nos pertinere quod ſcriptum eſt, maximéq; ipſum Decalogum, qui duabus illis lapideis tabulis continetur, excepta Sabbati obſervatione carnali, quæ ſpiritualem ſanctificationem quietémq; ſignificat? quis enim dicat non debere obſervare Chriſtianos, 1. ut uni Deo Religionis obſequio ſerviant, 2. ut Idolum non colatur, 3. ut nomen domini non accipiatur in vanum, 5. ut Parentes honorentur, ne 6. Homicidia, 7. Adulteria, 8. Furta, 9. falſa Teſtimonia perpetrentur, ne 10. Uxor, ne omnino res ulla concupiſcatur aliena? Quis eſt tam impius, ut dicat ideo ſe iſta legis non cuſtodire præcepta, quia eſt ipſe Chriſtianus, nec ſub lege, ſed ſub gratia conſtitutus? Contra duas Epiſt. Pelag. l. 3. c. 4. p. 899.

Clemens of *Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, St. *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, *Auſtin*, *Fulgentius*, do urge this Precept upon *Chriſtians*; and ſome of them expreſly ſay, That it concerns not only *Jews*, but *Chriſtians* alſo. And even the *Trent* Catechiſm teacheth, That *all the Precepts of the Decalogue, except the fourth, are natural and perpetual, and cannot be changed*; *ſo that* (q) *although the Law of* Moſes *be abrogated, yet Chriſtian People are to obſerve all the Commands of the two Tables*; *not becauſe* Moſes *did command them, but becauſe they are agreeable to Nature, and that conſtrains them ſo to do.*

Vide §. 4.

(q) Ut quamvis lex Moyſis abrogata ſit, omnia tamen præcepta quæ duobus tabulis continentur, populus Chriſtianus ſervet. Part. 3. cap. 4. Sect. 4.

2. Do they ſay, with the ſecond (r) *Nicene* Council, That *this Precept only forbids the worſhipping of Images as Gods*, or giving of *Latria* to them, but not the paying of *external honorary Worſhip*, or outward adoration to them? *Note the propriety of the words*, ſaith (s) *Jerom*, *neither Worſhip of the Gods, nor Adoration*

(r) Act. 4. p. 248. Act. 5. p. 356, 376. Act. 7. p. 556, 584.

(s) In Dan. 3.

ration of the Image, is agreeable to the Servants of God. The Command forbids both inward Worſhip, and external Adoration, ſay *Origen* and *Theodoret. Thou ſhalt not worſhip them with the Veneration of thy Body, nor the Affection of thy Mind,* ſaith *Gerſon.*

(t) Exhort. ad Mart. p. 167.

(t) *Origen* declares, That they who abjured *Chriſtianiſm* in times of Perſecution, made the ſame excuſe as doth the ſecond *Nicene* Council in this Matter, *viz.* That ὁ λατρεύσαι μὲν, προσκύνησαι δὲ εἰδώλοις, *they gave not* Latria, *but only outward Worſhip or Veneration to the Idols.* But to this *Romiſh* ſhift he thus replies, *viz.* That *this excuſe would alſo free the Jews from the like Guilt in worſhipping the Gods of* Moab, *and the golden Calf*; for he obſerveth, that *the Scripture ſaith, Not of them who went a whoring after the Gods of* Moab, ἐλάτρευσαν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν, *they gave* Latria *to their Idols*; *for it could not be,* ſaith he, *after ſo many Signs and Wonders, which their Eyes had ſeen, that they ſhould preſently be brought,* πρὸς τὸ νομίσαι θεὸς τὰ εἴδωλα, *to think the Idols,* with which they fornicated, *were indeed Gods. Thus alſo,* ſaith he, *very likely did the Jews,* προσκυνεῖν, *outwardly adore the Calf,* ὁ λατρεύσαντες τῷ μόχῳ ὃν γινόμενον ἐθεάσαντο, *not giving Divine Worſhip to that which they had ſeen then made.* And indeed, evident it is, that the ſimilitude of any thing is not the thing it ſelf; and therefore the command forbidding us to *worſhip the Similitude of any thing in Heaven, or Earth,* cannot be reaſonably ſuppoſed only to forbid us to worſhip a Similitude of God, *as God.*

Num. 25. 2, 3.

3*ly*, Do they, to give ſome colour to this ſubterfuge, aſſert, That what we call the Second Commandment, is indeed part of the Firſt? The *Jews*, and *Chriſtian Fathers*, excepting only St. *Auſtin*, and *Fulgentius*, do, with one Voice, declare the contrary. (u) *The firſt Commandment,* ſaith *Joſephus, teacheth, That God is One, and that he only ſhould be worſhipped; the ſecond commands us, not to make the Image of any living thing to worſhip it.* (w) *The firſt,* ſaith *Philo, is about Monarchy; the ſecond about things made with hands, not ſuffering us to prepare Images, or Statues, as thoſe hurtful Arts of Painting and Engraving do.* (x) *Theophilus* reckons theſe δεκαλεφάλαια, or Ten Commandments, thus; 1. *Thou ſhalt have no other Gods but me.* 2. *Thou ſhalt not make to thy*

(u) Διδάσκει ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λόγος, ὅτι Θεός ἐστιν εἷς, καὶ τοῦτον σέβεσθαι μόνον, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος κελεύει μηδενὸς εἰκόνα ζῴου ποιήσαντας προσκυνεῖν. Orig. l. 3. c. 4.

(w) Ἀγάλματα καὶ ξόανα καὶ συνόλως ἀφιδρύματα κατασκευάζειν οὐκ ἐῶν. Libr. de Decal. p. 590.

(x) Ad Autolyc. l. 3. p. 23.

†

ſelf

ſelf an Idol, or the ſimilitude of any thing, &c. 10. *Thou ſhalt not covet the Houſe of thy Neighbour, nor deſire his Wife*, &c. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* declares, That (*y*) *the firſt Command ſhews, That there is one only God Omnipotent, and forbids Idolatry; the ſecond, is againſt giving of his Name to vain things, which Artificers have made.* (*z*) *Should theſe two be numbred as one*, ſaith *Origen*, *the number of Ten Commandments would not be compleat; but if you reckon them as we do, the Truth of the Decalogue will remain; wherefore the firſt Commandment is this, Thou ſhalt have no other Gods but me; the ſecond, thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelf an Idol, or any Similitude*, &c. Of the Ten Commandments, the (*a*) *firſt*, ſaith *Athanaſius*, *is this, I am the Lord thy God; the ſecond, Thou ſhalt not make unto thy ſelf an Idol, or the ſimilitude of any thing.* (*b*) St. *Jerom* reckons four Commandments of the firſt Table, and ſaith, *a Promiſe was added to the ſecond of them.* To all theſe may be add (*c*) *Tertullian* againſt *Marcion*, and againſt the (*d*) *Jews*. The (*e*) *Conſtitutions* under the name of *Clement*. (*f*) *Sulpitius Severus*, in his Sacred *Hiſtory*. (*g*) *Pſeud-Ambroſius* on the 6*th Chapter* to the *Epheſians*. The imperfect Work upon (*h*) St. *Matthew* paſſing under the Name of *Chryſoſtom*. (*i*) *Procopius Gazæus*, upon *Exodus*. (*k*) *Zonarus* in his *Annals*; with divers others. And if that which we ſtile the ſecond Commandment, be only a part and explication of that Precept, *Thou ſhalt have no other Gods but me*, it only can forbid what is forbidden in that Precept, *viz.* the giving of that Worſhip which is due to God, to any Image; whence it will follow, That to *bow down*, to *kiſs*, *offer Incenſe* to the *Images* of Heathen *Deities*, or of the very *Devil*, is not a thing forbidden by this Precept, ſince by ſuch Actions, ſay the ſecond *Nicene* Council, and the *Roman Doctors*, We do not worſhip Images *as Gods*: And if the paying this inferior Worſhip to the Images of *Heathen Deities*, be not forbidden in the words of this *Commandment*, I conceive it cannot be reaſonably thought to be forbidden in any other Precept, there being only this which ſpeaks of *Image-worſhip*;

(*y*) Ἆρα οἱ τεχνῖται φῶ ἀνθρώπων πεποίηκασι. Strom. l. 6. p. 682.

(*z*) Si ita putetur non complebitur decem numerus mandatorum, & ubi jam erit Decalogi veritas? Hom. 8. in Exod.

(*a*) Δευτέραν δὲ ποίησεις σεαυτῷ εἴδωλον, &c. Synopſ. p. 64.

(*b*) Et in ſecundo præcepto repromiſſionem eſſe ſociatam. Eph. 6. F. 104.

(*c*) L. 2. c. 17.
(*d*) Cap. 2. (*e*) L. 2. 36. l. 7. 3. (*f*) L. 1. p. 93.
(*g*) P. 554.
(*h*) Hom. 49. p. 175.
(*i*) P. 273.
(*k*) To. 1. p. 24.

and if it were forbidden in no Precept of the *Moral Law*, it neceſſarily will follow, that it was lawfully performed by the *Heathens*.

4*ly*, Do they pretend that *Idols* only are forbidden to be adored in this Precept, but not *Images*; this indeed is the conceit of *Romiſh Doctors*, and of the ſecond *Nicene* Council; but this alſo is plainly oppoſite unto the general Tradition of all the *Fathers* of the *Church*, who conſtantly obſerve, what is as evident in the Commandment as words can be, *viz.* That it forbids not only *Idols* to be worſhipped, but alſo *the ſimilitude of any thing whatſoever*; As beſides the expreſs Teſtimonies of *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Theophilus*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Athanaſius*, *Epiphanius*, *St. Auſtin*, and *Fulgentius*, produced already, is farther evident from the expreſs Aſſertions of *(l) Juſtin Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*: Of *(m) Cyprian*, in his third Book to *Quirinus*: Of *(n) Julius Firmicus*, in his Treatiſe of Prophane Religion: Of *(o) Nazianzen*, in his Verſes: Of the *(p) Pſeud-Ambroſius*, upon the 6*th* Chapter to the *Epheſians*: Of *(q) Theodoret*, in his Queſtions upon *Exodus*; and of innumerable other Authors.

(l) P. 321, 322.
(m) C. 59.
(n) P. 39.
(o) Carm. p. 99.
(p) P. 554.
(q) Qu. 38.

To all which add that of *Tertullian*, That *(r) every Form, or little Repreſentation, is an Idol*; and *all Service performed about it, is Idolatry*. That of the Council of *Frankford*, *(s) We do not call the Images placed in Churches, Idols; but we refuſe to worſhip and adore them, leſt they ſhould be called Idols*. That of *Agobardus*, That *(t) if they who have left the Worſhip of Dæmons, ſhould be commanded to venerate the Images of Saints, I think they would ſeem to others, not ſo much to have left Idols, as to have changed their Reſemblances*. Add laſtly, the Complaint of all the *Fathers* againſt the *Arians*, That by introducing the Adoration of a Creature, they brought in ἄιρεσιν εἰδωλοποιὸν, *an Idol-making Hereſy*; under *the pretext of Chriſtianity, they ſecretly introduced the Worſhip of Idols, and tranſgreſſed that Precept which forbad the Adoration of an Idol, or of any Similitude*, clearly inſinuating, That by worſhipping any Creature, it was made an *Idol*.

(r) Omnis forma, vel formula Idolum. De Idol. c. 3.

(s) Sed ne Idola nuncupentur, adorare eas & colere Recuſamus. Lib. Car. l. 4. c. 18.

(t) Puto quod videretur eis non tam Idola reliquiſſe quam ſimulacra mutaſſe. De Imag. p. 248.

Since then the *Fathers* of the ſecond *Nicene* Council, and the *Romiſh Doctors*, do with ſuch diligence and induſtry inculcate

cate these Distinctions and Limitations of this Precept, seeing they were so much concerned to blanch, and colour over the seeming opposition of their practice to it: And since the *Fathers* must have had the like Occasions, Reasons, and inducements so to do; if they had practised the same custom, of making and adoring the Images of *Christ*, and of his *Saints*, and yet they never in the least concern themselves about this Matter, never use any of these Limitations or Distinctions, nor any other of like Nature in their own defence, but do as manifestly reject, condemn, and overthrow them all, as any *Protestant* could do.

Since, 2*ly*, they thought themselves obliged to shew, that which comparatively concerned them little, *viz.* That the making of the *Cherubims*, and of the *Brazen Serpent* by *Moses*, and the making Man after his Image by God himself, did no way thwart this Precept, but yet were wholly unconcerned, to add, That the making, and adoring of the *Images* of *Christ*, and of his *Saints*, was also well consistent with it, since they do often say, That, notwithstanding this Command, it might be lawful for the *Jew* to make an Image, where there was no peril of worshipping, or bowing down to it; and it was also lawful for the *Christians* to have (*u*) *their Cups, and Dishes, for the Sacramental Bread and Wine, and other Utensils*; and that such things were not condemned by this Commandment, or to be ranked with what was here forbidden; but yet they never go about to prove, That it was lawful, notwithstanding this Command, to have, or worship Images of *Christ*, or any of his *Saints*, since even in the following Ages, when *Images* began to be received into *Churches*, they still declare they did not violate this Precept, because they had them *not for Adoration, but only for commemoration*; and that this Precept forbad them not to make, though it by all means forbad them to adore an Image.

(*u*) August. in Psalm 113.

3*ly*, Since many of them have declared expresly, That God by this Command forbad the very making of an Image, and rendred the very Art of Painting and Ingraving, unlawful to the *Christian*; and they more generally do assert, That He by it, forbad even all *outward adoration of them*, and consequently expresly must declare themselves transgressors of it, and pra-

ticers of wicked Worſhip, if they both made and gave external Adoration to the Images of *Saints*.

And, 4*ly*, ſince they plainly argue againſt all honorary Worſhip of them, thus, That *if the Workmanſhip of God's Hands is not to be adored, no not in honour of that God that made it; much leſs may we adore the Workmanſhip of Man, in honour of thoſe Perſons whoſe Images they are ſaid to be.* Declaring, This, ſhould it be done by *Chriſtians*, would rather look *like changing, than leaving of their Idols.*

And, laſtly, ſince they ſolemnly profeſs, That *by Reaſon of this Precept, they had rather die than worſhip any graven Image*, with many other-like Expreſſions; it is, upon all theſe accounts, extreamly evident, that then they had no Images of Saints, erected or painted in the Houſe of God; and that when they were once admitted, they neither paid to them any *outward Worſhip*, nor did they think it lawful ſo to do.

CHAP. IV.

The Fathers forbid Chriſtians to make or worſhip Images and Pictures. §. 1. 2ly, *Some of them repreſent it as a vain thing to deſire them.* §. 2. 3ly, *When they ſaw them in Churches, they tore and pull'd them down, as being contrary to Scripture and Religion.* §. 3. 4ly, *When it was objected to them by the Donatiſts, That ſome of them placed Images on the Altar; they reject the Calumny with great abhorrence.* §. 4. 5ly, *When the worſhip of Images was objected to them by the Manichæans, they ſay, This was done only by ſome rude People by the Church condemned.* §. 5. *From the 8th to the 15th Century, the veneration of Images was rejected by the moſt eminent Perſons of the Weſtern Church.* §. 6.

§. 1. AND ſuitably to theſe Declarations, we find the *Fathers*, as occaſion ſerved, either forbidding of the People to make, or at the leaſt to worſhip *Images*, and ſhewing

ing of their Zeal againſt them, that did ſo both in Word and Action.

Epiphanius ſpeaks thus to the *Chriſtians* of his Time; *(a) Attend to your ſelves, and remember that you bring not Images into the Church, or into the Dormitories of the Saints, nor yet into your common Houſes, for it is not lawful for a Chriſtian to wander after them with his Eyes. (b) Picture not Chriſt*, ſaith *Aſterius*, Biſhop of *Amaſa*, *but bearing him in thy Soul, carry the incorporeal Word in thy Mind.* The Council of *Eliberis* decrees, *(c) That Pictures ſhould not be in the Church*; not becauſe in times of Perſecution they may be abuſed by *Heathens*, as *Baronius*; nor becauſe they haply may be defaced by the moiſture of the Walls, as others deſcant on that *Canon*; but, *leaſt that which is worſhipped and adored* (by Chriſtians) *ſhould be painted upon Walls.* This *Canon* was made by the *Orthodox Fathers*, ſaith *(d) Agobardus, to evacuate the Superſtition of Image-worſhippers.* And whatſoever is the import of it, it manifeſtly doth forbid the introduction of any Image into the *Church to be adored*; for ſaying, That *it is our Pleaſure*, or our Judgment, *that Images ought not to be in Churches*, it muſt by conſequence forbid the giving any adoration to them, ſince what we muſt not have, we cannot worſhip; and what we are forbid to have, to that we are forbid to exerciſe thoſe Actions which preſuppoſe the having of it. It alſo doth apparently forbid the introducing the Image of our *Bleſſed Lord and Saviour*, and painting that on the *Church* Walls, for he was ſurely adored and worſhipped by *Chriſtians*; and that this is indeed the meaning of the Canon, will be very probable, if we conſider, that about that time ſome ſuperſtitious People, in imitation of the *Heathens*, who were accuſtomed to paint within their *(e) Temples*, the Images of thoſe Gods they worſhipped, began to paint upon the Walls of *Churches*, the *(f) Goſpel Parables, viz.* our Lord *(g)* carrying a Sheep upon his Shoulder, to repreſent the Parable of the Loſt Sheep; the *Goſpel Hiſtories*, as our Lord in the form of a Lamb, with the Forerunner pointing

(a) Ἐν τούτῳ μνήσθητε τὸ μὴ ἀναφέρειν εἰκόνας εἰς ἐκκλησίας. --οὐκ ἔξεστι γὰρ χριστιάνῳ διὰ ὀφθαλμῶν μετοικίζεσθαι. 2. Nic. Conc. Act. 6. p. 473.

(b) Μὴ γράφε Χριστὸν ἐπὶ σῇ τῇ ψυχῇς σε βαστάζων νοητῶς τὸν ἀσώματον λόγον φέρε. Hom. de Div. & Laz. p. 565.

(c) Placuit in Eccleſiis picturas eſſe non debere, nè quod colitur & adoratur in parietibus depingatur. Can. 36.

(d) Ob hujuſmodi evacuandam ſuperſtitionem. De Imag. p. 266.

(e) Bochart de l' Orig. des Images, des Saints. p. 598, 599.

(f) Euſeb. de Vit. Conſt. l. 3. c. 48.

(g) Ἀμνὸς δακτύλῳ τὸ προδρόμου δεικνύμενος ἐνεχαράττετο. Conc. Nic. 2. p. 121. Concil. Trull. Can. 82.

to

to him. Which Picture was afterwards approved of by the ſixth Synod, though the Council of *Eliberis*, thought it not fit thus to paint what was by *Chriſtians* worſhipped.

§. 2. And ſuitable to theſe Declarations of their Judgment, and theſe Exhortations, hath been the practice of the moſt Learned *Fathers* of the *Church*. *Even to the days of* Jerom, ſaith (*h*) *Eraſmus*, *Men of approved Religion, would not ſuffer any painted, carved, graven Image, no not of Chriſt himſelf.* And therefore when *Conſtantia*, the Siſter of the Emperor *Conſtantine*, being in *Paleſtine*, deſired *Euſebius* to ſend her the Picture of our *Saviour Chriſt*. To this Requeſt (*i*) *Euſebius* returns this Anſwer; *What Image is it you would have? That of his Divinity. This I ſuppoſe you did not ask for, ſince no Man knows the Father but the Son, and no Man knoweth the Son but the Father; or is it the Image of his Humane Nature, that ſervile Form, which, for our ſakes, he took upon him? This certainly is that whoſe Image you deſire; but we have learned, this is now temper'd with the Glory of the Godhead; and that this mortal is ſwallowed up of Life. And if his Diſciples in the Mount were not ſufficient to endure the luſtre of it, when transfigured, who ſhall be able to expreſs the ſplendor of his Glorious Body in dead and ſenſleſs Colours and Adumbrations? now that putting off Corruption and Mortality, the ſimilitude of the Form of a Servant, is changed into the Glory of the Lord.* Whence it is evident, he judged Chriſt's Humane Nature was not then to be painted, or repreſented to the Eye, and therefore knew of no ſuch cuſtom then approved by the *Church*. For had ſuch *Images* then been common in all *Churches*, and all private *Oratories*; had they then been received by all *Chriſtians*, *from one end of the World to the other*, as the ſecond *Nicene* Council ſaith, Why did *Conſtantia* ſend as far as *Paleſtine* for what was every where to be had? Or, why ſhould *Euſebius* refuſe to ſatisfy her in a Requeſt ſo reaſonable? Why doth he put her off with an Excuſe, which was as oppoſite to the Opinion of the

(*h*) Uſq; ad ætatem Hieronymi erant probatæ Religionis viri, qui in templis nullam ferebant Imaginem, ne Chriſti quidem. Vol. 5. Symbol. Catech. p. 989.

(*i*) Τίνα λέγεις καὶ ποίαν ταύτῃ ἣν φὴς τὸ Χριστοῦ εἰκόνα; πότερον τὴν ἀληθῆ, καὶ ἀμετάλλακτον, καὶ φύσει τοῦ αὐτοῦ χαρακτῆρος φέρουσαν, ἢ ταύτῃ ἣν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀνείληφε· τῆς δούλης μορφῆς τῷ δεσπότῃ τὸ χρῆμα; ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι τὴν Θεοῦ μορφῆς οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἠγοῦμαί σε ζητεῖν ἅπαξ πρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπαιδευμένην, ὅπου γε τὸν πατέρα τις ἔγνω, &c. ἀλλὰ πάντως τὴν τῆς δούλης μορφῆς ὅπερ ζητεῖς τοῦ εἰκόνα, καὶ ἣ δι' ἡμᾶς περιεβλήθη σαρκίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ θεότητος ἀναμεμῆχθαι μεμαθήκαμεν· Τίς ἂν τοσαύτης ἀξίας τε καὶ δόξης τὰς ἀποστιλβούσας καὶ ἀποσεμνύσας μαρμαρυγὰς οἷός τε ἂν ἦ καταγράφειν, νεκραῖς, καὶ ἀψύχοις χρώμασι, καὶ σκιαγραφίαις, ὅπου γε μηδὲ προσβλέψαι αὐτῷ ὅτι τοῦ ὄρους οἱ δεσπόσιοι ὑπέμειναν μαθηταὶ, &c. Apud 2. Nic. Conc. Act. 6. p. 494, 496.

Church

Church of *Chriſt* confirmed, ſaith that *Council*, by their daily practice, as it was oppoſite to her Requeſt?

Olympiodorus being to build a *Church* in honour of *Chriſt* and of the *Martyrs*, writes to *Nilus*, a celebrated *Monk*, and a Diſciple of St. *Chryſoſtom*, to know whether he ſhould ſet up any Images of them in the *Choire*, or *Sanctuary*; or any other *Images* in the Houſe of God, *for the gratification of the Eyes of the Beholders.* To this Requeſt (*k*) *Nilus* returns this Anſwer, That *it was a very childiſh Buſineſs, to cauſe the Eyes of the Faithful to wander after the aforeſaid Things; and that it was the Indication of a ſtrong and manly apprehenſion, to have in the Sanctuary only one Croſs framed, that the Church might be filled indeed with Hiſtories of the Old and New Teſtament, done by the Hand of an excellent Painter, that they who could not read the Scriptures, might by the ſight of theſe Pictures, have the memory of the courageous Actions of the Servants of God, and might be provoked to an emulation of their glorious Actions.* So that he clearly ſhews, that then no *Pictures* were allowed in *Churches* but for *Hiſtorical* uſes; that no Images of *Chriſt*, or of the *Martyrs*, were thought fit to be placed in the *Choire*; that the uſe of them, *to gratify the Eyes, was childiſh*, and not ſuitable to *Men of ſtrong and Manlike Underſtandings.*

(*k*) Εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἱερατείῳ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Conc. Nic. 2. Act. 4. p. 228.

Νηπιῶδες ἂν εἴη καὶ βεβαρημένης τὸ τοῖς προλεχθεῖσι προσπλανᾶσθαι τὴν ὀφθαλμῶν τῶν. Ibid.

§. 3. Thus Matters ſtood in the middle of the 5*th* Century, but in the 4*th* it was thought oppoſite to *Scripture* and *Religion* to admit Images into the *Chriſtian Churches*: Witneſs the Epiſtle of (*l*) *Epiphanius* to *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, where he ſaith; *When I was come into the Village called* Anablatha, *and entring into the Church to pray, found there a Veil, dyed and pain-*

(*l*) Quando veniſſem ad Eccleſiam, quæ dicitur Anablatha, inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus Eccleſiæ tinctum, atq; depictum, & habens Imaginem, quaſi Chriſti, vel Sancti cujuſdam; non enim ſatis memini cujus Imago fuerit: cum ergo hoc vidiſſem in Eccleſia Chriſti contra autoritatem Scripturarum hominis pendere Imaginem, ſcidi illud, & magis dedi conſilium cuſtodibus ejus loci, ut pauperem mortuum eo obvolverent, & efferrent; illiq; contra murmurantes, dixerunt, ſi ſcindere voluerat, juſtum erat ut aliud daret velum, atq; mutaret; quod cum audiiſſem, me daturum eſſe pollicitus ſum, & illico eſſe miſſurum.——Nunc autem miſi quod potui reperire, & precor ut jubeas Presbyteros ejuſdem loci ſuſcipere velum à latore,--& deinceps præcipere in Eccleſia Chriſti iſtiuſmodi vela, quæ contra Religionem noſtram veniunt, non appendi. Decet enim honeſtatem tuam hanc magis habere ſollicitudinem ut ſcrupuloſitatem tollat, quæ indigna eſt Eccleſia Chriſti, & populis qui tibi crediti ſunt. Apud Hierom. Epiſt. To. 2. F. 58.

ted,

ted, and having the Image, as it were, of Christ, or of some Saint, for I do not well remember whose Image it was. But seeing this, that contrary to the Authority of Scriptures, the Image of a Man was hanged up in the Church of Christ, I rent it, and gave counsel to the keepers of the Place, that they should rather wrap up and bury some dead Body in it. They murmuring, said, That having rent this, he should send them another: Which, saith he, I promised, and have now sent; and I desire you to bid the Presbyters of the Place receive it of the Bearer; and henceforth to command them, That such Veils as these, which are repugnant to our Religion, should not be hung up in the Church of Christ; for it becomes you to be the more careful, for the taking away that Scrupulosity which is unworthy of the Church of Christ, and of the People committed to your charge.

(m) Ep. To. p. 58.

(n) In Concil. Narbon. p. 616.

(o) Lib. Car. l. 4. c. 25.

(p) Synod. Paris. c. 6.

This *Epistle* is extant in the Works of *(m) Jerom*, both Manuscript & printed: It is owned as genuine by *(n) Sirmondus* and *Petavius*: It was long since cited against Image-worship by the Councils of *(o) Frankford* and *(p) Paris*; and so the Truth of it cannot be reasonably disputed. This being thus premised, I observe;

1. That he declares it *contrary to the Authority of Scripture, to hang up in the Church of Christ the Image of a Man*: He doth not say the Image of a *wicked Man*, but simply, and without all distinction, *Imaginem Hominis*, the Image of a Man.

2. He clearly doth insinuate, That, for any thing he knew to the contrary, the Image which he rent was the Image of *Christ*, or of some *Saint*; for *whether it was so or no*, saith he, *I do not well remember*: Whence evident it is, that had it been the Image of *Christ*, or any of his *Saints*, he would have rent it. He therefore did not think, that to destroy those Images which were erected for his Worship, was to offer a most vile Affront unto his *Saviour*, as afterwards the second *Nicene* Council did, and now the *Papists* do conceive.

3. He positively declares, That all such Veils so hung up in the *Church*, were *contrary to the Religion of the Christians*.

4. He desires the Bishop of *Jerusalem* to charge his *Presbyters*, that they should *suffer no such thing hereafter to be done*; *i. e.* no painted Images to be hung up in the *Church* of *Christ*, and that because *it was unworthy of the Church of Christ, the Peo-*

ple committed to his charge, to be ſcrupulous or concerned about ſuch Trifles.

5. Obſerve; That when he rent this Veil, and counſelled the Men of *Anablatha*, *to wrap and bury ſome poor Body in it*; they did not ſay, for ought appears; and he did not regard it if they ſaid ſo, that this was to *prophane* the Sacred Image, or that he offered an Affront to *Chriſt*, or to his *Saints*, by rending of it; but they ſay only this, *That having rent that, he ſhould provide another:* Whence it is evident, that they had then no Cuſtom or Doctrine of the *Church*, which could maintain the hanging up, or could condemn the rending of this Veil.

§. 4. The Averſation which all good *Chriſtians* had to *Images*, was ſo well known to the Enemies of the *Church*, that they made their advantage of it, to withdraw her Subjects from Communion with her. For the *Donatiſts* well knowing how deteſtable a thing it was unto the *Chriſtians* of that Time, to ſee an Image ſet up in the *Church*, and more eſpecially upon the *Altar*, they framed this Calumny, the more effectually to draw them off from her Communion, (q) *That the Catholicks*, Paulus *and* Macarius, *would bring an Image, and place it on the Altar whilſt the Sacrifice was offered.* This Rumor ſtartled the Faithful; *for when the fame of it was ſpread abroad, the Ears and Minds of all Men*, ſaith *Optatus*, *were much troubled at it; and all that heard it, began thus to ſpeak, Whoſoever taſts of any thing from thence, doth taſt of a forbidden thing.*

(q) Dicebatur illo tempore venturum eſſe Paulum & Macarium, qui intereſſent Sacrificio, ut cum Altaria ſolenniter aptarentur, proferren illi Imaginem quam primo in Altari ponerent. Sic Sacrificium offerretur, hoc cum acciperent aures & animi perculſi ſunt, ut omnis qui hæc audierat diceret, qui inde guſtat de Sacro guſtat. Optat. l. 3. p. 75.

Whence we with (r) *Maſius*, a Learned *Romaniſt*, obſerve, how much the *Ancient Chriſtians* did deteſt the ſight of any Image on the *Altar*; that is, how much they did deteſt the preſent practice of the whole *Church of Rome*.

(r) Maſius in Joſh. Cap. 8. v. 31.

2*ly*, Obſerve the Anſwer of the *Chriſtians* of thoſe Times unto this Calumny. They do not ſay, true it is, we do ſet Pictures upon our *Altars*, and that not only for Ornament and Memory, but for Veneration alſo: And we do well to do ſo, and ſuitably to the *Tradition* of the *Church* of *Chriſt*, ſo that you ought not to be troubled at it, or frighted from our Communion by it; which is the only Anſwer the *Church* of *Rome* can make to this Objection, and which the *Fathers* of

that Age would have made, had they then practiſed as the *Church* of *Rome* doth now; but they do utterly deny the Thing, rejecting it with deteſtation and abhorrence. *Optatus* doth confeſs, That (*s*) *had the Thing been true*, the Separation of the *Donatiſts* would have been juſt; that this uſe of Images would have been *a pollution of Divine Service, and a thing alien from the Cuſtom of the Church*, and which *the Eyes of Chriſtians could not have beheld without horror*. Clearly condemning, by this Anſwer, the practice of the *Church* of *Rome*, and juſtifying the ſeparation of *Proteſtants* from her Communion, had it been only made on this account.

(*s*) Et rectè dictum erat, ſi talem famam ſimilis veritas ſequeretur; at ubi ventum eſt à ſupradictis nihil tale viſum eſt, nihil viderunt oculi Chriſtiani quod horrerent--viſa eſt puritas, & ritu ſolito ſolennis conſuetudo perſpecta eſt, cum viderent divinis Sacrificiis nec mutatum quicquam nec additum. Ibid.

You have already ſeen, from the Teſtimony of *Nilus*, That in the Eaſt they admitted nothing in the *Sanctuary* but the *Croſs*, and in particular, no Image. In the Weſt likewiſe, the placing of an Image on the Altar was forbidden, in the 9*th*, 10*th*, and 11*th* Centuries.

Regino cites a Conſtitution of a Council held at *Rhemes*, in which it is commanded, (*t*) *That nothing ſhall be placed upon the Altar, but a Cheſt, containing the Reliques of the Saints, and the four Evangeliſts. And this Conſtitution ſeemeth to forbid the placing Images upon the Altar*, ſaith *Baluzius* upon that Canon; *And this*, ſaith he, *ſeems alſo to have been the Sentence of the French Council held at* Tours, *A. D.* 567. And therefore in the old form of Synodal Admonitions, which was read in Churches by the Deacon after the Goſpel, one Admonition is this, (*u*) *That nothing ſhall be placed on the Altar, but the Cheſts and Reliques, or perhaps the four Goſpels, or the Pyx, with the Body of the Lord for the* viaticum *of the Sick*. But in the two new Forms of Admonition publiſhed by *Baluzius*, the laſt of which is uſed at preſent in the *Romiſh Church*, the Admonition runs in theſe words, (*w*) *Let nothing be placed upon the Altar, but Reliques, and things Sacred and fit for the Sacrifice*. The Introduction of Images upon the Altar, making it neceſſary to make this Alteration in their Admonition.

(*t*) Nihilq; ſuper eo ponatur, niſi capſæ cum Sanctorum Reliquiis, & quatuor Evangelia. De diſc. Eccleſ. l. 1. cap. 60.

(*u*) Nihil ponatur, niſi capſæ & reliquiæ aut fortè 4 Evangelia, aut pyxis cum corpore Domini. Adm. Antiq. apud Baluz. ib. p. 603.

(*w*) Et deſuper nihil ponatur niſi reliquiæ, ac res Sacræ, & pro Sacrificio opportunæ. Adm. Nov. p. 607, 611.

nition. Even in like manner as the defalcation of the Cup in the 14th and 15th Centuries, made it neceſſary to change the old form of Admonition, in which they warned all the Faithful (x) *to come to the Communion of the Body and the Blood of Chriſt*, on *Chriſtmaſs*, *Eaſter*, and *Whit-ſunday*, into that now extant in the New, and only inviting them (y) *to come to the Communion of the Body of Chriſt*. By which, and by an hundred Inſtances of a like Nature, we may learn how impoſſible it is for them, who have made that the preſent practice of their *Church*, which was forbidden by, and was deteſtable to their *Fore-fathers to innovate* in any Matter, or alter the received Cuſtoms of the *Church*; and what a goodly Argument is brought from the preſent *Cuſtoms*, Traditions, Doctrines of the People of that *Church*, to prove they always held the ſame *Doctrines*, and practiſed the ſame *Religious Rites*.

(x) Omnes fideles ad Communionem Corporis & Sanguinis Domini accedere admonete. Adm. Antiq. p. 605.

(y) Omnes fideles ad communionem Corporis Domini Noſtri invitate. Admon. Nov. p. 609. Admonete. p. 613.

§. 5. Moreover, when *Images* began to be admitted into *Churches*, and by ſome Superſtitious People to be adored, the *Fathers* of the *Church*, both by their Words and Actions, ſhewed their diſlike and their abhorrence of it. It was the cuſtom of ſome *Chriſtians*, to pay ſome outward civil Worſhip unto the *Images* of their *Chriſtian Emperors*, till they themſelves forbad it: This *Jerom* taking notice of, doth plainly, in his Comment on the Prophet *Daniel* condemn and reprehend, ſaying, (z) *Whether we call it a Statue, or a Golden Image, the Worſhippers of God ought not to adore it; let the Judges and Princes of the Age, who adore the Statues and Images of the Emperors, underſtand, that they do that which the three Children refuſing to do, pleaſed God. And here the propriety of the Words is to be noted; they ſay, That Gods are to be worſhipped, the Image to be adored; neither of which is to be done by any Servant of God.*

(z) Cultores Dei eam adorare non debent, ergo Judices & Principes ſeculi qui Imperatorum Statuas adorant & Imagines, hoc ſe facere intelligunt, quod tres pueri facere nolentes placuerunt Deo: Et notanda proprietas, Deos coli, Imaginem adorari dicunt; quod utrumq; ſervis Dei non convenit. In Dan. 3. p. 256.

When the *Manichees*, upon occaſion, miniſtred by ſome rude and ſuperſtitious People, had charged ſome *Chriſtian Churches* with Image-worſhip St. *Auſtin* writing *of the Manners of the Catholick Church* againſt them, directly ſevers the Caſe of thoſe rude Perſons, from the approved practice of

the *Catholicks*. (a) *Do not*, ſaith he, *mention to me ſuch Profeſſors of the Name of Chriſt, as either know not, or keep not the Force of their Profeſſion; nor the companies of rude Men, which either in the true Religion it ſelf are ſuperſtitious, or ſo given to their Luſts, as that they have forgotten what they promiſed to God.* Then as an inſtance of thoſe *ſuperſtitious* Perſons, he adds, That (b) *he himſelf did know many who were worſhippers of Tombs and Pictures; but how vain, how hurtful, how ſacrilegious theſe Men are, I have purpoſed to ſhew in another Treatiſe. Now this do I admoniſh you* (Manichæans), *that you ceaſe to ſpeak evil of the Catholick Church, by upbraiding it with the Manners of thoſe Men whom ſhe her ſelf condemneth, and ſeeketh every day to correct as naughty Children.* Theſe things St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks of thoſe who were *Profeſſors of the Name of Chriſt*, and *Children of the Church*; they therefore cannot be ſuppoſed worſhippers of *Heathen Idols*, ſuch *heatheniſh Perſons* being never own'd as *Chriſtians* by the *Church* of *Chriſt*, but ſtill rejected as her *Enemies*, and publickly condemned by many of her *Canons* and *Decrees*. Nor doth St. *Auſtin* ſay, theſe Perſons worſhipped Pictures *with Divine Worſhip*, or that they eſteem them *as Gods*: Had he conceived this to have been their Crime, he would not have ſaid, That *in the True Religion they were ſuperſtitious*, but rather that they were meer *heatheniſh Idolaters*; the (c) ſecond *Nicene* Council having told us, That *never any Chriſtian Man did give* Latria *to an Image*. Nor can it reaſonably be conceiv'd, that many who profeſs'd the Name of *Chriſt* ſhould be ſuch Sots, as to believe an Image, made by their own hands, could be the Great Creator of the World, the Maker of the very Man that made it, and of that very Metal which compoſed it.

Moreover, St. *Auſtin* here requires the *Manichees*, *Not to upbraid the Church of Chriſt with the practice of theſe naughty Children*, whom he calls *worſhippers of Pictures*, they being only a *rude multitude of ſuperſtitious People*; of ſuch as *either did not know, or did not anſwer their Profeſſion*; *ſuch as the Church condemned, and ſtill endeavoured to correct*. Had then St. *Auſtin*, and all good *Chriſtians* of his Age, been themſelves worſhippers

of

(a) Nolite mihi colligere profeſſores nominis Chriſtiani, nec profeſſiõis ſuæ vim aut ſcientes, aut exhibentes, nolite conſectari turbas Imperitorum, qui vel in ipſa vera Religione ſuperſtitioſi ſunt. De Morib. Eccl. Cath. c. 34.

(b) Novi multos eſſe Sepulchrorum & Picturarum adoratores. Ibid.

Nunc vos illud admoneo, ut aliquando Eccleſiæ Catholicæ maledicere deſinatis, vituperando mores hominum, quos & ipſa condemnat, & quos quotidie tanquam matilios corrigere ſtudet. Ibid.

(c) Οὐδεὶς πώποτε ὑπὸ θεσπεσίων χριστιανῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰκόνα ἐλάτρευσεν. Act. 6. p. 417.

of Pictures; had he believed that the Doctrine and Tradition of the *Church* of *Chriſt*, required all good *Chriſtians* to give them *honorary Worſhip*; would he ſo generally, without diſtinction or exception, have condemned all Worſhippers of *Pictures* as *ſuperſtitious*, *rude*, and *ignorant of what Chriſtianity required?* Would he ſo fully have declared, That *the Church of Chriſt condemned, and did endeavour to correct them for it?* Would he have charged the *Manichees* with great injuſtice, for imputing Picture-worſhip to the *Church* of *Chriſt*, and not have given ſome of thoſe Limitations and Diſtinctions with which the ſecond *Nicene* Council, and the *Romiſh Doctors* do ſo much abound, to put a difference betwixt the avowed and conſtant practice of the *Church*, and what both he and ſhe condemned in theſe Worſhippers of *Pictures?* St. *Auſtin* therefore muſt be a very dolt, or elſe muſt here demonſtrate the *Church* of *Chriſt* did, in his Time, conceive all Picture-worſhip to be ſuperſtitious, and oppoſite to the Profeſſion of *Chriſtianity*; and that which ſhe *condemned, and did endeavour to correct* in thoſe that practiſed it.

§. 6. And as thoſe *Fathers* ſo expreſly declared againſt the Doctrine of the ſecond *Nicene* Council, before they had decreed it; ſo afterwards, from the 8*th* to the 15*th* Century, it was expreſly contradicted and rejected by the moſt Eminent Perſons of the Weſtern Church.

In the ſame Century it was condemned by the Council of *Frankford*, conſiſting of three hundred Biſhops, as hath been ſhew'd already. A. D. 794.

It was condemned in the ſame Century, not only by *Albinus*, or *Alcuinus*, Tutor to *Charles* the Great, and Scholar of Venerable *Bede*, who wrote a Book againſt the ſecond *Nicene* Council, and that Aſſertion of it, *(d) That Images ought to be adored*, confuting it *from Holy Scripture*; but alſo *by the Princes and Biſhops of the Church of* England, *in whoſe Name* that *Book* was ſent to *Charles* the Great.

(*d*) Contra quod ſcripſit Albinus Epiſtolam, ex Authoritate Divinarum Scripturarum mirabiliter dictatam, illamq;—in perſona Epiſcoporum & Principum noſtrorum, Regi Francorum attulit. Hoved. Ann. part. 1. F. 232. B.

It was condemned in the 9*th* Century, by the Council held at *Paris*, *A. D.* 824. It was in the ſame Century declared

declared to be (e) *falsly called a Synod, because it decreed for Image-worship*, by *Hincmarus Rhemensis*, by *Ado Viennensis*, and by *Regino Abbas Prumiensis*.

(e) Pseudo-Synodus. l. contr. Hincmar. Laudan. c. 20. Chron. ad A. 792. ad An. 794.

It was condemned also by *Agobardus* Bishop of *Lyons*, who was made Bishop by the consent of the whole *Clergy* of that *Nation*; for in his Book yet extant against this *Image-worship*, he declares, amongst many other things already cited from him, thus; (f) *Let no Man deceive, let no Man seduce, or circumvent himself: Whosoever adores any Picture, any molten or graven Statue, he doth not worship God, or honour Angels or Holy Men, but he venerates Idols.* And yet (g) *Baluzius* and *Sirmondus*, do ingenuously confess, that *Agobardus* hath writ *only that which the whole Church of* France *did then acknowledg. Papirius Massonus*, who abridged him, saith, (h) *That he did manifestly detect the Errors of the Greeks, (i. e.* the *Nicene* Council) *concerning Images and Pictures, denying that they were to be adored; which Doctrine all we Catholicks approve, and follow the Testimony of* Gregory *the Great concerning them*; which as you have seen was this, That *Images were neither to be broken, nor yet adored.*

(f) Nemo se fallat,--quicunq; aliquam Picturam, vel fusilem, sive ductilem adorat Statuam, non exhibet cultum Deo, non honorat Angelos, vel Homines Sanctos, sed simulacra veneratur. Sect. 31.

(g) Ego crediderim Agobardum scripsisse, quod omnes tum in Gallia, ut etiam à Sirmundo observatum est, sentiebant. Bal. Not. in Agob. p. 88.

(h) Græcorum Errores de Imaginibus & Picturis manifestissimè detegens, negat eas adorari, quam sententiam omnes Catholici probamus, &c. Præfat.

(i) *The German and French Churches*, saith *Cassander*, *after the Council held at* Frankford, *most constantly continued for some Ages, in that Sentence which they first received from the Church of* Rome, *viz.* That Images were neither to be broken, nor yet to be worshipped. If for *some Ages* they must assuredly continue in it till the 11*th* Century; and that they did so, is evident from the Chronicle of *Hermannus Contractus*, who stiles the second *Nicene* Council *a false Synod*, on the forementioned account. *Chron. ad A. D.* 794.

(i) Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ & Germanicæ in hac sententia, constantissime aliquot seculis perdurarunt. Cap. de Imag. p. 173.

That the *Germans* continued of the same mind in the 12*th Century*, is evident from the plain words of (k) *Nicetas Coniates*, who saith, That then *among the Almains and Armenians, the worship of Holy Images was equally forbid.*

(k) Quippe apud Alemannos & Armenios S. Imaginum adoratio æque interdicta est. L. 2. de Imp. Aug. Angel. p. 199. In qua Synodo de Imaginibus adorandis, aliter quam Orthodoxi Patres antea diffinierant, statuerunt.

That

That the *French Church* was ſtill of the ſame mind, is evident from the *Continuator* of (l) *Aimoinus*, who plainly ſaith, That *the Fathers of the* Nicene *Synod otherwiſe decreed concerning Image-worſhip, than the Orthodox Doctors had before defined.* And from the Collection of *Decrees* made by *Ivo*, Biſhop of *Chartres*, who declares the Judgment of the Council of *Eliberis* to be this, That (m) *Pictures ought not to be worſhipped, but that they only ought to be Memorials of what is worſhipped*; and cites the Paſſage of Pope *Gregory* to that effect.

(l) De Geſtis Francorum, l. 5. c. 28.

(m) Picturas in Eccleſia non eſſe adorandas. Decret. Part. 3. c. 40, 41.

In the ſame Century, *Simon Dunelmenſis*, an Oxonian Doctor, and *Roger Hoveden* their Profeſſor, both aſſert, That in the ſecond (n) *Nicene Synod were many things contained which were inconvenient, and contrary to the true Faith: and that in the ſaid Council was eſtabliſhed a Decree, That Images ſhould be worſhipped; which thing the Church of God wholly abhors.* And here let it be noted, that in theſe Writers we find not the leaſt hint of a Diſtinction between due and undue worſhip of an Holy Image; or betwixt Worſhip which the *Church* of *Chriſt* allows and which the *Church abhors*; but *Imagines adorari debere*, that *Images ſhould be worſhipped*, is declared to be the Doctrine *which God's Church abhor'd.*

(n) In quo, proh dolor! multa inconvenientia & veræ Fidei cõtraria reperiebantur, maxime quod penè omnium Orientalium Doctorum unanimi aſſertione confirmatum fuerit; Imagines adorari debere, quod omnino Eccleſia Dei execratur. Hoved. Ibid. Dunelm. ad A. 792.

In the 14*th* Century, *Robert Holcot*, Profeſſor in *Oxford*, moſt plainly aſſerts, That (o) *no Adoration is to be given to any Image; nor is it lawful for any Man to worſhip Images.* And *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, condemning the Decree of the ſecond *Nicene* Council, as *Hoveden* had done before him, *Ad A. D.* 793.

(o) Ideo aliter poteſt dici, quod nulla adoratio debetur Imagini, nec licet aliquam imaginem adorare. —— Quia autem propter Imaginem Chriſti excitamur ad adorandum Chriſtum, & coram Imagine adorationem noſtram facimus Chriſto; ergo dicitur large loquendo, N. B. quod Imaginem adoramus. In Eccluſ. Lect. 158. c. 13. Vide Reliqua.

In the 15*th* Century, (p) *Gerſon*, Chancellor of *Paris*, ſaith, *We do not worſhip Images*, and that *they are forbidden to be worſhipped*; that the *ſecond Command forbids us to bow the Body, or the Knee to them, or to worſhip them with the Affection of the Mind.*

(p) Omnino prohibentur fieri ad hunc, viz. finem, ut adorentur & colantur; unde ſequitur neq; adores, neq; colas ea; ad adorandum igitur & colendum prohibentur Imagines fieri. Sequitur non adorabis neq; coles; inter quæ ſic diſtingue, non adorabis, ſc. veneratione Corporis, ut inclinando eis vel genu-flectendo; neq; coles, ſc. affectione mentis. Comp. Theol. in Explic. 1. præcepti. Tom. 2. p. 25.

And

And (q) *Gabriel Biel*, an *Oxonian* Doctor, teacheth, That then *some of their Doctors held, that any Image is not to be worshipped, either for it self, as it is Wood, or Stone, nor yet consider'd as a Sign or Image.* And that *the Christian Faith permits them to be reserved in the Church, not that they may be worshipped, but that the Minds of Men may be excited to give reverence to them whose Images they are*; and that this they said according to P. *Gregory*.

(q) Quod vero Christiana Religio Imagines sustinet in Ecclesia, & Oratoriis, non permittit eo fine, ut adorentur ipsæ, sed ut fidelium mentes per earum inspectiones excitentur ad reverentiam & honorem exhibendum his quorum sunt Imagines, in quorum cognitionem recordativam ducunt. Et hic modus dicendi videtur esse Rob. Holcot, super illud sapientiæ infelices sunt—mihi videtur dicendum, quod neq; adoro Imaginem Christi quia lignum, nec quia Imago; sed adoro Christum coram Imagine Christi, quia scilicet Imago Christi excitat me ad amandum Christum: hic modus loquendi originem videtur trahere ex dicto quodam B. Gregorii Sereno Episcopo, &c. Et quidem, quia eos adorare vetuisses omnino laudamus, fregisse vero reprehendimus, &c. In Can. Miss. Lect. 49. F. 127.

In the 16*th* Century, (r) *Ferus*, a Learned Preacher at *Mentz*, saith, That *Images are tolerated in the Church, that they may admonish, not that they may be worshipped, for otherwise they can admit of no excuse.*

(r) Imagines in Ecclesia ideo tolerantur ut admoneant, non ut colantur, alioquin omnino excusari possunt minime. In Act. Apost. cap. 7. p. 94.

(s) Can. 14. Yea, a Council held at (s) *Mentz*, *A. D.* 1549, during the Session of the *Trent* Council, speaks thus, *Let our Pastors accurately teach the People, that Images are not propounded to be worshipped or adored, but that by them we may be brought to the remembrance of those things which we ought profitably to call to mind.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Againſt this pretended Tradition of the ſecond Nicene *Council, it is farther argued,* 1. *Becauſe the Jews, though zealous for the obſervance of the Law of* Moſes, *and generally believing that it forbad the having and much more the bowing to an Image, did never, for the five firſt Centuries condemn the Chriſtians for this practice, as afterwards when Images began to be received into Churches, and adored, they always did.* §. 1. 2ly, *Becauſe the Apoſtles, and ſucceeding Fathers, who anſwer all the other Scruples of the Jews againſt the Chriſtian Faith, ſpeak not one word in Anſwer to this great Objection, that it allowed of Image-worſhip in oppoſition to the ſecond Commandment.* §. 2. 3ly, *Becauſe the Evidence of Truth hath forced many Learned Writers of the Romiſh Church to confeſs, That the Primitive Church had no Images, or did not adore them.* §. 3. *From this Diſcourſe, theſe four things are inferr'd;* 1. *That the Councils received by the Church of* Rome *as general, are not infallible Interpreters of Scripture, or infallible Guides in Matters of Faith.* §. 4. 2ly, *That the ſecond* Nicene *Council hath impoſed that on Chriſtians as a Tradition of the Church of Chriſt, which was not ſo; and therefore was deceived, and did deceive in Matter of Tradition.* §. 5. 3ly, *That Roman Catholicks do vainly boaſt of the Conſent of Fathers on their ſide.* §. 6. 4ly, *That the Doctrine of the Church of* England *is much ſafer in this particular than that of* Rome. §. 7.

MOreover, that *Image-worſhip* was no Doctrine delivered to the *Church* of *Chriſt*, either by Writing or Tradition from the *Apoſtles*, that it was not practiſed in the firſt Ages of the *Church*, will be apparent from the deportment of the *Jews* towards the *Chriſtians*, and the conſideration of what they

thought of the erection of an *Image* in the place of Worſhip, and of the *adoration* of them.

§. 1. And, (1.) we know that even the believing *Jews* were zealous for the ſtrict obſervance of the Law of *Moſes*, and were much offended at St. *Paul*, becauſe they apprehended *he had taught the Jews to forſake the Law of* Moſes, *and not to circumciſe their Children, or walk after the Cuſtoms of their Fathers.*

Act. 21. 20.

We alſo are informed by (a) *Euſebius* and *Sulpitius*, that this Zeal continued among the *Jewiſh Chriſtians* for a conſiderable time after the death of the *Apoſtles*, *viz.* till the deſtruction of the City by *Hadrian*. For *till that time the Biſhops of* Jeruſalem *were of the Circumciſion*; and *almoſt all who believed in Chriſt, did yet obſerve the Law.*

(a) Tum pœne omnes Chriſtum Deum ſub Legis obſervatione credebant. Sulp. l. 2. c. 45. Euſeb. Chron.

The Sect of the (b) *Ebionites* and *Nazarens*, continued till the days of *Jerom*, they were diſperſed throughout the *Churches* of the Eaſt, and were ſtiff Aſſertors of the Obligation of the Law of *Moſes*; and held, (c) That *Men were to be ſaved by the obſervation of it.*

(b) Ep. ad Auguſt. & Auguſt. contr. Fauſt. l. 19. c. 18. Orig. contr. Celſ. l. 2. p. 56. l. 5. p. 272.

(c) Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 27.

2. We know, that in the Judgment of the *Jews*, who lived about our *Saviour*'s Time, and after, nothing was more deteſtable, nothing was more repugnant to the Law of *Moſes*, than the admitting of an *Image* in the place of *Worſhip*, much more the *bowing down to it.*

They conſtantly declared to *Pilate*, upon occaſion of the *Roman Eagles*, That (d) *they could not permit any Image to be placed in their City.* And that (e) *their Law was violated* by the little Images of *Cæſar* annexed to the *Roman Standards*; and that *they would rather die than endure them there.* They tell *Petronius*, That *it could not be permitted to have the Image, either of God or Man, in their moſt ſacred Temple, or elſewhere.* They perſwade *Vitellius* not to come thither with them, *becauſe it was not ſuitable to the Laws of their Country to ſee an Image brought into it.*

(d) Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀξιῶσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰκόνιον πίπτειν. Joſeph. Haloſ. l. 2. c. 14.

(e) Ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν νόμων Ἰουδαϊκῶν, εἰκόνων πίνην ἀπαγορεύον τῶν ἡμῶν τὸ νόμιμ. L. 2. c. 8. l. 18. c. 4. l. 2. c. 17.

And

And they declared to *Herod*, Son of *Antipater*, That (*f*) *whatsoever they endured, they would not ſuffer the Images of Men within their City.*

(*f*) Εἰ καὶ πάντα δοκεῖεν, οὐκ ἂν μὴ φέρειν εἰκόνας ἀνθρώπων ἐν τῇ πόλει. Archeol. l.18. c.7. l.15. c.11.

3. Certain it is, that for a long time no *Samaritan*, or *Jew*, ever objected to the *Chriſtians* their violation of the *Second Commandment*; or at the leaſt, pretended to be ſcandalized at their defection from this Law of God. No ſingle inſtance of this Nature can be produced from all *Antiquity*, till after the fifth *Century*, when Images began to be admitted into *Churches*, provided that they were not worſhipped. Then was it that the *Jews* began to call the *Chriſtian Churches*, upon that account, *Batte Aboda Zara*, *the Houſes of Idolatry*. And from that time they have not ceaſed to object to them the violation of this Law, and to profeſs that they were *ſcandalized* at it.

In the ſecond *Nicene* Council, *Germanus*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, confeſſeth, That (*g*) *upon this account the Jews did often caſt reproach upon them*; and that *the Saracens did the ſame.*

(*g*) Οὐ νῦν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις Ἰουδαῖοι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡμῖν προσήγαγον εἰς ὀνειδισμον. Act.4. p.300. & p. 240.

Gregrory, in his Epiſtle to him, adds, That (*h*) *if any one do accuſe this Image-worſhip of Idolatry, he is one who calumniates after the manner of the Jews.*

(*h*) Εἴ τις Ἰουδαϊκως κινήμωθ- εἰδωλολάτρειαν ὀνειδίζει τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. p.288.

In the fifth Action, a *Jew* is introduced ſpeaking thus; (*i*) *I believe in a crucified Jeſus, who is the Son of God; but I am ſcandalized at you Chriſtians, becauſe you worſhip Images, whereas the Scriptures every where command us not to make any graven Image or Similitude.*

(*i*) Σκανδαλίζομαι δὲ εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὦ Χριστιανοί, ὅτι ταῖς εἰκόσι προσκυνεῖτε. p. 356, 357, 384, 348.

The Chriſtians are to be reckoned Idolaters, ſaith (*k*) *R. Kimchi, becauſe they bow down and adore the Image of Jeſus of* Nazareth.

(*k*) Dr. *Pocock*, Not. Miſcell. p. 322.

(*l*) *Fabianus Fiogus*, a Jewiſh Convert, informs us, That *the Jews diſpute after this manner*; *God in the Decalogue, writ with his own Finger, hath command that no kind of Image or Similitude, ſhould be made*, &c. *but Chriſtians make and worſhip Images, they therefore violate this Precept*; *this*, ſaith he, *is an undoubted thing among them, and therefore they call the Chriſtians Worſhippers of Idols.*

(*l*) Catechiſm. c.33. p.68.B.

Joseph King of *Cosri*, is said to prefer the *Jews* before the *Christians*, (m) *because the latter bow themselves to the Works of their own hands.*

(m) Buxt. Præfat. ad Cosri.

Had therefore the first *Christians* received a Tradition from the *Apostles* to adore *Images*, and had all *Christians* practised suitably to this supposed Tradition, both the Believing and the Unbelieving *Jews*, being such *Zealots* for the observance of the Law of *Moses*, and professed Enemies of *Images*, and of the *adoration* of them, must have been *scandalized* at it. We see that they were very much incensed against St. *Paul*, for teaching, That the Gentiles were not obliged to observe their *Law*; that they would not endure him, unless he also would *walk orderly, and keep the Law.* If then St. *Paul*, and *Peter*, as (n) P. *Hadrian* averrs; if the rest of the *Apostles*, as the second *Nicene* Council saith, had taught and practised this Image-worship, so flatly opposite to their Law, and therefore execrable to them, this must have stirred up their indignation against St. *Paul* and *Peter* much more than their asserting, That the Ceremonial Law did not oblige the *Gentiles* could have done.

Act. 21. 20.

(n) Apud 2. Nic. Conc. p. 101.

'Tis surely difficult to conceive, that they who thought their Law so highly violated, by framing *the Picture of a Man*, or of an *Eagle*, and would *rather die* than admit of them, because they held they were forbidden by their Law, should either, being *Christians*, continue zealous to assert the Obligation of that Law, and yet admit the Doctrine which did enjoin them both to frame and worship *Images*; or should, continuing unbelieving *Jews*, never accuse the *Christians* of a Crime so execrable in their sight, nor dissuade any *Christian* from complying with this great violation of their Law?

§. 2. Yea farther, had this Practice, or Tradition, obtained in the days of the *Apostles*, or the five following Ages, the *Apostles*, and *Primitive Fathers*, would likely have endeavoured to remove this Scandal from the *Jews*, and to return some Answer to an Objection so very obvious, for their prejudice against *Image-worship* being greater than against any other thing, they had the greatest reason, upon the supposition of such

ſuch a practice of the *Chriſtians*, to labour to remove it. And yet we find not that St. *Paul* in his *Epiſtles* writ partly to ſatisfy the *Jews*, that *Circumciſion* was not to be impoſed upon the *Gentiles*; and partly, to warn the *Gentiles* not to bear the Yoke of *Jewiſh Feſtivals* and *Cerimonies*; or in that purpoſely deſigned to teach the *Jews*, that the *Prieſthood being changed, the Ceremonial Law muſt alſo change* together with it; or that St. *Peter*, or St. *James*, in their *Epiſtles* to the diſperſed *Jews*, take the leaſt notice of ſo great a Prejudice, or ſpend one word to reconcile the *Jew* to this ſuppoſed *Image-worſhip*.

Juſtin Martyr, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, St. *Cyprian*, *G. Nyſſen*, *Epiphanius*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, St. *Auſtin*, with many others, have writ on purpoſe to take off the Objections of the *Jews* againſt *Chriſtianity*; and in theſe Writings they have been very diligent in taking off the Scandal of the *Croſs*, and proving, That the *Jewiſh Feſtivals*, and *Sabbaths*, were aboliſhed; and that their Laws concerning Circumciſion and *Sacrifices* were abrogated; but they ſpend not one word to ſhew that *Chriſtians* were exempted from that Precept, which forbad *the bowing down to any Image, or Similitude*; or to excuſe that Worſhip of them they are ſuppoſed to have practis'd, or to declare, as doth the ſecond *Nicene* Council, that this Commandment only forbad *the worſhipping of Idols*, or of Images *as Gods*, or to give any other ſatisfaction to the *Jews* in this particular.

The *Apoſtles*, and the *Fathers*, do jointly labour to remove the Scandal of the *Croſs*, and to convince the *Jew*, that it was reaſonable to worſhip him who was crucified upon it; but they ſay nothing to remove that which was a greater Scandal to them, as the confeſſion of the *Jew* now mentioned doth aſſure us, *viz.* the worſhip of the *Croſs*, and of an *Image*, *which was the Work of their own Hands.* They tell the *Gentiles*, That no Man had reaſon to condemn them for not obſerving the *New Moons*, and *Jewiſh Sabbaths*, but give them not one *Item* that they had no reaſon to condemn them for making and adoring Images.

The whole *New Teſtament*, which takes eſpecial notice, that the Jews *abhorred Idols*, gives not the leaſt diſtinction betwixt Rom. 2.22.

an

an *Image*, and an *Idol*, nor the leaſt hint of any of thoſe Evaſions and Limitations, by which the *Church* of *Rome* now finds it neceſſary to reconcile her Practice to the ſecond Commandment; nor of thoſe Expoſitions or Retortions uſed in the ſecond *Nicene* Council, to refute the Clamours of the *Jews*. Which is a full conviction, that the *Ancient Church* had no ſuch Doctrine or Practice, which could make it neceſſary for them to fly unto theſe *Romiſh* Shifts and Subtilties.

§. 3. To conclude; The Suffrage of *Antiquity* is ſo very clear, the Teſtimonies of it are ſo numerous, and ſo convincing, that they have forced many *Learned Perſons* of the *Church* of *Rome*, ingenuouſly to confeſs, either that in the *Primitive Church* they had no *Images*, did not regard them; or that they paid no veneration to them, but rather diſapproved and condemned it.

The Univerſal Church, ſaith (o) *Nicholaus de Clemangis*, *being moved by a lawful Cauſe*, viz. *on the account of them who were converted from Heatheniſm to the Chriſtian Faith*, *commanded*, *That no Images ſhould be placed in Churches.*

(o) Statuit olim Univerſa Eccleſia, ut nullæ in Templis Imagines ponerentur. Lib. de Nov. Celebrit. p. 151.

(p) *The Worſhip of Images*, *not only they who were not of our Religion*; *but*, *as St.* Jerom *teſtifieth*, *almoſt all the Ancient Holy Fathers condemned for fear of Idolatry*, ſaith *Polydore Virgil*, where the oppoſition of theſe Holy Fathers to others *not of our Religion*; and the mention of Pope *Gregory* among them, ſhews the vanity of what the (q) Jeſuit *Fiſher* ſaith, *That* Polydore *ſpeaks this of the Fathers of the Old Teſtament*, *not of the New.*

(p) Quem, non modo noſtræ Religionis expertes, ſed teſte Hieron. omnes fermè veteres ſancti Patres damnabant, ob metum Idololatriæ. De Invent. Rerum, L. 6. c. 13.

(q) Apud White, p. 249.

(r) *This ſurely I cannot omit*, ſaith *Giraldus*, *that as the Ancient Romans, ſo we Chriſtians were without Images in that Church which is called Primitive.*

(r) Nos dico Chriſtianos, ut aliquando Romanos fuiſſe ſine Imaginibus in primitiva, quæ vocatur Eccleſia. Syntagm. L. 1. p. 14.

(s) *The Biſhops in theſe times of Perſecution*, *ſaith* Mendoza, *little thought of Images of Saints*; *they abſtained from them for a while*,

(s) Sæviſſimis his temporibus de Sanctorum imaginibus ne cogitârint Epiſcopi--abſtinebant ad tempus. De Concil. Eliber. l. 3. c. 5.

while, leaſt the Heathens ſhould deride them, and ſhould conceive that Chriſtians worſhipped them as Gods. All theſe are Witneſſes againſt the ſecond *Nicene* Council, that the Practice was not *Apoſtolical, Univerſal,* and *Primitive.*

What Opinion the *Fathers* had of this Practice, theſe following Perſons will inform you.

Petrus Crinitus ſaith, That (*t*) *Lactantius, Tertullian, and very many others, with too much boldneſs, did affirm, That it belonged not to Religion to worſhip any Image.*

(*t*) De Hon. Diſciplin. l. 9. c. 9.

(*u*) *Even to the days of* Jerom, who died in the fifth Century, *Men of approved Religion,* ſaith *Eraſmus, would not ſuffer any painted, or graven, or woven Image, no not of Chriſt himſelf.*

(*u*) Eraſm. vol. 5. Symbol. Catech. p. 989.

(*w*) *It is certain,* ſaith *Caſſander, that when the Goſpel was firſt preached, there was no uſe of Images for ſometime, among the Chriſtians, as is evident from* Clemens *of* Alexandria, (who flouriſhed at the cloſe of the ſecond) *and from* Arnobius, (who flouriſhed at the beginning of the fourth Century.)

(*w*) Certum eſt, initio prædicati Evangelii, aliquanto tempore inter Chriſtianos, præſertim in Eccleſiis, Imaginum uſum non fuiſſe. Conſult. cap de Imag. p. 163.

And again; (*x*) *How much the Ancients, in the beginning of the Church, abhorr'd all veneration of Images,* Origen *alone, in his Book againſt* Celſus, *ſhews.*

(*x*) Quantum veteres initio Eccleſiæ ab *omni* veneratione Imaginum abhorruerunt, unus Origenes declarat, p. 168.

And a third time; (*y*) *Truly it is manifeſt, from the Diſcourſe of St.* Auſtin, *on the* 113*th Pſalm, that in his Age, the uſe of carved Images or Statues, was not come into the Church.*

(*y*) Sane ex Auguſtino conſtat, ejus ætate ſimulacrorum uſum in Eccleſiis non fuiſſe, p. 165.

Laſtly, he adds, That *in the Days of* Gregory *the Great,* (that is, in the ſixth Century) (*z*) *this was the Mind and Doctrine of the Romiſh Church, That Images ſhould be retained, not to be adored or worſhipped; but that the Ignorant ſhould by them be admoniſhed of what was done, and be provoked to piety. That the Roman Church did equally condemn the adoration and the breaking of Images.*

(*z*) Quæ fuerit mens, & ſententia R. Eccleſiæ adhuc ætate Gregorii, ſatis ex ejus Scriptis manifeſtum eſt, viz. ideo haberi Picturas non quidem ut colantur & adorentur, &c. p. 170.

Conſuetudo R. Eccleſiæ pariter confractionem & adorationem improbat, p. 171.

That

Græca illa Synodus qua Parte Imagines adorandas cenſebat damnata fuit, ut quæ--conſuetudini R. Eccleſiæ adverſaretur, p. 172.

Fortaſſe optandum eſſet, ut Majores noſtri huc uſq; in priſca illa Majorum ſuorum ſententia integrè perſtitiſſent. p. 175, 179, 180.

That the ſecond Nicene *Council, as far as it determined for the Adoration of Images, was, by the general conſent of the Fathers of the Council of* Frankford, *condemned, and rejected, as being a Determination which was repugnant, not only to the Holy Scriptures, and the Ancient Tradition of the Fathers, but alſo to the Cuſtom of the Roman Church.* And in a word, *That it were to be wiſhed, perhaps, that our Predeceſſors (viz.* thoſe of the Church of *Rome) had continued in that old Doctrine of their Anceſtors*; to wit, that Images neither ſhould be broken nor adored.

(z) De Van. Scient. cap. de Imag.

(z) *The corrupt Cuſtom, and falſe Religion of the Heathens,* ſaith *Cornelius Agrippa, hath infected our Religion, and hath introduced into our Church Images and Idols, and many barren pompous Ceremonies, none of which was found or practiſed among the Primitive Profeſſors of Chriſtianity.*

And now, from what hath been diſcourſed in theſe Chapters, I infer,

Inference 1. §. 4. 1. That the *Councils* received by the *Church* of *Rome*, as the infallible Propoſers of their Faith, namely, the ſecond *Nicene* Council, and that of *Trent*, have erred, and have impoſed a falſe Interpretation of that Precept which doth command us *not to bow down to the ſimilitude of any Thing in Heaven or Earth*, and therefore they are falſly ſaid to be infallible in Matters of Faith, or true *Interpreters* of *Holy Scripture.*

And indeed, whoſoever ſeriouſly will conſider of thoſe *Scriptures* which are produced, either by this whole *Council*, or by Pope *Hadrian*; with approbation of this *Council*, or offerr'd by ſome Members preſent, or contained in ſome of the Citations produced by them for the having Images in Chriſtian Churches, or for the giving Adoration to them, will find them ſo apparently perverted, and horribly impertinent, as that he will be forced to queſtion, not only the *Infallibility*, but even the *common Wiſdom* or *Diſcretion* of thoſe

thoſe Men who had the confidence to uſe them to theſe purpoſes. For,

1. *John*, the pretended Vicar of the three *Oriental Patriarchs*, ſaith, That (*a*) Jacob *wreſtling with him, ſaw God Face to Face*; which yet can do no Service to the Maker, or Worſhipper of Images, but by ſuppoſing, with the old *Hereticks*, call'd *Anthropomorphites*, that God hath *Face* or Features like a Man. (*a*) Act. 4. p. 200.

Leontius, Biſhop of *Neapolis*, ſaith, (*b*) *If thou accuſeſt me for worſhipping the Wood of the Croſs*, thou muſt accuſe *Jacob* for *bleſſing wicked and idolatrous* Pharaoh; which inſtance will be only pertinent, when it is proved that *Pharaoh* was an *Image*, and that Bleſſing is an Act of Adoration. (*b*) Act. 4. p. 239, 240.

Pope *Gregory* the Second, ſaith, That (*c*) *when* Moſes *deſired to behold an Image, or Similitude, leſt he ſhould be miſtaken in the Viſion, he ſaid to God, Shew me thy ſelf manifeſtly, that I may ſee thee*; but doth not prove that *Moſes* deſired to ſee an Image, or material Likeneſs of God, or that God ſhewed him any ſuch Similitude.

(*c*) Cum figuram vellet, aut ſimulacrum videre, ne forte erraret, orabat Deum dicens, Oſtende mihi teipſum manifeſtò, ut te videam, p. 11.

Germanus, Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*, argues for Images after this manner; (*d*) *In the Book of* Numbers, *the Lord ſpeaks to* Moſes, *ſaying, Speak unto the Children of* Iſrael, *and bid them make themſelves Fringes in the borders of their Garments, and put upon the Fringe of the Border a Ribband of Blue*; *and it ſhall be unto you for a Fringe, that you may look upon it, and remember all the Commandments of the Lord, and do them. Now if*, ſaith he, *the Iſraelites were bid to look upon theſe Fringes, and remember his Commandments*; *much more ought we, by the inſpection of the Images of Holy Men, to view the end of their Converſation.* And yet there ſeems to be ſome little difference betwixt a *Fringe* and a *graven Image*, betwixt remembring God's Commandments *to do them*, and to break them. (*d*) Act. 4. p. 304.

Pope *Hadrian* finds in *Iſaiah*, a Prophecy concerning *Goſpel-Images*, as clear as the Noſe upon your Face; for, *Ecce ſignum*; (e) *In that Day there ſhall be an Altar to the Lord, in the midſt of the Land of* Egypt; *and a Pillar at the Border thereof to the Lord, and it ſhall be for a Sign.*

(e) Quemadmodum Eſaias propheta vaticinatus eſt. Act. 2. p. 110.

He alſo finds the *ſweet Singer* of *Iſrael* harping oft upon the ſame String, and *propheſying* of *Images to be adored* in the Goſpel-times; ſaying, (f) *The Light of thy Countenance*, ſignatum eſt ſuper nos, *is ſigned upon us.*

(f) Magnoperè vultum ejus ſecundùm humanitatis ipſius diſpenſationem adorari præmonuit, inquiens, &c. Pſal. 4. 6.

Pſal. 25. 8. And again; *Lord, I have loved the Beauty of thy Houſe, and the [illegible] of the Tabernacle of thy Glory.*

Pſal. 27. 8. And a third time; *Thy Face, Lord, will I ſeek.*

Pſal. 44. 12. And a fourth; *Even the Rich among the People ſhall intreat thy Face.*

Pſal. 96. 6. And, laſtly, in thoſe words, *Honour and Majeſty are before him; Strength and Beauty are in his Sanctuary.*

And what can be more evident for Image-worſhip than theſe Texts, which do ſo plainly mention *the Face* and *Countenance* of God.

Theodoſius proves, That we *Chriſtians* muſt have Holy and Venerable *Images*; becauſe 'tis ſaid, (g) *Whatſoever things were written*, ὅσα πρόγεγραπται, *aforetime, were written for our Learning*; wherefore *the venerable Images being written upon Wood, and Stone, and Metal, muſt be for our Inſtruction.*

(g) Act. 4. p. 213. Rom. 15. 4.

Away with thoſe ignorant Fellows, who can derive the Pictures of *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, no higher than St. *Luke* and *Nicodemus*; this *Theodoſius* finds them among the Writings of the *Prophets*, as clear as the Noon Day; ſee, πρόγεγραπται, *they were engraven afore-time*, even before Chriſt's Humane Nature, or his Apoſtles, had a being; and had it not been thus, we Chriſtians had been void of Hope, for *theſe things were written, that we through comfort,* τῶν γεγραμμένων, *of theſe Pictures, might have hope.*

They have all found it in the Book of *Canticles*, or ſomething which makes for it; for there it is moſt appoſitely ſaid, (h) *Shew me thy Face, and let me hear thy Voice, for thy*

(h) Act. 6. p. 408. Cant. 2. 14. Pſal. 48. 8.

thy Voice is ſweet, and thy Countenance is comely. And in that of the *Pſalmiſt*, *As we have heard, ſo have we ſeen.*

(*i*) Ezekiel's *Temple was made*, ſay they, *with Cherubims, and Palm Trees; ſo that a Palm Tree was between a Cherub, and a Cherub; and every Cherub had two Faces, ſo that the Face of a Man was toward a Palm Tree on the one ſide, and the Face of a young Lion toward the Palm Tree on the other ſide; and thus it was throughout the Houſe round about.* So that it ſeemeth to them to have been an εἰδωλεῖον, or an *Houſe of Imagery*; and yet ſhould you ask them where this *Temple* was built, or what Exiſtence had theſe *Cherubims*, but in the Viſion of the *Prophet*, it will puzzle their *Infallibilities* to anſwer you.

(*i*) Act. 4. 197.

Laſtly; They argue from the Author to the (*k*) *Hebrews*, thus; *Verily the firſt Covenant had alſo Ordinances, and a worldly Sanctuary, there was a Tabernacle made, in which was firſt the Candleſtick, and the Table, and the Shew-bread, which is called Holy; and after the ſecond Veil, the Tabernacle, which is called the Holieſt of all, which had the Golden Cenſer, and the Ark of the Covenant, overlaid round about with Gold, wherein was the Golden Pot that had Manna, and* Aaron's *Rod that budded, and the Tables of the Covenant, and over it the Cherubims of Glory ſhadowing the Mercy-Seat. If then*, ſay they, (*l*) *The Old Teſtament had Cherubims ſhadowing the Mercy Seat; let us have Images of Chriſt, and of his Holy Mother, ſhadowing the Altar; for becauſe the Old Teſtament had ſuch Things, the New received them. This*, ſay the (*m*) Synod, *is the truth*; *This*, ſay the Princes, *is the Command of God.* But why did they not conclude alſo for another *Ark* and *Mercy-Seat*, another *Tabernacle*, a *Golden Cenſer*, and a *Pot of Manna*, ſeeing it was but ſaying, as in the caſe of Images they do, *becauſe the Old Teſtament had theſe things, let us Chriſtians have them too*, and it infallibly muſt be ſo? And tell me now, Can any one who reads theſe powerful Demonſtrations from, and excellent Expoſitions of the *Holy Scripture*, doubt of the Truth of that which is ſo oft aſſerted by this Synod, That (*n*) *they were certainly aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt?*

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Ἐὰν ἡ παλαία εἰχε χερουβὶμ, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰκόνας τῆς κυείας, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτῆς ἔξωθεν κατασκαζόσας τὸ ἱλαστήριον. p. 200.

(*m*) Ἡ ἁγία Σύνοδος εἶπεν ναὶ Δέσποτα ἡ ἀλήθεια· οἱ μεγαλοπρεπέστατοι ἄρχοντες εἶπεν ἀληθῶς θεῖα διαταγή ἐστιν. Ibid.

(*n*) Act. 3. p. 157. Act. 7. p. 580, 581, 585.

But to be ſerious; If all, or any of theſe places, have any ſtrength to prove that Images ſhould be ſet up in Churches, or adored by Chriſtians, why do not any of their Writers uſe them to that end? if they do not, Why may not they be taxed with weakneſs, who uſe ſuch Proofs as none but the moſt undiſcerning Perſons could produce, and which their beſt Friends are aſhamed of?

Inference 2. §. 5. 2. Hence it is evident, that the ſecond *Nicene* Council groſly was miſtaken in that Determination and Aſſertion, ſo frequently repeated in that Council, That *Image-worſhip had been delivered to them by the continual Suffrage and Approbation of the whole Church of Chriſt; and was the Tradition of the whole Church Catholick, even from the Times of the Apoſtles.*

And conſequently, that this Council hath been actually deceived in Matter of Tradition, as well as in her Interpretations of the Holy Scripture: For whereas it is frequently there ſaid, That *this was the conſtant Doctrine and Tradition of the Holy Fathers of the Catholick Church*; the oppoſition is not greater betwixt Light and Darkneſs, than betwixt the Aſſertions of the *Fathers*, and the Determinations of the *Council*. For,

(o) Τοῖς ἐκλαμβανῦσι τὰς ϑείας γεγϕῆς ῥήσεις, τὰς κατ' εἰδώλων εἰς τὰς σεπτὰς εἰκόνας ἀνάϑεμα. Act. 1. p. 57. 4. p. 317. 5. p. 389. 7. p. 576. 8. p. 592.

1. The Fathers of that Council do pronounce *Anathema* (o) *againſt all Perſons who take ſuch places of the Holy Scripture which are ſpoken againſt Idols, as ſpoken againſt Holy Images*; *i. e.* who ſay the ſecond *Commandment* forbids the Worſhip, not of *Idols* only, but of *Holy Images*. And ſo they do pronounce *Anathema* againſt *Juſtin Martyr*, St. *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, St. *Cyprian*, St. *Auſtin*, *Theodoret*, *Fulgentius*, *Agobardus*, the Councils of *Conſtantinople*, *Frankford*, and *Paris*.

(p) Τοῖς λέγουσι διαβολικῆς μεϑοδείας ἐφεύρεμα τὴν

2*ly*, The Fathers of the ſame Council pronounce *Anathema* (p) *againſt all Perſons who ſay, That the erection*

erection of Images is the Invention of the Devil, and not the Tradition of the Catholick Church; and so they do pronounce *Anathema* against *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, St. *Ambroſe*, *Theodotus*, *Amphilochius*, St. *Jerom*, and St. *Chryſoſtom*, *Agobardus*, *Hincmarus*, and the three forementiond *Councils*, who all declare, That this was no Tradition of the *Catholick Church*. And againſt *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, *Theodotus*, *Ancyranus*, and the whole *Council* of *Conſtantinople*, who ſay expreſly, That Image-making, or Image-worſhip, was the Invention of the *Devil*.

τῆς εἰκόνων ποιήσεν, καὶ μὴ τῆς ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν παραδόσεως ἀνάθεμα. Act. 1. p. 57.

3*ly*, Theſe Fathers do pronounce *Anathema* (q) *to all who violate, break, or diſhonour S. Images*; which *Epiphanius*, *Serenus*, and all the Fathers of *Conſtantinople* did; and *upon all that knowingly communicate with them, who contumelioufly ſpeak of them, or diſhonour them.*

(q) Τοῖς εἰκονοκλάσταις ἀνάθεμα, τοῖς κοινωνοῦσιν ἐν γνώσει, τοῖς ὑβρίζουσι καὶ ἀτιμάζουσι τὰς σεπτὰς εἰκόνας ἀνάθεμα. Act. 4. p. 317. 5. 389. 7. p. 576.

Now ſeeing all the Chriſtians of the 4*th* Century did certainly communicate with *Epiphanius*; of the 6*th* Century with *Serenus*; ſince all the *Fathers* mentioned in my ſecond Chapter, do in their ſenſe *diſhonour Images*, they in effect pronounce *Anathema* againſt them all.

4*ly*, They pronounce *Anathema* (r) *againſt all Perſons who detract from, or who ſpeak evil of their S. Images.*

(r) Τοῖς βλασφημοῦσιν εἰς τὰς τιμίας καὶ σεπτὰς εἰκόνας ἀνάθεμα. Act. 4. p. 317. 5. p. 389.

Now ſince the Fathers have declared concerning Images in general, That they are *worſe than Mice and Worms*; that they are *the Invention of the Devil*; with many other things of a like nature, mentioned Chapter the ſecond; they muſt be all obnoxious to this *Anathema*.

5*ly*, They pronounce *Anathema* (s) *againſt all who do not call them Holy and Sacred Images*; that is, againſt St. *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Origen*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, and others, who have declared, That they cannot be Sacred; and that they are Men of impotent Spirits, and lame Minds, who ſo eſteem them.

(s) Περὶ τῆς ἱερῶν εἰκόνων προσκυνήσεως, καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ ἱερὰς, καὶ ἁγίας αὐτὰς ἀποκαλοῦμεν, καὶ ὁ μὴ ὕτως λέγων ἔστω ἀνάθεμα· ἡ ἁγία Σύνοδος εἶπεν· ἔστω ἀνάθεμα. Act. 4. p. 212.

6*ly*, They

(t) Τοῖς μὴ προσκυνοῦσι τὰς ἁγίας, καὶ σεπτὰς εἰκόνας ἀνάθεμα. Act. 1. p. 61. 7. p. 584.

6*ly*, They denounce *Anathema* (*t*) *against all those who do not worship Images*; *or who doubt of, or who are disaffected to the worship of them.* Now this *Anathema*, if what is here produced cannot be refuted, must certainly be pronounced against the *Blessed Apostles*, and all the *Christians* of the five first Centuries.

(u) Τοῖς μὴ διδασκοῦσιν ὁπωμελῶς πάντα ὁ φιλόχριστον λαὸν προσκυνεῖν, καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι τὰς σεπτὰς, καὶ ἱερὰς, καὶ τιμίας εἰκόνας πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος τῷ Θεῷ ἀρεσαμένων ἀνάθεμα. Act. 1. p. 61.

Lastly; Whereas *Origen* declares, That *the first thing which Christians taught their Converts, was, the contempt of all Images*; the *Fathers* of this *Synod* pronounce *Anathema* (*u*) to all *who do not diligently teach all Christian People to adore the Images of all Good Men from the beginning of the World.*

§. 6. 3*ly*, Hence also may be seen how vainly and unjustly *Roman Catholicks* do boast of the consent of *Fathers* on their side, and say, That they expound the *Scriptures* according to that Sense which they received from the *Ancients*; it being evident, from what hath been discoursed, that in their Exposition of these words, [*Thou shalt not make to thy self the Similitude of any Thing in Heaven or Earth*, &c. *Thou shalt not bow down to them*] they do embrace a Sense which no *Father*, for the first *six Centuries* did ever put upon them; and do reject that Sense they generally did impose upon these words.

§. 7. 4*ly*, Hence I infer, That the Religion of the *Church* of *England* is, in this particular, much safer than is that of *Rome*. For if *Image-worship* be not forbid in this Commandment; nevertheless we only do neglect that practice which their best *Writers* deem (*x*) *indifferent*; which no *Jew* ever did perform to any *Patriach* or *Prophet*, nor any *Christian* for 600 *Years* to any

(x) Illud ante constituendum Imagines, ex earum per se genere esse quæ ἀδιάφορα nominantur, hoc est quæ ad salutem omninò necessaria non sunt, nec ad substantiam ipsam religionis attinent, sed in potestate sunt Ecclesiæ ut ea vel adhibeat, vel ableget, pro eo atque satius esse decreverit. Petav. Theol. dogm. To. 5. l. 15. cap. 13. §. 1.

Ea est hujusce miserrimæ dissensionis materia, sine qua, *sicut multis videtur*, salva per fidem, spem,

ſpem, & charitatem incunctanter, & in hoc ſeculo, & in futuro ſalvari poteſt Eccleſia, quorum ſenſus, & ſententia talis eſt, quid fidei, ſpei, & charitati obeſſe potuiſſet, ſi Imago nulla toto orbe terrarum picta, vel ficta fuiſſet. Epiſt. Eugenii P. 2 Act. Synod. Pariſ. P. 130, 134.

any *Apoſtle*, *Saint*, or *Martyr*, and which no *Scripture* hath commanded; and ſo we only do neglect to do that which neither Example of the *Ancients*, nor any Precept doth commend to our practice. Whereas if *Image-worſhip* ſhould be here forbid to us *Chriſtians*, which, to ſpeak modeſtly, ſeems highly probable, the *Church* of *Rome* muſt practiſe and enjoin, that Worſhip which *provokes God to jealouſy*, exhort and force her Members to perform that Worſhip from which God doth exhort them to abſtain, *leaſt they corrupt themſelves*; She muſt enjoin that Action upon pain of her Diſpleaſure, and of the Wrath of God, which he commands us to avoid, *becauſe he is a jealous God*; ſhe muſt impriſon, and cut off by Excommunication, and by the Sword, Chriſt's Servants, becauſe they will not, by doing that which God ſo frequently, and ſo directly hath forbid, incur the hazard of his Wrath, who ſaith; *If ye corrupt your ſelves, and make a graven Image of the likeneſs of any thing, I call Heaven and Earth to Witneſs this day, that you ſhall ſoon utterly periſh:* And it is eaſy to determine which we ought moſt to fear, the Wrath of God or Man. Deut. 4. 25, 26.

FINIS.

A TREATISE OF TRADITIONS.

PART I.

Imprimatur,

Liber cui titulus [A Treatiſe of Traditions. Part I.]

June 5. 1688.

Guil. Needham, *R R. in Chriſto P. ac D. D.* Wilhelmo *Archiep. Cant. a Sacr. Domeſt.*

A TREATISE OF TRADITIONS.

PART I.

Where it is proved, That we have Evidence sufficient from *TRADITION*;

I. That the *Scriptures* are the Word of God.

II. That the *Church* of *England* owns the true Canon of the Books of the *Old Teſtament*.

III. That the *Copies* of the *Scripture* have not been corrupted.

IV. That the *Romaniſts* have no ſuch Evidence for their *Traditions*.

V. That the Teſtimony of the preſent *Church of Rome* can be no ſure Evidence of *Apoſtolical Tradition*.

VI. What *Traditions* may ſecurely be relyed upon, and what not.

LONDON,

Printed by *J. Leake*, and are to be Sold by *Randal Taylor*, MDCLXXXVIII.

THE PREFACE.

The Contents.

This Propoſition, That the Doctrines and pretended Traditions of the Weſtern Church could not be introduced by her Members in following Ages, but muſt be derived to them from the Fountain of Tradition, is proved falſe, 1. By plain Inſtances of matters of Fact, §. 1. 2*ly*. From the falſe Doctrines and Traditions which generally obtained in the Jewiſh Church, §. 2. 3*ly*. From the Prediction of a general Defection from the Faith in the times of *Antichriſt*, §. 3. 4*ly*. Becauſe this Aſſertion doth oblige us to account the Fathers of the primitive Ages either Knaves or Fools, §. 4. 5*ly*. Becauſe it renders all our Search into Antiquity, not only ſuperfluous but dangerous, §. 5. Corruptions in Doctrine or Practice might take their Riſe, 1*ſt*. From Miſtakes touching the Sence of Scripture, §. 6. 2*ly*. By leaving of the Scripture and ſetting up the Fathers as the Rule of Faith, §. 7. 3*ly*. By flying to Miracles and Viſions for the eſtabliſhment of Doctrines and Opinions, §. 8. 4*ly*. By reaſon of the

great Authority and Reputation of those Men who first began, or else gave Countenance unto them, §. 9. 5*ly*. By reason of the corrupt Manners of the Clergy, §. 10. 6*ly*. By reason of the great Ignorance both of the Clergy and the People, §. 11. 7*ly*. By reason of the Violence and Persecution used to force Men to a Compliance with the prevailing Doctrines, or a concealment of their Sentiments to the contrary, §. 12. This Corruption confessed by the Writers of the dark Ages of the Church, §. 13.

THAT *which the* Romanists *of late have chiefly urged in favour of their present Doctrines and Traditions, is, That the* Traditions *which they now embrace as such, the* Doctrines *which they own as Articles of* Christian *Faith, could never have obtained such Credit in the* Church, *or been so generally received throughout the* Western Churches *as they were before the* Reformation, *had they not been from the Beginning handed down to them as* Apostolical Traditions *and Doctrines received by the* Universal Church *of* Christ.

§. 1. *Now the Vanity and Falshood of this Presumption is here shewed by many Instances of plain matter of Fact, demonstrating that what they of* Rome *at present hold for* Apostolical Tradition, *or as an Article of* Christian *Faith, was generally rejected in former Ages by the whole* Church *of* Christ, *or at the least by the prevailing, and the major part of her* Church Guides: *And whereas it is represented by them as a thing impossible, That the* Western Church, *or the prevailing Body of it, should in one Age imbrace what they in the foregoing did reject; or in this Age reject, what in the former they embraced, Examples are produced here, demonstrating that this hath actually happened*

happened in the Inſtance of eating things ſtrangled, and Blood, *which the whole* Weſtern Church *abominated in the Eleventh Century, and yet did practiſe in the Twelfth and following* Ages. *In the Inſtance of* the immaculate Conception *denyed by the* Weſtern Church *till the Thirteenth Century, and almoſt generally received in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. In the Inſtance of the* Canonical *and* Apocryphal Books *of the* Old Teſtament *in which the Learned of the* Weſtern Church *accorded with us in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and yet did* Anathematize *our Doctrine in the Sixteenth. In the Inſtance of the* Angels falling in love with Women, *aſſerted generally in the firſt Four* Centuries, *and rejected in the Fifth, to omit many other Inſtances ſufficient to convince us that what the* Romaniſts *ſo confidently offer to prove their* Church, *could not be guilty of ſuch Innovations, is only like to the Attempt of* Zeno *to prove, againſt plain matter of Fact, that there could be no Motion.* Chap. 2. §. 6. Ibid. §. 9. Chap. 3. §. 2. 11. Chap. 12. §. 8.

But for the farther manifeſtation of the Vanity of this new way of Arguing a facto ad jus, *from what they do at preſent practiſe and believe, to what they ought to do and practiſe, or from their preſent Faith, to an Aſſurance that the ſame Faith was always held in all preceeding Ages of the* Church: *I ſhall,*

Firſt, *Shew the evil and pernicious Conſequences of this way of arguing.*

Secondly, *I ſhall point out the Ways and Methods by which theſe Doctrines and Practices might have prevailed in the* Church, *and yet be nothing leſs than* Apoſtolical, *or truly* Primitive.

The evil Conſequences of this way of Arguing, are,

Firſt,

§. 2. First, *That it gives the* Jews *a great Advantage against the Truth, and certainty of* Christian *Faith; for they might have then argued, and still may, with as much Plausibility against our* Lord's *Disciples, and the first* Christian *Converts, from this very Topick, as do the* Romanists *against the* Protestants.

For might they not say of the very Doctrines and Traditions which they had generally received at our Saviour's *Advent, and which he did so peremptorily condemn, and caution his* Disciples *to beware of,* "*That they received* "*them from their* Fore-Fathers, *who received them from* "*theirs, and who must either have joined in mistaking* "*their* Ancestors, *or in intending to deceive their Posterity,* "*of which two things neither is credible? Might not they* "*say, That the Traditions which they had then embraced,* "*were derived from* Moses, *and that their* Fore-Fathers "*handed them down from him to them, and that the then* "*present general Reception of them was a sufficient Evi-* "*dence that they were not Inventions of that, or any of* "*the preceeding Ages, but Doctrines and Practices de-* "*rived to them from the first Fountain of Tradition?* "*Might they not have asked in what Year and Age those* "*false Traditions and Doctrines entered first among them,* "*and whether then their whole* Church *must not have con-* "*spired to tell a lye? Might they not have bid them con-* "*sider the Notoriousness of the Lye, and the Damage en-* "*suing from it to themselves and their dearest Pledges,* "*and how rare a thing it is to find a Man, much less a* "*considerable Number of them, who would venture upon* "*such a Wickedness? Might they not have added, that* "*their* Church *and People were scattered about, almost* "through every Nation under Heaven, *and all received* Act. 2. 5. "*the same Traditions and Doctrines which were condemned*

by

"*by our* Lord *and his* Diſciples, *and that it was incredi-*
"*ble that* Churches *ſo diſperſed through many Countries*
"*and* Nations *ſhould agree together to affirm a Falſhood for*
"*a Truth? Now to this way of Arguing, I deſire to know what Anſwer can be given, but by ſhewing by what ways ſuch Opinions actually might have ſpread among them, though not originally received, and proving from their own* Scriptures *and* Writers, *That theſe Opinions were not always held among them; and if this way be good when uſed by* Chriſtians *againſt them, it muſt be as good when uſed by* Proteſtants *againſt* Papiſts, *if this Plea be* ſophiſtical, *when put into the Mouth of an unbelieving* Jew, *it muſt be as* ſophiſtical *when it proceedeth from the Mouth of* Papiſts.

I have not been ſo fortunate as to meet with any direct Anſwer to this Argument, only to the Argument urged from the actual Condemnation of our Lord *as an* Impoſtor *by the* Sanhedrim, *That no Submiſſion, no blind Obedience, could be due to the* Church Guides, *then ruling in the* Jewiſh Church. *The* Guide of Controverſies, *and the* Biſhop *of* Meaux, *thus anſwer, That* the Meſſias coming with Miracles, and manifeſted by the other Two Perſons of the Trinity; by the Father, with a Voice from Heaven commanding to hear him, and by the Holy Ghoſt ſeen deſcending on him, as alſo by the Baptiſt, was now from henceforth to be received as the ſupreme Legiſlator, and nothing to be admitted from others, or from the Sanhedrim it ſelf, contradictory to what he taught; which high Court therefore now, for the Accompliſhment of his neceſſary Sufferings, was permitted by God to be the greateſt Enemy of Truth, and guided therein, not by Gods, but a Satanical Spirit, of whoſe Doctrines therefore our Lord often warned the People to beware. *The* Biſhop

Diſc. of the neceſſity of Ch. Guides, *c.* 3. §. 25. *p.* 17. *Confer avec* M. Claude, *p.* 183, 184, 185.

of Meaux, *adds nothing considerable to this Answer, and is plainly baffled by his learned Adversary Mr.* Claude, *to whose Works I remit the Reader. Now,*

First, *Is it not wonderful to see how these Men say and unsay, pronounce a thing impossible in one Case, and in another, like unto it, confess it actually done? We shew them, That in the* Jewish Church *such false* Traditions *had generally prevail'd, as tended to* evacuate the Law of God, *render his* Worship vain, *and to engage them to reject the true* Messiah; *and yet they were received as Doctrines of their great Prophet* Moses, *handed down to them by* oral Tradition, *that* infallible *Preserver of Truth* : *True, say they, the* Church Guides *were then* permitted by God to be the greatest Enemies of Truth, and guided therein, not by Gods, but a Satanical Spirit; *add now to this, That the Doctrines and* Traditions *of these Men found* general *Reception in the* Jewish Church: *And will it not hence follow, That Doctrines taught, Traditions introduced by the greatest* Enemies of Truth, *and by Men acted,* not by the Spirit of God, but that of Satan, *may generally prevail to be received as true Doctrines and Traditions, derived from* prophetical Authority, *and fit to be assented to, received and practised by all?*

Secondly, *Did these Traditions and false Doctrines, against which our* Saviour *cautioned them, begin then only to spring up among them when our* Saviour *appeared with his* Miracles, *when, at his* Baptism the Holy Ghost *descended visibly upon him, and God gave Testimony to him by* a Voice from Heaven? *If so, you see that even the whole* Jewish Church, *though scattered throughout the World, might all at once embrace* Traditions *of such evil and pernicious Consequences, though they before had never heard one tittle of them; and so not only in the Compass of one Age,*

Age, but of Three Years at fartheſt, new and pernicious Doctrines might generally obtain in the whole Jewiſh Church; *and why not alſo in the* Weſtern Churches *within the compaſs of Eight hundred Years?*

But that theſe Doctrines of the Scribes *and* Phariſees, *theſe* Traditions *which they had received touching* Chriſt's temporal Kingdom, *and touching the* perſonal *Appearance of the* Tisbite *to be his* Fore-runner, *and touching the Expoſitions of the Law condemned by* Chriſt, *were not of ſo late Date as our* Lord's *Baptiſm and Entrance upon his* prophetick Office, *is evident beyond Diſpute, from what I have diſcourſed already from* Joſephus, *aſ-* *Ch.* 11. §. 7. *ſerting that they were received from the moſt* ancient Jews, *from* Epiphanius, *that they derived them from* Moſes, *from the mention of them in our* Saviour's *time, as* ἔθη πατρῶα, καὶ παράδοσεις, Cuſtoms and Traditions received from their Fathers, *and from the great Incredibility, that theſe things ſhould ſo generally obtain to be received as* Traditions *in ſo ſhort a time. Beſides, we know the Expectation of their* temporal King *had alarm'd all the* Eaſt *before*; *and their* Tradition, *that* Elias *the* Tisbite *ſhould come in Perſon to anoint him, and be his* Fore-runner, *muſt be as old as the* Tranſlation *of the* Septuagint: *Theſe Doctrines and Traditions muſt be therefore taught whilſt theſe* Church Guides *and* Rulers *were* infallible *in the Interpretation of the* Scriptures, *and were true* Judges *of what they had received by* Tradition, *if ever they were ſo; or rather it muſt be apparent that they were not ſo; becauſe they generally had prevailed upon the People to receive Doctrines and Traditions of ſuch fatal and pernicious Conſequences, and therefore all the ſpecious* Harangues *the* Papiſts *make concerning the Impoſſibility that falſe* Traditions *and corrupt Doctrines ſhould prevail amongſt them, muſt be as* *Act.* xxviij. 17. *Gal.* i. 14.

plauſible, when uttered by the Jew *againſt the* Chriſtian, *as by the* Papiſt *againſt* Proteſtants. " *For, v. g. where,* " *may they ſay, will you produce the Men of former Ages* " *who taxed the* Jewiſh Church *with ſuch corrupt Tra-* " *ditions as your* Jeſus *taxed them with, or bid Men be-* " *ware of the Doctrine of them who* ſate in Moſes Chair, *or* " *of thoſe* Scribes *and* Phariſees *who had obtained ſo great* " *Credit on the Account of Piety and Learning? Do* " *not you* Chriſtians *own that we were once* a right Vine, " *the true and only* Church *of* God, *till the Appearance* " *and Baptiſm of your* Jeſus? *Who therefore can believe* " *that God would ſuffer ſuch dangerous Doctrines to pre-* " *vail in his own* Church, *and raiſe up no* Church " Guides, *except the* Sadducees, *to contradict them, until* " *your* Jeſus *and his* Diſciples *undertook to be* Reformers " *of it? Where then had God a true* Church *in the* " *World, if not among the People of the* Jews? *What* " *other* Church *could* Chriſt *and his* Diſciples *mention* " *beſides that whoſe Governors he taxed with* voiding the " Commandments of God, *and rendring* his Worſhip " vain, *becauſe of ſome* Traditions *which they had recei-* " *ved from their* Fore-Fathers? *If then God ſuffered his* " Church *to be all over-run with ſuch a fatal Leproſy,* " *where was the watchful Eye of Providence? Yea, where* " *the Care or Conſcience of thoſe* Guides *of Souls he had* " *ſet over them? Did all our* Paſtors *fall aſleep at once,* " *or could they all conſpire to deceive Poſterity?*

Thirdly, *R. H. The* Guide of Controverſies *cannot be ignorant, That, as he ſays,* God then permitted the Sanhedrim to be the greateſt Enemies of Truth for the Accompliſhment of the Prophecies *of the* Old Teſtament; *ſo do we alſo ſay, That God permitted theſe pernicious Doctrines to obtain in the* Church *of* Rome *for the Accompliſhment of thoſe* Prophecies *of the* New Teſtament

Teſtament *touching a great, and almoſt general* Apoſtacy, *which was to happen in the Days of the great* Antichriſt, *and in the time when* all Tongues and Nations were to worſhip the Beaſt.

Now hence ariſeth a Second Demonſtration of the Falſhood of this vain Preſumption, That no ſuch Change can happen in the Doctrine and Practice of the Church *of* Chriſt, *as we pretend to, for the Teſtimony of the Holy* Scriptures, *the Doctrine of the* Fathers, *and the Confeſſions of many learned* Catholicks, *aſſure us, that this ſhall actually happen in the times of* Antichriſt, *and what will then become of all the pretended Demonſtrations, That this cannot happen, or can never happen. And,* §. 3.

Firſt, *The* Scripture *ſpeaks expreſly of the* Slaughter of the Two Witneſſes, *the* Flight of the Women into the Deſart, *and of the* Worſhip *which* the whole World ſhall pay unto the Beaſt: *Where note, That the* Witneſſes *which repreſent the* Church, *or her true* Paſtors, *are but* Two, *and they at laſt are* ſlain, *and that the Dominion of* Antichriſt *is repreſented as* over all Kingdoms, Tongues and Nations; *and he is ſaid* to cauſe the Earth, and him that dwells therein, to worſhip him, *and* both ſmall and great, rich and poor, bond and free, to receive his Mark. *Rev.* xj. 7-xij. 6. *Chap.* xiij. 7. *v.* 16.

The Fathers *alſo aſſert that the* Apoſtacy *will then be ſo great, That* the Lord will ſeem παντελῶς ἐγκαταλείπειν ἑαυτοῦ τὰς ἐκκλησίας, wholly to have left his Churches; *That there ſhall be then, Totius mundi ſeductio,* a Seduction of the whole World; *That, Cuncti accedent, atque adorabunt eum,* all ſhall come and worſhip the Beaſt; *That* the Saints ſhall hide themſelves, *in montibus, ſpeluncis & cavernis Terræ,* in the mountains, dens and caverns of the Earth; *That* all ſhall fall off from *Baſil. Ep.* 71. *p.* 115. *Hippol. de Conſum. mundi, p.* 4. *P.* 41. *P.* 43, 49, 59.

from God, and believe that Impoſtor; *That* there
P. 48. ſhall be *nec oblatio, nec ſuffitus, nec cultus Deo gratus*, neither Oblation, nor Incenſe, nor any Worſhip acceptable to God; no Euchariſt, no Liturgy, no ſinging of Pſalms, or reading of the Scripture; *That* there ſhall
Theodor. Tom 3 Ep. 63. p. 937. Hieron. in Sophon. c. 2. f. 97. F. be παντελὴς ἀποστασία, a general Apoſtacy; *That, Regnante Antichriſto redigenda ſit Eccleſia in ſolitudinem*, in the Reign of Antichriſt the Church will be brought to Solitude, *ſo that* Chriſt coming ſhall ſcarce find Faith upon the Earth: *That* in the time of Antichriſt,
Auſt. Ep. 80. ad Heſyc. p. 364. *eccleſia non apparebit*, the Church ſhall not appear, being eclipſed by the Perſecutions of ungodly Men:
Ephr. Syr. de conſum. Sæculi & Antichriſto Col. An. 1603. p. 219. *That* Men ſhall ask whether the Goſpel doth any where continue upon Earth, *reſponſumque iri, nuſquam*, and it ſhall be anſwered, no where. *And in this Aſſertion the* Fathers *are generally followed by the* Romiſh Doctors; *let one* Bellarmine *ſpeak for them all,*
De Pontif. Rom. l. 3. c. 7. §. denique. *ſaying that* Daniel plainly ſaith, That in the times of Antichriſt, by reaſon of the Severity of Perſecutions, the publick and daily Sacrifice of the Church ſhall ceaſe, *ubi omnium conſenſu loquitur de tempore Antichriſti*, where by the conſent of all he ſpeaketh of the time of Antichriſt. *This being then ſo clear a Revelation, or Prediction of the* Holy Ghoſt, *and our great* Prophet, *muſt ſome time or other happen, or both our* Saviour *and the* Holy Spirit *muſt be charged with lying* Prophecies: *And being ſo unanimouſly, and without controll delivered by the* Holy Fathers, *the conſtant* Tradition, *and the received Doctrine of the* Church *of* Chriſt *throughout all thoſe Ages, muſt be a conſtant Refutation of this idle Dream, and their Pretences to* Tradition *muſt evidently be confuted by* Tradition.

§. 4. Thirdly, *This Method and Proceeding of the* Romaniſts, *for finding out, and judging of* primitive Doctrines *and* Tradi-

Traditions, *were it admitted, would force us to condemn the Writers of the* Church *from the beginning to the Tenth, Twelfth or Fourteenth* Centuries, *as the worſt of* Fools *or* Knaves; *for ſeeing it is manifeſt from their plain Words, produced in great Plenty throughout thoſe* Ages, *that they ſpeak as plainly in Condemnation of the* Latin Service, Communion in one Kind, *the* Veneration of Images, *the* Seven Sacraments, *the* Trent Canon *of the Books of the* Old Teſtament, *and of many other Articles of* Romiſh *Faith, which they pretend to have received from Tradition, as any* Proteſtant *can do; either they muſt have ſpoken all theſe things unwittingly, for want of knowledge of what the* Church *maintained to the contrary throughout thoſe Ages, and then it cannot be avoided, but they muſt paſs for the moſt ignorant of Men, and ſuch as did not know the neceſſary* Articles *of* Chriſtian *Faith received in their Times; or elſe they muſt have taught and conveyed to Poſterity thoſe things againſt their Knowledge, and the conviction of their Conſciences, and then it cannot be denied, but that they were the worſt of* Knaves; *and whichſoever of theſe things be ſaid, it cannot be denied, but they, of all Men, were the moſt unfit to convey down* Tradition *to Poſterity. For to render any Perſon a credible* Teſtator, *or Witneſs of the* Churches *Faith and Practice, Two things ſeem abſolutely neceſſary.* 1. *That he ſhould have ſufficient Knowledge of the Truth of what he teſtifies. And,* 2ly. *That he ſhould have Honeſty ſufficient to aſſure us that he would not wittingly deceive us in his Teſtimony; for if we have juſt Reaſon to ſuſpect either his want of Knowledge or Sincerity, we muſt have reaſon to ſuſpect his* Teſtimony: *So that if either ſuch Simplicity and Folly, or ſuch apparent* Knavery, *as hath been mentioned, can juſtly be imputed to the* Authors *of the* Teſtimonies *cited againſt*

the

the Doctrines fornamed of the Church *of* Rome, *it is extreamly manifeſt we have juſt Reaſon to ſuſpect the Truth of all they might deliver to future* Ages, *either as Doctrines or Practices received from their* Predeceſſors.

§. 5. *Sexta nota eſt conſpiratio in doctrina cum eccleſia antiqua.* De notis Eccleſ. cap. 9. *Bellarm. de eccl. milit. l. 4 c. 9.*

Fourthly, *This Method of proceeding muſt render it a vain and fruitleſs thing to ſearch into* Antiquity *to find what was the Doctrine of preceeding* Ages, *and conſequently it muſt aſſure us that the* Church *of* Rome *doth only trifle with us, or impoſe upon us when ſhe makes Agreement either in Doctrine or Practice with* Antiquity, *a Note or* Character *by which we may diſcern the true* Church *from all who falſly do pretend unto that glorious Title; for how can this be done? Yea how is it attempted to be done by* Roman Catholicks, *but by producing the Teſtimonies of all former Ages for ſuch a Doctrine or Practice as they at preſent do maintain? If therefore a like Number of plain Teſtimonies produced by us, in all the Inſtances forenamed, for the* Antiquity *of our Doctrines and Practices, be not a Proof ſufficient on our ſide, why ſhould it be on theirs? If notwithſtanding all theſe Evidences, we muſt believe the contrary to what they clearly do import, to have been ſtill the Doctrine and Practice of all Ages paſt, becauſe it is at preſent the Doctrine of the* Church *of* Rome, *to what end do we read* Antiquity? *What Service can it do us, unleſs to make us* Hereticks *or* Scepticks? *For of what can we be certain or aſſured by the reading of it, if that may be falſe and* heretical, *which through ſo many Ages is ſo plainly, fully, and frequently delivered as the cleareſt Truth?*

To proceed then to my ſecond Undertaking, viz. *To ſhew how ſuch a Change in Doctrine and in Practice might happen in the* Weſtern Church *as well as in the* Eaſt, *or other places.*

Firſt,

§. 6. First, *Corruptions in Doctrine, or in Practice, might have been introduced by mistaking of the Sense of* Scripture: *This Account* Origen *gives of the diversity of Opinions and* Sects *which sprang up early among* Christians, *and multiplied together with them,* viz. *That they had their* Original *from hence, That* Men did Διαφόρως ἐνδέχεσθαι τὰς ἅμα πᾶσι πίστει δοκούσας εἶναι θείας λόγους, diversly interpret those Scriptures which they all held to be Divine. Vigilius *ascribes these* Sects, *and this diversity of Opinions to the same Original,* viz. *That* the Virtue of the heavenly Words was defiled, *vitio malæ intelligentiæ,* by a misunderstanding of them, *and* by taking them, *non secundum qualitatem sui sensus,* not according to the tenor of their Sence, as Truth required, but by diverting them to other Matters. *To this the* Fathers *do ascribe not only the Miscarriage of* Hereticks, *but even the Slips and Errors of those pious Persons who had gone before them, which, say they, happened to them* by reading of the Scriptures carelesly, *and not with so much Diligence and Circumspection as they should have used. Thus* Theodoret, *upon occasion of that Mistake of almost all the* Fathers *of the Four first* Centuries, *imagining that the* Sons of God which went in to the Daughters of Men, *were* Angels, *saith,* πιεῖ ὃ τοῖς πολλοῖς τὴν ἄγνοιαν τὸ ῥᾳθύμως ἀναγινώσκειν τὴν θείαν γραφὴν, *That it was their* careless reading of the holy Scriptures which made many thus to erre; *and all the* Fathers, *with one Voice, ascribe the* Heresies *of their times, partly to their perverting, and partly to their deserting of the* Holy Scriptures; *and therefore for preventing of the like Mistakes, they do not send them to an* infallible Interpreter, *nor do they hence conclude him necessary, as some others do, but only do advise them to read the* Scriptures *with*

In Celsum l. 3. p. 118.

L 2. contra Eutych.

Qu. 47. in Gen.

more Care, Exactneſs and Scrutiny, with Prayer, Love and Deſire of the Truth, with a pure Soul, and care to walk according to the Rules of Chriſtian Vertue, *aſſuring thoſe who do thus* ſeek, That according to our Lord's Promiſe, they ſhall find the Truth, *it being not the Obſcurity, but* the Ignorance of Scripture, *which makes men obnoxious to* Hereſies, *as ſhall, by God's Aſſiſtance be fully proved elſewhere.*

Chryſ. Hom. 17. in Matth. p. 124. Baſil. Tom. 1. l. 2. de Bapt. q. 4. Orig. dial. contr. Marc. p. 70. Athan. de incar. verbi. T. 1. p. 110. Theodoret in 3. Rom. 8. Chryſoſt. Hom. 35. in Joh. T. 2. P. 799. vid. T. 3. P. 1. Tom. 5. p. 829.

And whoſoever doth conſider that many of the Fathers *came immediately from* Heatheniſm *to read the* Scriptures, *That they inſiſted moſt on the* Old Teſtament, *of which they did not underſtand the Language, and of which they had only an imperfect, or corrupt Tranſlation, and that they took the liberty to* allegorize, *and to give* myſtical Interpretations *of them, as their luxuriant Phancies led them to it, will not think it ſtrange that ſo many* extravagant Interpretations *of the* holy Scriptures *ſhould drop from their Pens; That they ſhould tell us that* Noah's *being* drunk with Wine *was, Sacramentum & figura Dominicæ paſſionis*, A Sacrament and Figure of our Saviour's Paſſion; *That* (a) God *not only* permitted the Gentiles to worſhip the Sun, Moon and Stars, *but* ἔδωκε ὁ τ ἥλιον, καὶ τ σελήνην, καὶ τὰ ἄστρα εἰς θρησκείαν, Gave them the Sun, Moon and Stars to be worſhiped, that they might not be wholly Atheiſts; *That when our Lord threatned to the diſobedient* Jews, (*b*) thy Life ſhall hang in doubt before thee——And thou ſhalt have no

Cypr. Ep. 63. p. 149.

(a) *Juſt. M. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 349. Clem. Alex. Strom. 6. p. 669. Orig. in Celſ. l. 5. p. 236. Com. in Joh To 2. Ed. Huet. p. 48. Euſeb. demonſtr. l. 4. c. 9. p. 157.*

(b) *Iren. l. 4. c. 23. Tertull adv. Jud. c. 11, & 13. Cypr. adv. Jud. l. 2. c. 20. Lactant. l. 4. c. 18. Epiphan. Hær. 24. §. 9. Athanaſ. de incarn. verbi p. 47, & 90. Orat. 3. contr. Arian p. 386. Ruffin. apud Hieron. T. 4. F. 49* Non video cur dubitare debeamus id illum de Chriſto ſcripſiſſe. *Auguſt. contr. Fauſt. Manich. l. 16. c. 22. 23. Deut. 28. 66.*

Aſſurance

Assurance of thy Life, *he meant that* Jesus Christ should be crucified before their Eyes; *That they should from those Words of the* Psalmist, (c) My Heart hath indited a good Matter, ἐξηρεύξατο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθὸν, infer the eternal Generation of the Son; *That some of them, so early, should imagine that the* (d) Baptist was an Angel, *not a Man, because the* Prophet Malachi *said*, Behold I send my Angel before his Face: *And that when* John *the* Baptist *sent this* (e) *Question to our* Lord, Art thou he that shall come, or look we for another, *they should thus interpret it, That St.* John being to go down to Hell, *or Hades*, should send to ask whether he should go before him thither, and preach him there, as he had done on Earth; *That when* Christ *said to* Peter, Get thee behind me Satan, thou art an Offence to me, *they, out of a Reverence to St.* Peter, *should make him say to* (f) Peter *only*, come thou after me, *and to the* Devil, Satan, thou art an Offence unto me; *That when the same St.* Peter *denied his* Master, *saying*, I know not the Man, *they should excuse and bring him off with this quaint* Equivocation, (g) *Nescio hominem, quia scio Deum*, I know not the Man, for I know him to be God, *not considering with St.* Jerom, *That by thus attempting to excuse the* Disciple, *they gave the lye to his* Master, *who had foretold his Denial; That from those Words of* Christ, (h) The Devil is a Lyar and the Fa-

Psal. 45. 1.

Mal. 3. 1.

Matth. 11. 3.

Matth. 16. 23.

Matth. 26. 72.

Joh. 8. 44.

(c) Quidam superstitiose magis quam vere ex persona patris arbitrantur intelligi; *Hieron. ep. ad Damasum Tom.* 3. *F.* 45. B. Quidam ex persona patris dictum intelligi volunt; *Ep. ad Principium Virg. ibid. F.* 37. *A. viz. Alexander Episc. Alex. Socr. Hist. Eccl. l.* 1 *c.* 6. *Athanas. To.* 1. *p.* 134, 170. *c.* 427. *D.* 510. *c.* 517. *D.* 538 *c.* 549, 550, 565. *D. Marcellus apud Epiph. Hær.* 72. §. 2.

(d) *Orig. in Joh. Tom.* 5. *ed. Huet. p.* 77. *Cyril com. in* 1 *Joh.* 6.

(e) Manda mihi, ad infernum descensurus sum, utrum te Inferis debeam nunciare, qui nunciavi superis; *Hieron. in loc. & Ep. T.* 3. *F.* 54. Μὴ φοβοῦ λέγειν ὅτι εἰς Ἅιδὺ κατεβέβηκεν προκηρύσσων τὸν Κύριον; *Orig. com. in Reg. p.* 34. *& l. contr. Marcion. p.* 37. *Chrysost. Hom. in Matth.* 37. *p.* 247. *Ruffin. apud Hieron. To.* 4. *p.* 49. *Theophyl. in* 11. *Matth. p.* 58. *& in luc.* 7. *p.* 351. *Nazianzen in Orat. Funebr. Basil.* in hanc sententiam, Meliori non inventa, maxima pars Veterum Auctorum concesserunt. *Maldonate in Matth.* xi. 2. *viz. Ambrosius, Eusebius Emissenus, Julianus Pomerius, Venantius, Gregorius.* (f) Multi putant quod non Petrus correptus est, sed adversarius Spiritus qui hæc dicere Apostolum suggerebat; *Hieron. in Matth.* xvj. 23. *Hilarius in locum. Theophylact. in Marc.* 8. *p.* 232. (g) Scio quosdam pij affectus erga Petrum, locum hunc ita interpretatos, ut dicerent Petrum non Deum negasse, sed hominem, & esse sensum, nescio hominem, quia scio Deum, *Hieron. in locum. Vide Maldonatum ibid.* (h) *Vide Origen. in Joh. Tom.* 23. *ed. Huet. T.* 2. *p.* 308 *& Huetii notas p.* 34. *Epiph. Hær* 40. *n.* 5, 6 *& Hær.* 38. §. 4, 5. *Ammon. caten. in c.* 8. *Joh. p.* 238. *Cyril. Alex. in locum p* 559. *Author quæst. V. & N. Test. apud August. c.* 90, 98. *Hieron. in Isa. c.* 14 *F.* 36 *e.*

ther of it, καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν, *they ſhould conclude* that the Devil had a Father, *and that he was either* Cain *or* Judas; *That to avoid the vain Cavils of the* Marcionites *and* Manichees, *they ſhould ſay, That* (i) the God of this World, *mentioned* 2 Cor. iv. 4. *was* not the Devil, but the true God: *And from theſe Words of the* Apoſtle (k) I wiſh they were cut off that trouble you, *they ſhould gather that the* Apoſtle deſired that the Abettors of the legal Ceremonies and Circumciſion might be gelt: *To omit infinite Paſſages of the like Nature.*

(i) *Iren. l.3. c.7. Tertul. l.5. adv. Marcion. c.* xj. *Chryſoſt. Theod. Photius apud Oecum. & Theophylact in locum. Auguſt. contr. Fauſt. Manichæum l.22. c.2. & 9.*

(k) Illud dici poteſt—quod Paulus non tam maledixerit eis, quam oraverit pro illis ut eas partes corporis perderent, per quas delinquere cogebantur. *Hieron. in locum.* Μὴ περιτεμνέσθωσαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποκοπέσθωσαν, *Chryſ.* Εἴθε καὶ τέλεον ἐξέτεμον ἑαυτὸς, *Theodoret. & Oecum.* Εἴθε καὶ τελείως ἀπέκοπον ἑαυτῶν μοῖα, *Theoph. in locum. Gal.*5.12.

Nor can it reaſonably be doubted that the Doctrine of the Millennium, *of* the neceſſity of communicating Infants, *of* the Appearance of *Enoch* and the *Tisbite* at our Lord's Second coming, *of* the nearneſs of the End of the World, *of* our Lord's Preaching but one Year after his Baptiſm, *of* the Angels converſing with Women, *had all their Riſe from the miſtaken Interpretations of the* Holy Scripture; *why therefore might not the Miſtake of that Paſſage of St.* Paul, They ſhall be ſaved, but ſo as by Fire, *give the riſe to* Purgatory? *That of the ſame* Apoſtle, This is a great Myſtery, but I ſpeak of Chriſt, and the Church, *advance* Marriage *into a* Sacrament; *the miſtake of that Promiſe of an happy Reſurrection to the true Members of* Chriſt's Church, The Gates of Hades ſhall not prevail againſt it, *be made to countenance her* Infallibility, *and ſo in other Caſes of like Nature? Sure I am, that* Communion in one Kind, the Latin Service, the Veneration of Images, *could never have obtained in the* Church, *had not thoſe* Scriptures, *which ſo plainly do condemn them, been miſe-*

1 *Cor.* 3. 15.

Magnum Sacramentum, Eph. 5. 32.

Matth. 16. 18.

rably

rably wreſted by late Ages from their proper Sence, and the received Interpretation which the whole Chriſtian *World had put upon them for* Six hundred, *or a* Thouſand *Years, and why they might not as well wreſt the* Scriptures *to eſtabliſh ſome of their Doctrines, as they have done it for the avoiding that Condemnation of them, which is ſo clear in other* Scriptures, *that he who runs may read it, I am not able to diſcern.*

Secondly, *Corruptions in Doctrine and Practice might eaſily prevail by altering, or leaving of that* Rule *of Faith and Manners God had given them, and acting by other Rules or Principles, which in themſelves are inſufficient to eſtabliſh any Article of* Chriſtian *Faith, for a falſe* Rule *muſt of neceſſity give falſe Directions, both in Faith and Manners; where the Principle is falſe the Concluſion from it muſt be ſo, and where the Foundation is corrupted the Building cannot be firm; now this we find done,* §. 7.

1. *By ſetting up the* Fathers *as the* Rules *of Faith, the* * *Pillars and the Grounds of Faith, as ſome of them are often ſtiled. This Method of proceeding, as it is expreſly contrary to our* Lord's *Injunction, to* call no Man Father upon Earth, *in that preſumptuous Sence in which the* Jewiſh Rabbi's *did affect that Title, becauſe* one is our Father in Heaven, *and all that come to* Chriſt *are* διδακτοὶ Θεοῦ, taught of God the Father; *and* one is our Guide and Maſter, Chriſt, *from whom we* Chriſtians have received an Unction, and need not that any one ſhould teach us, but as that Spirit (*in the Word*) doth teach us all things. *So is it as repugnant to the Mind and the Preſcriptions of thoſe* Holy *Men, who frequently declare, That both they and their Brethren were ſubject to Error,* That, *Errarunt in fide tam Græci, quam Latini,* (a) Both the Greek and the Latin Fathers erred in the Faith; *That*

* *Baſil. Ep.* 62. 67. 70. 349. *Nazianz. Orat.* 19, 21, 23, 29.

Matth. xxiij. 6, 10.

John vj. 45.

1 *Joh.* ij. 27.

(a) *Hieron. Ep. ad Pam. & Oceran. To.*2. *F.*69.

(b) *Aug. l.* 11. *Contr. Faust. c.* 5.

(c) *Cyril. Hieros. Catech.* 4. *p.* 30.

(d) *Orig. Hom.* 2. *in Ezek. F.* 135. *B.*

(e) *Aug. de Orig an. l.* 4. *c.* 1. & *l. de bono persev. c.* 21.

That therefore others were (b) at liberty when they read or heard them, to approve what they liked, and to reject what they conceived not to be right *in them*; *and warn us* (c) not to believe what they say, unless we find it demonstrated out of the Holy Scriptures; *To* (d) observe diligently when the Pastor deceived them, and when he spake things true and pious, there being, *say they*, in our writings (e) many things, *quæ possent justo judicio culpari*, which justly may be blamed, so that we would have no man so to embrace all our Sayings as to follow them, save only in those things in which they do perceive they have not erred; *if then their sayings be of any credit, and* Authority, *'tis evident, from their assertions, that they ought not to be admitted as the* Rule of faith, *as being men subject unto like ignorance, and errors with us, and if their sayings be of no credit, much less can they be own'd as* the pillars, *and the* ground *of truth, and yet I find this doctrine laid down expressly by a concealed* Heretick, Sergius *the* Patriarch *of* Constantinople, *in his* Epistle *to* Cyril, *where he*

Concil. Sexto Ep. ad Cyrum episcop. Concil. To. 6. *p.* 918.

saith that πατέρων τὰ δόγματα νόμος τῇ καθολικῇ καθέστηκεν ἐκκλησίᾳ, the doctrines of the Fathers are a Law to the universal Church, *and that* we are bound to follow them, and to hold all that they have written to the least tittle; *and evident it is, That even from the Fifth* Century, *the sayings of the* Fathers *began to be had in great Reputation, and about the Eighth, to be as it were* Authentick; *and* Articles *of Faith were canvassed, and determined both in the Second* Nicene Council, *and in that of* Florence, *chiefly by the pretended Sayings of the* Holy Fathers, *to whose Testimony you very rarely, if at all, shall find this just Exception made, That they were* Men of like Infirmities, *and* subject to like Errors *as we are. One* Athanasius *or* Basil, *one* Nazianzen *or* Nyssen, *one* Chrysostom, *and* Theodoret *in the* Eastern Church; *one* Hilary

Hilary, *and* Ambroſe, *St.* Auſtin, Jerom, *and St.* Gregory *in the* Weſtern Churches *have for theſe ſix laſt* Centuries *ſignified as much, or more, than a* St. Peter, *or St.* Paul, *an* Apoſtle *or* Evangeliſt; *and a* ſed contra Auguſtinus, *or* ſed contra eſt quod Auguſtinus dicit, *through the whole Summs and the whole Body of the* Schoolmen *hath paſſed for the Deciſion of a Queſtion touching Faith, or Manners. How eaſy was it then for Errors to come in under the Umbrage of theſe* venerable *Names; eſpecially if we conſider how many* ſpurious *Pieces had uſurped their Names, which the great Ignorance of latter* Ages *could not diſtinguiſh from their genuine Works; how many of their genuine works were horribly corrupted, and how fruitful many of thoſe* Fathers *were in there inventions, and how poſitive they ſometimes are in delivering that as the doctrine of the whole* Church *which was nothing leſs. For inſtance who that reads* St. Auſtin *diſputing againſt the* Pelagians *could doubt, if he believed him, that the Doctrine of the* Imputation *of* Original Sin *was univerſally received by all* Chriſtians, *and that on this account the whole* Church *Baptized* Infants; *and yet* Petavius *informs us, that the* Greek Fathers *ſcarcely ſpake any thing about it; yea in that very Age* Theodoret *expreſly denies it, putting the* Queſtion *thus,* If this be the only work of Baptiſm to cleanſe from Sin, ἀνθ' ὅτῳ τὰ βρέφη βαπτίζομεν ὀδέπω τ ἁμαρτίας γευπάμενα; why do we Baptize Children who are not guilty of it? *and in his* Comment *on* Rom. 5. 13. *He adds,* ὁ γὰρ διὰ τ τ πρωπάτορ ἁμαρτίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τ οἰκείαν ἕκαστ δέχεται τ θανάτῳ τ ὅρον, *That* every one dies for his own Sin, and not for that of his Fore-fathers. Chryſoſtom *on the ſame place ſaith, That* for us to be mortal on the occaſion of the Sin of *Adam,* is no abſurdity; τὸ γὰρ ὅτι τ ἐκείνου ἕτερον ἁμαρτωλὸν γενέσθαι, ποίαν ἀπολυ-

Dogm. Theol. To. 4. *pt.* 2. *l.* 14. *c.* 2. *Hæret. Fabul. l.* 5. *c.* 18. *p.* 292. Quid feſtinat innocens ætas ad remiſſionem peccatorum? *Tertul. de Bapt. c.* 18.

In v. 19. *To.* 3. *Hom.* 10. *p.* 73.

ἀπολυ-

Διαν χοίη; but how can it be, that by his Tranſgreſſion another ſhould become a Sinner; for if he did not perſonally ſin, neither could he deſerve Puniſhment.

Cap. 1. Gennadius *in his Book of* Eccleſiaſtical *Doctrines, which paſſeth ſtill among the Works of St.* Auſtin, *placeth this as one, That* the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father and Son. Michael Pſellus *on the contrary ſaith,*

Cap. Theol. c. 10. p. 157. ἡ ἁγία καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία διδασκει---τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ μόνου τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευτὸν, ἀλλ' ἐχὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ, the Holy Catholick Church teacheth that the Spirit proceedeth only from the Father, but not from the Son. *To omit many other*

L. 2. c. 1. *Inſtances collected by the learned* Dally *in that elaborate Treatiſe of* the Uſe of the Fathers, *which makes it needleſs to diſcourſe further on this Head: For if the true* Fathers *were not only ſubject to many and great Errors in their private Sentiments, but alſo unto manifold Miſtakes touching the Doctrine of the* Catholick Church; *if many of their Works have been unhappily corrupted, and many* ſpurious *Pieces have been impoſed upon them; ſo that, inſtead of their* Authority, *Men often have relyed on an* Impoſtor, *an ignorant* Monk, *or perhaps an* Heretick, *how eaſy was it in the dark Ages of the* Church *for Errors to come in at this Door, when too much Veneration was by all given to them, and their* Dictates *paſſed for* Oracles?

§. 8. *Again, New Doctrines and Practices might obtain, by flying from the* Scriptures *to* Miracles *and* Viſions, *for the Eſtabliſhment of Doctrines and Opinions in the* Church; *That a prevailing Power doth attend theſe* miraculous *Operations, even when they are performed only by* Satan *and his* Miniſters, *we ſhall be fully convinced if we conſider that our* Lord *foretold of the* falſe Prophets, *and* falſe Chriſts *that ſhould come after him; they ſhould* work

Signs

Signs and Miracles, *ſo great* as to deceive, if it were poſible, the very Elect. *St.* Paul *that the* Apoſtacy *of the Great* Antichriſt, *and his* Followers, *ſhould be effected* by the coming of Satan with all power, Signs, and lying Wonders. *St.* John *of the* Apocalyptick beaſt, *that* he ſhould do great Signs, and deceive the Inhabitants of the Earth by the Signs given him to do; *that at the firſt appearance of* Chriſtianity *the* Heathens *did oppoſe it from this* topick, *viz. The Signs and Wonders which had been performed by their* Heathen Deities, *ſaying, Fruſtra tantum arrogas Chriſto*, In vain you arrogate ſo much to Chriſt, for we have often known that other Gods have given Medicines to, and healed the Infirmities of many; *ſo the* Heathen *in* (a) Arnobius, *ſo* (b) Celſus, *ſo* (c) Cælius; *and comparing the* Miracles *of* Apollonius Tyanæus, *and of* Apuleus *with thoſe of* Chriſt (d), *Quorum majora contendunt eſſe opera, And* contending they were greater than any done by him: *That* (e) Simon Magus *mightily prevailed by them, and obtained almoſt, where-ever he came*, to be worſhipped as a God, *or the great Power of God: That even the* Arians *in the Fourth* Century *appealed to them for Confirmation of their Faith, declaring that the Miracles of their* (f) Theophilus *were ſo* great Confirmations of the Chriſtian Faith, as to conſtrain the Obſtinacy of the Jews, and ſilence all their Contradictions; *and that their* (g) Agapetus did νεκρὺς ἀναστῆσαι, raiſe the Dead, heal many that were ſick, and convert many to the Chriſtian Faith. *To theſe convincing Demonſtrations of the Fallaciouſneſs of this Argument, when new Miracles come after a true Doctrine ſufficiently confirmed by them already, and contradict that very Doctrine, or teach things contrary to Piety, it may be uſeful to obſerve theſe things out of the* Holy Fathers.

Matth. 24. 23.

2 *Theſ.* 2. 9.

Rev. 13. 13, 14.

(a) *Arnob. l.* 1. *p.* 28.

(b) *Apud Orig. l.* 8. *p.* 407, 416, 417.

(c) *Apud Minut. p.* 7.

(d) *Lact. l.* 5 *c.* 3. *Aug. Ep.* 4. *Hieronim. apud Euſeb. p.* 512.

(e) *Acts* 8. 9, 10. *Juſt. in Apol* 2. *p.* 69. *Cyril. Hier. cat.* 6. *p.* 53, 54, *&c.*

(f) *Philoſtorg. l.* 3. §. 4. *p.* 27.

(g) *L.* 2. §. 8. *p.* 14.

First, *That ſome of them do expreſly ſay, That* Miracles *had ceaſed in their Days; and others, That they were not* neceſſary. *St.* Chryſoſtom *hath a ſet Diſcourſe upon this Subject,* διὰ τὶ σημεῖα νῦν ὐ γίν, why Miracles were ceaſed, *which had they then been common in the* Chriſtian *World, had been an idle* Queſtion. *To this Diſcourſe he ſeemeth to have been neceſſitated by the Importunity of his* Auditors, *who were ſtill crying out* τίνος ἕνεκεν σημεῖα ὐ γίν νῦν; Why are not Signs wrought now? *To this Enquiry he anſwers,* 1. *That Signs were intended only* πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀπίστων πληροφορίαν, for the Confirmation of Unbelievers, *and that* they were not needful for the Faithful; *and then concluding* τοῦτο ὂν αἴτιον τὸ μὴ γίνεσθαι σημεῖα νῦν, this therefore is the Cauſe why Miracles are now ceaſed. *In his Thirty ſecond Homily on* Matthew *he repeats the ſame things, ſaying* ἀλλὰ τὰ σημεῖα ζητεῖτε, But you ſeek for Signs, ſuch as the Apoſtles did, you would ſee the Lepers cleanſed, the Devils caſt out, the Dead raiſed; but this is the greateſt Demonſtration of our Generoſity and Love, to believe God without thoſe Pledges, and διὰ τοῦτο for this and other Reaſons, God hath cauſed Miracles to ceaſe. *In his Twenty forth* Homily *on St.* John, *he ſaith that* νῦν τὰ σημεῖα αἰτεῖν πειράζοντων ἐστιν, it is a tempting of God now to ask for Signs; *and* this, *ſaith he,* I ſpeak, becauſe there are now Men ſeeking them, and ſaying διὰ τὶ μὴ καὶ νῦν σημεῖα γίν, Why are not Miracles now done? Whereas if thou art a faithful Man, as thou oughteſt to be, and loveſt Chriſt, as thou oughteſt to do, ὐ χρείαν ἔχεις σημείων, ταῦτα γὰρ τοῖς ἀπίστοις δίδοται, thou haſt no need of Signs, for theſe things are given for Unbelievers.

Tom. 5. Hom. 88. p. 606.

To. 2. p. 223.

Ibid. p. 650.

Secondly, *To this Enquiry he anſwers by way of* Diſtinction, *That* though τὰ ἀϊδιὰ σημεῖα, *or* ſuch Miracles

To. 5. Hom. 88. p. 606.

cles

cles as were the Objects of our Senſes were then ceaſed, *yet God did ſtill vouchſafe*, τὰ νοητὰ, his efficacious Workings on the Souls of Chriſtians, in their Baptiſmal Regeneration, *and* in the Myſtical Sacrifice. *This he explains more fully in his Sixth* Tome *and Sixty ninth* Homily; *for* if any Man ſaith ἀλλ' οὐκ ὁρῶμεν ταῦτα νῦν γινόμενα τὰ σημεῖα, but we ſee not now theſe Signs done, nor have we ſuch Power of working them. To this, *ſaith he*, I anſwer, That the Church is not wholly deſtitute of Miracles, 1. *Becauſe* a miraculous Change was wrought in Baptiſm, by giving ſpiritual Life to a dead Soul. 2*ly*. Becauſe we enjoy the Myſteries, and in them the Grace of the Spirit, σῶμα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα μυστικὸν οὐκ ἄνευθε γένοιτο ἂν τῆς πνευματικῆς χάριτος χωρὶς, for the Elements could not be made the myſtical Body and Blood of Chriſt without the Grace of the Spirit. *Where, by the way, we learn that* Chryſoſtom *did not believe that the* Sacrament *contained* Chriſt's natural Body, *but only his* myſtical *Body, which Phraſe is often uſed by the* Fathers, *with Relation to* Chriſt's Word, his Church, his Sacrament, *but never is applied to his* natural Body: *We alſo learn that* Chryſoſtom *knew nothing of the* miraculous *Converſion of the Bread into* Chriſt's *Body natural*; *for ſhould a* Romaniſt *go about to prove that* Miracles *were not ceaſed, from the Conſideration of what was done in the* Sacrament, *would he not urge*, *That* the Bread was miraculouſly converted into Chriſt's Body, *that* the Figure and Colour of the Elements did ſubſiſt without a Subject, *that* Chriſt's whole natural Body was in leſs Space than the ſmalleſt Crumb of Bread; *yea, that* being only one, it was entirely in many Thouſand Places at one and the ſame time: *Seeing then* Chryſoſtom, *upon the like Occaſion, gives not the leaſt hint of any thing of*

P. 713.

this kind, but only ſaith that the Bread and Wine are not made Chriſt's myſtical Body and Blood without the Grace of the Spirit; *adding immediately, for his laſt Inſtance of this Kind, That* Prieſts are not made Prieſts by Ordination ἄνευ ἐκείνης ἐπιφοιτήσεως, without the ſame Advent of the Holy Spirit upon them, *is it not reaſonable to conceive, that he knew and believed nothing of thoſe great and many* Miracles, *which are now thought to be performed in Celebration of the* Maſs? Pope Gregory *gives for the Subſtance, the ſame Anſwer to this Objection or Enquiry: For deſcanting on thoſe Words,* These Signs ſhall follow them that believe, *&c. He ſaith, Nunquid nam Fratres mei, quia iſta ſigna non facitis, minime creditis,* What my Brethren, will you not believe becauſe you do not do now thoſe Signs? But theſe were neceſſary in the beginning of the Church, for the encreaſe of Faith, but now that it is planted and rooted, they are not ſo; whence St. *Paul* ſaith, Signs are not for the Faithful, but the Unbeliever. *Moreover the* Holy Church *doth that now* ſpiritually *which the* Apoſtles *did then* corporally; *for* her Prieſts by Exorciſm caſt evil Spirits out of the Minds of Men: When the Faithful chant the Holy Myſteries, and ſing forth the Praiſes and the Power of God with all their Strength, what do they do, but ſpeak with new Tongues? Whilſt they ſtrengthen the Infirm in Spirit, and hold up them that ſtumble, what do they but lay their Hands upon the Sick that they may be healed? *Hæc itaque ſigna, Fratres Chariſſimi, Auctore Deo, ſi vultis vos facitis*; These Signs, dear Brethren, you may do, if you pleaſe, by God's help. *And this is all that they return to this Enquiry and Objection, which makes it reaſonable to conceive they were ſo far from thinking Miracles a neceſſary Mark and Concomitant of the true* Church,

Hom. 39 *in Evang. Ed. Par.* 1523. *f.* 320. *b.*

Church, *that they knew of none performed by her, beſides the ſpiritual Operations on the Soul of Men, or if they did, betrayed the* Churches *Cauſe by being ſo profoundly ſilent upon this Occaſion, and flying, as their only Refuge, to thoſe* intellectual Operations, *which doubtleſs were not the Signs and* Miracles *enquired after.*

Thirdly, Chryſoſtom *adds that Miracles were profitably done then, and now* χρησίμως δὲ γίνεται, they are as profitably not done, *for then the* Apoſtles *were* ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγον ποιούμενοι, laying the firſt Foundations of Chriſtianity, *and ſo they needed Miracles to prove what they pretended to receive from God; but* as for us now, ἃ τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ἐπεισφέρομεν ἀλλὰ ἃ παρ' ἐκείνων ἐλάβομεν ταῦτα εἰς ἅπαντας λέγομεν, We introduce nothing of our ſelves, but only ſpeak thoſe things which we received from them, and we go not about to perſwade Men by our own Reaſonings, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τότε σημείων τὴν πίστιν ὧν λέγομεν παρεχόμεθα, but from the Holy Scriptures, and afford Men aſſurance of the things that we ſay, from the Miracles that were then done by thoſe who did indite the Scriptures, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, and for this Cauſe Miracles are not now done. *Now this is the very Anſwer of the* Proteſtants, *when, by the* Romaniſts, *they are called upon to ſhew their Miracles, and it ſtrikes Confuſion upon this Pretence of that* Church, *accuſing them of* new Doctrines, *if they have any which are now to be confirmed by* Miracles. *Hom.6. in 1. ad Cor. p.276.*

2ly. *The* Fathers *add that Miracles having thus ceaſed, the* Devil *was to ſet up by them to draw Men off from the true Faith to Infidelity, or to corrupt that Truth God had already ſtabliſhed by ſufficient Miracles. Thus* Origen *declareth of the Man of Sin, That he was to appear for the Deception of thoſe that ſhould periſh,* with all Power, Signs and lying Wonders, and all deceivableneſs of *Hom. in Matth. ad Huet. p.265. 266.*

of Unrighteouſneſs, μιμέμενοι πάντα τέρατα τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, immitating all the Miracles done for the confirmation of the Truth. *The Author of the* imperfect Commentary *on St.* Matthew, *ſaith, That* at the beginning of Chriſtianity true Prophets were known from falſe by this, That the Signs done by the Firſt were profitable, thoſe done by the other were unprofitable; but ſeeing now the time will come, *ut etiam ex parte bona faciendorum Signorum Diabolo detur poteſtas*, That the Power of working good Signs ſhall be given to the Devil, we muſt enquire whether the Sign be neceſſary, or unneceſſary, as to the time; for if Chriſt did his Miracles, *propter confirmationem infidelium*, for Confirmation of Unbelievers, *manifeſtum eſt quia modo, cum nullus ſit infidelis, faciendorum miraculorum neceſſitas non eſt*, it is manifeſt that, now that there is no Unbeliever amongſt us, there is no Neceſſity of doing Miracles. *And again*, Formerly, *ſaith he*, Chriſtians did Miracles full, not of Admiration only, but Advantage; and by theſe true Chriſtians were known from falſe; *nunc autem ſignorum operatio omnino levata eſt, magis autem & apud eos invenitur qui falſi ſunt Chriſtiani, fieri ficta*, But now the working of Miracles is wholly miniſhed, and the doing of feigned ones is chiefly found amongſt falſe Chriſtians; as St. *Peter* in *Clement* ſaith, *Antichriſto enim plena ſignorum faciendorum eſt danda poteſtas*, for the full Power of doing Miracles is to be given to Antichriſt. *And a third time upon thoſe Words*, Falſe Chriſts and Prophets ſhall ariſe, and work great Signs, *he Comments thus*, They ſhall work not vain and unprofitable Signs, as the Miniſters of Satan were wont to do, but great, full and profitable Signs, *quæ ſancti facere ſolent*, which the Saints uſed to do; for whilſt, *ſaith he*,

Hom. 19 *p.* 75.

Hom. 49 *p.* 173.

F. 178.

he, there was a calling Men from Infidelity to Faith, the Servants of Christ did Miracles because these Testimonies were a sign of their divine Vocation, that the Truth of their Doctrine might be commended by Miracles; but this Calling ceasing, the Seduction calling Men back from Faith to Infidelity, will begin; and then, *saith he*, *tradenda sunt Seductionis adjutoria Diabolo, id est, potestas faciendorum signorum*, the Instruments of Seduction, that is, the Power of working Signs, is to be given up to the Devil, that by Signs and Prodigies he may commend his Lyes for Truth. And therefore now we must not take notice of Mens Miracles, but their Fruits, a good Conversation, and a true Confession, and enquire *si confessio ejus conveniat cum Scripturis*, if his Confession agree with the Scriptures; for if so, he is a good Christian, otherwise he is a false one. *And in like manner* Theodoret *instructs us*, Not to regard the Miracles of Men, when they teach τὰ ἐναντία τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, things contrary to Godliness: *And St.* Austin *frequently appeals from them to the* Scripture *for finding out the true* Church, *saying*, These Wonders do not manifest the Church is Catholick wherein they are performed, but the Holy Scriptures; *let then the* Donatists *shew* us their Scriptures, for these are the Strength and Firmness of our Cause.

Hom. 19. *p.* 74, 77.

In Deut. q. 12. Quæcunque talia fiunt, ideo sunt approbanda quia in Catholica fiunt, non ideo ipsa manifestatur Catholica quia hæc in ea fiunt? *de. Unit. Eccl. c.* 16.

3ly. *They teach that therefore God had forewarned us not to regard, and not to be deceived by them, or to look upon them as sufficient to establish any new Doctrine*: *For, saith St.* Austin, if some Miracles be wrought by Hereticks, *magis cavere debemus*, we ought to be the more cautious, because our Lord Christ having said, that there should come Deceivers who should work such Miracles as to deceive, if it were possible, the very Elect, he adds, by way of vehement Commendation, this,

Lib. de Unit. Eccl. c. 16.

this, Behold I have foretold you, whence the Apoſtle admoniſhing us ſaith, now the Spirit manifeſtly teacheth, that in the later times ſome ſhall depart from the Faith, giving heed to ſeducing Spirits, *& doctrinis Dæmoniorum*, and to Doctrines of Dæmons. *The ſame St.* Auſtin *in his Thirteenth Treatiſe upon the* Goſpel *of St.* John, *brings in the* Donatiſts *objecting thus*, *Pontius* wrought a Miracle, *Donatus* prayed, and God anſwered him from Heaven: *And his Reply to it is this*, *Contra iſtos, ut ſic loquar, mirabilarios cautum me fecit Deus meus*, My God hath cautioned me againſt thoſe Miracle-Mongers, by ſaying in the later times falſe Prophets ſhall ariſe, doing Signs and Wonders.——Behold I have foretold you, therefore our Bridegroom hath warned us, *quia & Miraculis decipi non debemus*, that we ought not to be deceived by Miracles. *And in his Second Book on* the Sermon of our Lord upon the Mount, *he ſaith*, Our Lord hath admoniſhed us not to be deceived with ſuch things; conceiving the inviſible Wiſdom to be there, where we ſee a viſible Miracle; ſaying, many ſhall ſay in that Day, Lord, have we not in thy Name caſt out Devils, and done many wondrous Works: Let ſuch a one read what the Magicians of *Ægypt* did againſt *Moſes*, or what our Lord ſaith of the falſe Prophets; If any one ſhall ſay unto you, here is Chriſt, believe him not; for many falſe Chriſts and falſe Prophets ſhall ariſe, and do mighty Signs.

To. 9. *p.* 122.

To. 4. *p.* 1172, 1173.

And yet that Miracles *pretended to be done after theſe times, are urged to countenance, and have been uſed to introduce and promote* Romiſh *Doctrines and Practices, is evident from* Hiſtory, *and the Confeſſions of the* Romiſh Doctors: *That as* Lyranus *ſaith*, *In Eccleſia aliquando ſit deceptio populi in Miraculis factis a Sacerdotibus*,

Com. in Dan. 14.

The

The Prieſts of that Church ſometimes deceived the People with Miracles, done by them for temporal Advantage. *That according to the Paſſage cited by the Lord* Faulkland *from* Eraſmus, *or Sr.* Thomas Moor, many Opinions have been brought into the World by Men cunning to promote their Profit by the means of feigned Miracles, *I have already proved from the Teſtimonies of* Romiſh *Writers: That by ſuch* Miracles *they do endeavour to confirm their Doctrines, we need no other Witneſs than their* Bellarmine, *who proves* Purgatory from the Apparition of Souls, declaring they were in that Place: *That* Saints *are to be invoked, and* Images *to be* worſhipped, from the Miracles performed upon the Invocation *of the Firſt, and* the Worſhip *of the Second: The* corporeal Preſence *of our* Lord *in the* Sacrament, *and the* jus divinum *of* Auricular Confeſſion, *from the ſame* Topick.

Non obſcurum eſt quot opiniones invectæ ſunt in Orbem per homines ad ſuum quæſtum callidos confictorum miraculorum præſidio. *p.* 188. *Cap.* 11. §. 11. *De purg. l.* 1. *c.* 11. *quarta Ratio.* *De Sanctorum Beat. l.* 1. *c.* 19. *accedant l.* 2. *c.* 12. *Argument. quartum.* *De Sacr. Euch. l.* 3. *c.* 8. *poſtremum de pœnit. l.* 3. *c.* 12. *quarta Ratio.*

And yet ſome of their Writers *have ſeen juſt Reaſon to confeſs, that ſome of the* Miracles *produced to confirm theſe Articles, were either humane or* diabolical *Impoſtures. Thus* Alexander *of* Hales *ſaith, That* Fleſh appeared in the Sacrament, *interdum humana procuratione, interdum operatione Diabolica,* ſometimes by humane Procurement, and ſometimes by Procurement of the Devil. *And* Gabriel Biel *doth acknowledge that* Miracles are done to Men who run to Images, ſometimes by the Operation of Devils, to deceive thoſe inordinate Worſhippers, God permitting it, and their Infidelity exacting it. *And the ſame Verdict, may, with great Reaſon, be paſſed upon all the reſt, they appearing in the World, not only after that time when the* Fathers *tell us* Miracles *were ceaſed, or not to be regarded, and when they ſaid* the Power of working Miracles was to be given up to Satan, *but alſo after that the* Goths, *the*

In ſum. part. 4. *qu.* 11. *Art.* 4. §. 3.

In Can. Miſſ. lect. 49. *f.* 127. *b.*

Vandals, Longobards, Franks *and* Saxons, *and other* barbarous *Nations had over-run the* Weſt, *and brought in a Deluge of moſt horrid Ignorance, this dark and dubious Conjuncture was the very Seaſon when theſe* Romiſh Miracles *began to ſwarm and fly abroad: Then do we hear from* Pope Gregory, Gregory. *of* Tours, Bede, *and others, of the Apparitions of ſad Souls, to acquaint others with their ſad Condition underneath, craving for Help from the Prayers,* Pilgrimages *and* Maſſes *of the Living; a Charity which neither* Moſes *nor the* Prophets, Jeſus Chriſt, *or his* Apoſtles *ever thought fit to mention or preſcribe: Then do we hear from the* Second Nicene Council, *from* Gregory *of* Tours, *and other later Writers, of* Images *bleeding, ſmiling, or mourning, as Occaſion required: Then do we read in* Paulus Diaconus, Paſchaſius, *and other Patrons of* Tranſubſtantiation, *of Fleſh and Blood, and of a* little Child, *appearing in the conſecrated Elements.*

Now had ſuch Miracles been truly wrought by divine Power and Aſſiſtance, upon theſe Occaſions, they would have more eſpecially been then performed, when the Gift of Miracles *continued in the* Church, *and was confeſſedly common among* Chriſtians, *and done for Confirmation of the Faith, and for Conviction of the Unbeliever, they being then more neceſſary for thoſe great Ends for which they were at firſt deſigned; nor would the* Writers *of the firſt Four* Ages *have been leſs careful to mention, and appeal unto them, than are the* Romaniſts *at preſent, whoſe* Hiſtories *are ſtuffed up with them; eſpecially they would have mentioned them in thoſe Diſcourſes and* Apologies, *which were deſign'd on purpoſe to confirm the* Chriſtian *Faith from the* miraculous *Operations done by* Chriſtians, *they being not leſs zealous to promote the Glory of their* Lord, *the Intereſts of* Chriſtianity, *the*

Credit

Credit of their Inſtitutions, *and the true Honour of their Saints, than* Romiſh Prieſts: *Whereas, from the beginning of* Chriſtianity *to the Days of* Conſtantine, *we do not find in all the* genuine Records *of* Antiquity, *one tittle of this Nature. They are indeed very copious in relating the miraculous Cures and Operations then performed* (a) by Impoſition of Hands, (b) by anointing of the Sick with Oil, (c) by Prayer and invocation of the Name of Jeſus, (d) by adjuration of evil Spirits by his Name; *but of* miraculous *Apparitions of Souls from* Purgatory, *of Fleſh and Blood appearing viſibly in the* Euchariſt, *of* Miracles *performed at the Adoration of* Images, *or at* auricular Confeſſion, *they ſpeak not one Word, theſe being* Miracles *deſigned for other Ends, and reſerved for times more worthy of them.*

(a) *Clem. Recogn. l.* 5. §. 36. *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l.* 1. *c.* 13 *p.* 34. *Iren. l.* 2 *c.* 57.
(b) *Tertull. ad Scap. c.* 4.
(c) *Juſt. M. Apol.* 1. *p.* 45. *Dial.* 247. *Iren. l.* 2. *c.* 56, 57. *Orig. in Celſ. l.* 1. *p.* 7, 20.
(d) *Juſt. M. Dial. p.* 302. *Orig. l.* 7. *p.* 334. *Lact. l.* 4. *c.* 27.

§. 9. Thirdly, *Errors in Doctrine, or in Practice, might exceedingly prevail by reaſon of the great* Authority, *the Vogue and Reputation of thoſe Men, who either firſt began, or elſe gave Countenance to them, when begun by others: St.* Paul *well underſtood what an Inlet to* Schiſms, Contentions *and* Diviſions *it would be, for Men to cry up* Paul, Apollo, Cephas, *and to be* puffed up for one againſt another, *and therefore he endeavours to prevent that Evil in the* Church *of* Corinth; *and in moſt of his* Epiſtles *he is conſtrained to* magnify his Office, *and to* commend himſelf *in oppoſition to thoſe falſe* Apoſtles, *and deceitful Workers, who made it their Buſineſs to depreſs his* Authority, *and to procure Credit and Admiration to themſelves: It was the great Opinion which the* Jews *had, both of the* Scribes *and* Phariſees, *which cauſed them ſo readily to embrace, and ſuperſtitiouſly to Reverence, and*

1 *Cor.* i. 12. iv. 6.

2 *Cor. c.* 10, 11, 12.

ſtiffly to retain thoſe Superſtitions *and* Traditions *by which they render'd vain God's Worſhip, and made* void his Law. *They, ſaith* Joſephus, *had the popular Applauſe, as being* τοῖς δήμοις πιθανότατοι, moſt worthy of Credit in the Peoples Judgment, *and the beſt* Interpreters *of their* Laws. *And we at preſent ſee how great a Grief it is to ſome, that our* Miniſters *are in the beſt Sence* popular, *by living ſo as to deſerve the good Opinion, and preaching ſo as to deſerve Attention from the People, and gaining Reputation to their Doctrine by their Sincerity, as well as Learning; or in St.* Paul's *Expreſſion, by* commending themſelves *and their Doctrine* to the Conſciences of all Men. *To ſhew the Prevalence of Men of Reputation in Matters of this Nature: If, as the* Romaniſts *do generally confeſs, the Doctrine of the* Millennium *obtained almoſt generally in the* Church *from the Relation of one* Papias, *a Man of very ſlender Intellectuals: If, as* Euſebius *informs us* πλείσοι τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, moſt of the Churchmen embraced that *Sentiment by his* Authority, pleading τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τοῦ ἀνδρός, the great Antiquity of the Man: *If one* Agrippinus, *as they alſo tell us, could prevail over all* Africa *to receive* Hereticks *by Baptiſm: If* Origen *could deſerve to be condemned in the Fifth and the Sixth* Synods, *as an* Heretick, *and yet, whilſt he lived, could by his Learning and his Piety prevail to be had* ſummo in honore, in the higheſt Reputation, *to obtain after his Death* μέγα κλέος καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης, great Glory throughout all the Chriſtian World, *inſomuch that* he was very grateful, *cunctis prudentibus*, to all wiſe Men; *and did for many Years obtain the Title of Magiſter Eccleſiæ*, The Maſter or Teacher of the Church: *If the Authority of* Jerom *could prevail to have his Tranſlation of the* Old Teſtament *received againſt the Judgment of the* Univerſal Church: *If one*

Vide Cap. 11. §. 7.

Mr. *Wake's* Second Def *Part* 1. *p.* 81.

Eccl. Hiſt. l. 3. *c.* 39.

Hieron. in Verbo Origenes. Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. *c.* 26. *Hieron. Prolog. in l.* 2. *com. in Micham. Pamphil. Apol. Orig. præfat. in libr. nom. Hebr. T.* 3. *f.* 12.

St.

St. Auſtin *could introduce into the* Church *the Belief of the Aſcenſion of the* Bleſſed Virgin, *though none of the* Fathers, *who had as good Opportunity to know, and as much Reaſon to believe it, ſpake one Tittle of it: I ſay, if all theſe things are ſo, how can it be conceived a thing incredible, That* Popes, Patriarchs *and* Councils, *and other Perſons of great* Authority *and Vogue in their reſpective Ages, ſhould have had like Influence to introduce new Doctrines and Practices into the* Church, *under pretence of Piety, or the Authority of* Scriptures, *or the Holy* Fathers, *or ſome like plauſible Account. Why might not* Petrus Gnaphæus, Patriarch *of* Antioch, *bring Invocation of* Saints *into the Prayers of the* Church *in the Fifth* Century; Pope Gregory *introduce* Purgatory *in the Sixth*; Boniface *the Third, obtain from* Phocas *the Title of, Caput omnium Eccleſiarum,* The Head of the Univerſal Church, *in the Seventh*; *The Second* Nicene Council *introduce Image-Worſhip in the Eighth*; Paſchaſius *give Riſe to* Tranſubſtantiation *in the Ninth*; Lombard, *and* Hugo de Sto Victore *fix the Number of Seven* Sacraments *in the Twelfth*; *And* Pope Hadrian *the Third, introduce the* Adoration *of the* Hoſt *in the Thirteenth* Century.

Theodor. Lector. l. 2. p. 566. Niceph. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 15. c. 13.

Paulus Diac. de Geſt. Longobard. l. 4. c. 11.

Again, If one Paphnutius *could by his Reaſon and* Authority, *prevail with the Firſt* Nicene Council *to reſcind their intended Decree touching the* Celibacy *of* Prieſts; *If* Nectarius, Biſhop *of* Conſtantinople, *could aboliſh the Cuſtom of repairing to an eſtabliſhed* Penitentiary *for the diſcloſing* ſecret Sins, *and that with the enſuing Approbation of almoſt all the* Catholick Biſhops *of the* Church: *In a Word, if ſo many Practices and Cuſtoms, relating to the Diſcipline, and to the* Sacraments *of the* Church, *could be entirely altered and rejected in the following Ages, as is here partly proved, and by the Learned*

Πείθει τὰς ὁ τῶν ἱερωμένων σύλλογος τοῖς Παφνουτίου λόγοις. *Socr. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 12. Soz. H. Eccl. l. 1. c. 23.*

Learned on both ſides confeſſed, why might not other Practices and Doctrines, which obtained in the more pure and early Ages of the Church, *run the ſame Fate, and by the ſame Authority and Methods be diſcarded? For, as it is judiciouſly obſerved by the Lord* Faulkland, *when the Reaſons offered for or againſt a Practice, have in them ſome Appearance of Truth or Probability, as they may have to many Perſons, though they be not valid, when the Perſons Authorizing or Approving them are of great Authority or Credit in the* Church, *as they may be, eſpecially in darker Ages, and yet be ſubject to great Errors; and when the People, upon whom theſe Doctrines or Practices are preſſed, have either a great Veneration and Eſteem for thoſe that preſs them, or a great Dread of them, then meet together moſt of thoſe things which tend to work Perſwaſion, or prevail for an Aſſent unto the Doctrine, and a Compliance with the Practice recommended. Seeing then, as* Petrus de Marca *doth inform us, the Approbation of the half Communion by* Thomas Aquinas, *made others, certatim, amplecti hanc ſententiam,* to embrace greedily the ſame Opinion, *why might not others of as good* Authority *and Credit be inſtrumental to produce like Changes in other Conſtitutions of the* Church?

Not. in Concil. Clar. Can. 28. conc. To. 10. p. 582.

§. 10. Fourthly, *Old Doctrines and Practices might eaſily be changed, and new obtain, by reaſon of the corrupt Manners of the* Clergy, *and by their Example, of the People: And that,*

1. *Becauſe ſuch evil Practices deprive the* Clergy *of that Spiritual Wiſdom and Divine Aſſiſtance, which is their beſt Conducter into the Way of Truth, and is their chief Preſervative from dangerous Deluſions and pernicious Errors. For as the Book of* Wiſdom *ſaith,* Into a malicious Soul Wiſdom will not enter, nor dwell in the Body

Wiſd. 1. 4.

Body that is ſubject unto Sin. *St.* Baſil *grievouſly laments the Diſcords and Contentions, the perverſe Doctrines and Opinions which had prevailed in his time amongſt* τὲς πρεσβῦτας, the Rulers of the Church of God, by which they verified the Prediction of St. *Paul*, That from Chriſtians themſelves ſhould proceed Men ſpeaking perverſe things to draw away Diſciples after them. *And this he doth reſolve into their* Rejection of God, their true and only King; their Departure from the Laws of Chriſt, and chuſing rather to rule others, in contradiction to the Commands of Chriſt, than to be ruled by him: By which things, *ſaith he*, they have render'd themſelves ἀναξίες τ῀ Κυρίυ βασιλείας, unworthy of the Government of the Lord. Clemangis *is ſtill more expreſs and Argumentative in this Particular, For* with them, *ſaith he*, is the Spirit; thoſe he directs and brings to a ſalutary End, who have prepared for him, within themſelves, an Habitation worthy of him; and by good Works have render'd themſelves worthy of his Inſpiration and Viſitation; but how can he hear, viſit and enlighten them who are Adverſaries to him, and when they cannot do it in themſelves endeavour to extinguiſh him in others, and are inflamed, not with the Fire of Love, but with the Ardor of Ambition? For with Hypocrites and ſelf-Seekers the Holy Spirit is not wont to be preſent, but to fly from them as his Enemies, according to that ſaying of the Book of Wiſdom, the Holy Spirit of Diſcipline will flee Deceit, and from Thoughts that are without Underſtanding, and will not abide when Unrighteouſneſs cometh in. Now, *ſaith he*, if according to the Teſtimony of the Lord, the Holy Spirit reſts only upon the Humble and the Meek, the Man who trembles at God's Word, *Et ſecundum mores hodiernos pauci admodum tales veriſimiliter*

De Judicio dei To. 2. *p.* 393.

Acts 20. 30.

P. 394.

Super Materia Conc. Gen. p. 71.

Wiſd. 1. 5.

P. 72.

liter in conciliis ſunt, and according to the Manners of our Times, 'tis very likely that few ſuch are in our Councils; but of carnal, worldly, ambitious and contentious Men, and of Men having that Knowledge which puffeth up, *turba ſolet adeſſe copioſa*, the Number uſually is very great; what neceſſity is there to believe that the Holy Spirit doth prevail in thoſe Councils, and move the Minds of them who always do reſiſt, and do oppoſe his Motions to thoſe things which are
P. 73. moſt ſound and ſalutary? If it be not from humane Infirmity, but from the Guidance of the Holy Spirit, that Councils cannot be deceived, who can be ſure this Holy Spirit will be preſent with the major part of an Aſſembly of ſuch Men, they being, though in Profeſſion Chriſtians, ye in reallity Men of the World,
Joh. 14. 17. who, *ſaith St.* John, *cannot receive the Spirit of Truth.*

2ly. *Becauſe ſuch corrupt Manners do provoke God in his righteous Judgment to give Men up to ſtrong Deluſions, and to permit the great* Deceiver *to prevail upon them, according to that Expreſſion of St.* Paul, *That* evil Men and Seducers will grow worſe and worſe, deceiving and being deceived: *Thus of the Times of* Anti-
2 Tim. 3. 13. 2 Theſſ. 2. 9, 10. chriſt *he hath foretold, That* becauſe Men received not the Truth in the Love of it, therefore God ſhould ſend among them ſtrong Deluſions, that they ſhould believe a Lye. *And this Account St.* Baſil *alſo gives of the forementioned Miſcarriages of the* Church Governors *of*
Ibid. p. 394. *his Time, viz. That they befel them becauſe* being corrupt and abominable in their doings, they had deſerved the Puniſhment which the Apoſtle ſpeaks of, ſaying, becauſe they liked not to retain God in their Knowledge, therefore he gave them up to a reprobate Sence, and which our Lord inflicted on the wicked Jews,

Jews, to whom he therefore ſpake in Parables, ἵνα μὴ νοήσωσι τὰ θεῖα τῦ εὐαγγελίυ μυςήρια, that they might not perceive the Divine Myſteries of the Goſpel, becauſe they firſt had ſhut their Eyes, made their Ears heavy, and their fooliſh Heart was waxed groſs; that is; ἵνα ἔχωσιν ἀντὶ τιμωρίας ὑποπίπτειν τῇ τῶν μείζονα ἀβλεψίαν, That by way of Puniſhment they might be ſubject unto Blindneſs in greater Matters. Clemangis *in this alſo follows the Sentiments of St.* Baſil, *For after he had abundantly declared the great Corruptions of their Manners who uſually then met in Councils, he puts this Queſtion, Quis certo poſſit ſcire an major pars concilij ſit digna decipi?* who therefore can know ſurely whether the major Part of a Council be not worthy to be deceived? *Ibid. p. 73.*

3ly. *Mens evil Lives, had they no other* Tempter, *do naturally incline them to caſt off thoſe Principles and Practices which contradict, and do condemn their Actions, and hinder their Purſuit and free Enjoyment of their ſenſual Appetites; this they muſt be enclined to do, partly to free themſelves from the continual Gripings of an evil and condemning Conſcience; For, as* Theodoret *obſerves,* They who have put away the upright Conſcience, do afterwards caſt off the Faith, τῇ συνειδότι τὴν κατηγορίαν μὴ φέροντες, becauſe they cannot bear the Accuſations of a guilty Conſcience: *And partly, that they may exert more freely that natural Oppoſition that is in them to that Law of Holineſs and Light, by which their Actions are reproved, according to that ſaying of our* Lord, Every one that doth Evil hateth the Light, neither cometh he unto the Light, leaſt his Deeds ſhould be reproved: *'Tis this Corruption of Manners which ſeemeth to have turned all the Severities of* ancient Penance, *and all the wholeſom Methods of* Church *Diſcipline into Formalities and Superſtition; into fruitleſs* Pilgrimages, *the going* *John 3. 20.*

liter in conciliis ſunt, and according to the Manners of our Times, 'tis very likely that few ſuch are in our Councils; but of carnal, worldly, ambitious and contentious Men, and of Men having that Knowledge which puffeth up, *turba ſolet adeſſe copioſa*, the Number uſually is very great; what neceſſity is there to believe that the Holy Spirit doth prevail in thoſe Councils, and move the Minds of them who always do reſiſt, and do oppoſe his Motions to thoſe things which are
P. 73. moſt ſound and ſalutary? If it be not from humane Infirmity, but from the Guidance of the Holy Spirit, that Councils cannot be deceived, who can be ſure this Holy Spirit will be preſent with the major part of an Aſſembly of ſuch Men, they being, though in Profeſſion Chriſtians, ye in reallity Men of the World,
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2 Tim. 3. 13. 2 Theſſ. 2. 9, 10. chriſt *he hath foretold, That* becauſe Men received not the Truth in the Love of it, therefore God ſhould ſend among them ſtrong Deluſions, that they ſhould believe a Lye. *And this Account St.* Baſil *alſo gives of the forementioned Miſcarriages of the* Church Governors *of*
Ibid. p. 394. *his Time, viz. That they befel them becauſe* being corrupt and abominable in their doings, they had deſerved the Puniſhment which the Apoſtle ſpeaks of, ſaying, becauſe they liked not to retain God in their Knowledge, therefore he gave them up to a reprobate Sence, and which our Lord inflicted on the wicked Jews,

Jews, to whom he therefore ſpake in Parables, ἵνα μὴ νοήσωσι τὰ θεῖα τῦ εὐαγγελίυ μυςήρια, that they might not perceive the Divine Myſteries of the Goſpel, becauſe they firſt had ſhut their Eyes, made their Ears heavy, and their fooliſh Heart was waxed groſs; that is; ἵνα ἔχωσιν ἀντὶ τιμωρίας ὑποπίπτειν τῇ περὶ τὰ μείζονα ἀβλεψίαν, That by way of Puniſhment they might be ſubject unto Blindneſs in greater Matters. Clemangis *in this alſo follows the Sentiments of St.* Baſil, *For after he had abundantly declared the great Corruptions of their Manners who uſually then met in Councils, he puts this Queſtion, Quis certo poſſit ſcire an major pars concilij ſit digna decipi?* who therefore can know ſurely whether the major Part of a Council be not worthy to be deceived? *Ibid.* p. 73.

3ly. *Mens evil Lives, had they no other* Tempter, *do naturally incline them to caſt off thoſe Principles and Practices which contradict, and do condemn their Actions, and hinder their Purſuit and free Enjoyment of their ſenſual Appetites; this they muſt be enclined to do, partly to free themſelves from the continual Gripings of an evil and condemning Conſcience; For, as* Theodoret *obſerves,* They who have put away the upright Conſcience, do afterwards caſt off the Faith, τὴν συνειδότος κατηγορίαν μὴ φέροντες, becauſe they cannot bear the Accuſations of a guilty Conſcience: *And partly, that they may exert more freely that natural Oppoſition that is in them to that Law of Holineſs and Light, by which their Actions are reproved, according to that ſaying of our* Lord, Every one that doth Evil hateth the Light, neither cometh he unto the Light, leaſt his Deeds ſhould be reproved: *'Tis this Corruption of Manners which ſeemeth to have turned all the Severities of* ancient Penance, *and all the wholeſom Methods of* Church *Diſcipline into Formalities and Superſtition; into fruitleſs* Pilgrimages, *the going* John 3. 20.

barefoot, the carrying wax Tapers, *the mumbling over a few* Pater Noſter's, Ave Maria's, *or* penitential Pſalms, *which either the* penitent *doth not, or at the leaſt, is not obliged to attend to, and which have very little Tendency to the Converſion and Reformation of a Sinner, but rather do encourage him to ſin at ſuch an eaſy rate.*

Attritio ex turpitudinis peccati Conſideratione, vel ex Gehennæ & pœnarum metu communiter concipitur. *Concil. Trid. Seſſ.* 14. *c.* 4. Et eum ad gratiam dei in Sacramento pœnitentiæ impetrandam diſponit. *Ibid. vid. Catechiſm. Rom. Part.* 2. *c.* 5. §. 37, 38.

'Tis this hath introduced ſo many eaſy Ways of Pardon and Juſtification, without the bringing forth Fruits meet for Repentance, and taught even Councils *to determine that* Attrition, *or* Sorrow out of apprehenſion of the Foulneſs of Sin, or the fear of Puniſhment, will diſpoſe Men to obtain the Favour of God in the Sacrament of Penance: *So that if the vileſt Wretch, when going out of that World, in which he hath lived moſt lewdly all his Life, be afraid of Puniſhment for his Enormities, or apprehenſive of the Foulneſs of them, as the more wicked he hath been the likelier he is, and the greater Reaſon he ſtill hath to be; provided he be abſolved by a* Prieſt, *he muſt go out of the World in the Favour of God, and in a juſtified Eſtate. And if ſo, what neceſſity is there of adding to our Faith Vertue, and of patient Continuance in well doing, that we may ſeek for Honour and Immortality, or of following after Holineſs and Purity of Life, that we may ſee God?*

Moreover Men by their wicked Converſations will be diſpoſed to introduce, and cheriſh ſuch Doctrines as beſt comply with their impure Inclinations, that they may have the greater Freedom in the Purſuit of their Ambition, Covetouſneſs, and all their other ſenſual Appetites, and may the better gratify thoſe Inclinations: And here we have a wide Door open, at which the Innovations of the Church *of* Rome *might enter, ſeeing moſt of them have a apparent Tendance to the gratification of Pride, and love of Empire, of Covetouſneſs and Ambition, of Eaſe*

and

and Freedom from reſtraint in the Eccleſiaſticks *and* Church Governors, *and give them Opportunity to* Lord *it over Mens Conſciences, to engroſs the Wealth and the Conveniences of the World, to live at eaſe, and to be uncontroulable by any but themſelves. For do not the Doctrines of* Purgatory, Pardons, *and* Indulgences, *directly tend to make them* Maſters *of Mens eternal, and by that of their temporal Eſtates? Is not the Treaſury of the* Saints, *and of our* Saviour's *Merits, a way of driving Trade for the enriching their own* Treaſuries? *Do not their* Maſſes *and Oblations of true propitiatory* Sacrifices *for the Dead, tend to engage all dying Perſons to* ſacrifice *their Eſtates unto them, and leave them lumping Summs of Money for that end? Are not their* Prieſts *well paid for ſaying private* Maſſes? *Do they not get well by the* Shrines, *the* Images, *the* Relicks *of the* Saints *they keep, and ſhew to others, and the Oblations offered by the People! And muſt not therefore all theſe Doctrines be very grateful to Men of covetous and greedy Minds? Muſt not ſuch Perſons ſtrongly be inclined to broach, abet, and to promote them?*

Do not the Doctrines of the Pope's Supremacy, *of the* Prieſt's Power to make his God, *of the* neceſſity of Prieſtly Abſolution, *and* Confeſſion *to him, and of* entire Obedience *due to their* Injunctions, *plainly tend to advance their Power and Reputation, and to engage all Men to have them in the greateſt* Reverence? *Do not the Doctrines of* the Neceſſity of the Prieſt's Intention to the Validity of a Sacrament, *of* auricular Confeſſion *in order to* Abſolution, *and of the Power of this Abſolution to procure Pardon for the Perſon who is only* attrite, *tend moſt apparently to make the People think that their Salvation doth entirely depend on them, and ſo create as great an Awe within them of ſuch* Prieſts, *as either the Hopes*

of their Salvation, or the fear of everlasting Misery is able to produce?

Lastly, Doth not the Doctrine of Infallibility *give them full Opportunity to lord it over all Mens Consciences and keep them in an absolute Subjection to their Wills? And can they not upon the pretence of being the sole* Judges *of the Sence of* Scripture, *and of* authentical Traditions, *obtrude upon the World whatsoever Doctrines will best suit with their Designs and Interests? And must not Men be forced to submit to their Decisions, and blindly follow their Directions, as agreeable to* Sacred Writ, *whilst it is kept with so great Care from their Perusal? He must be blind who sees not that all those Doctrines must be very acceptable to Men of Pride, and covetous Desires, and who affect Dominion and Empire over the Consciences of others. Let us see then whether from the Eighth* Century, *when the Veneration of* Images *was first established, to the Sixteen, in which the* Trent Council *confirmed all these Doctrines, we have not too much Reason to suspect the generality, or the prevailing part of their* Church Guides, *were Men strongly addicted to those corrupt Affections which render them unworthy of the Assistance of the* Holy Spirit, *worthy to be given up to Delusions, and very much disposed to broach, maintain, and to establish such Doctrines as directly tend to gratify their Ambition and their Avarice.*

Whether such Changes might not reasonably be expected in the Eighth Century, *when the* Second Nicene Council *met, seeing the* Priests *then had* laid aside all sound and wholesom Doctrine, transgressed the Commandments of the Fathers, and brought into the Church such Doctrines as were never known to Christ, or his Apostles.

Carol. Magn. Præfat. ad libr. de imag.

In the Ninth Century, *when* Paschasius *began to vent the*

the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; *ſeeing then* they buried in Contempt and Oblivion the Word of God, made the Temple a Den of Thieves, and inſtead of ſweet Melody, ſounded forth Blaſphemy againſt God himſelf; and the Captains and Rulers of the People endeavoured to preferr humane to divine things; *and* the Governours of the Church having left the way of Salvation, ran headlong, opening the Pit of Perdition to thoſe that followed them. *Paulus Diac.* *Luitpert. Arch. Mogunt. Epiſt. ad Ludov. Regem Germ.*

In the Tenth Century, *when as* Baronius *complains*, the Canons were ſilent, the Decrees of Popes ſuppreſſed, the ancient Traditions proſcribed, Luſt armed with the ſecular Power, challenged all things to it ſelf, when Chriſt was faſt aſleep in the Ship, and, which ſeemed worſe, all ſnorted with him, and there were no Diſciples to awaken their ſleepy Lord with their Cries. *Ad A. D. 912. Art. 8.*

In the Eleventh Century, *when the* Councils *held at* Rome, Varſeilles, *and* Tours, *condemned* Berengarius, *and decreed for the* corporeal Preſence of our Lord's Body in the Sacrament; This being, *ſaith* Baronius, ſtyled that Iron Age in which Iniquity abounded, and many diſcourſed, and believed that Antichriſt was come, and the Corruption of Manners, which then was very great, eſpecially among the Eccleſiaſticks, might eaſily perſwade Men that it would be ſo. When, *ſaith the ſame* Baronius, unhappy Brambles, Thorns, and Nettles, which grew out of the Stench of the Fleſh, and the Dung of Corruption, had wonderfully filled the Field of the Church, for all Fleſh had corrupted their Ways, ſo that not only the Flood ſeemed unſufficient to waſh away this Filth, but thoſe horrid Wickedneſſes ſeem'd to call for that Fire which deſtroyed *Sodom* and *Gomorrha*, When, *ſaith* Hugo Flaviniacenſis, *Ad An.* 1001. *Art.* 1. & 7. *Ad An.* 1049. *Art.* 10.

viniacenſis, almoſt all the Clergy, rather ſought their own than the Things of Jeſus Chriſt, and choſe rather to adhere to the Diſcipleſhip of *Simon* than keep the Poverty of Chriſt, in the Unity of the Faith. When, *ſay the* Clergy *of* Liege, corrupt Manners, through Ambition and Avarice, prevailed——Religion was diſſembled, and a Shew of Piety brought in. When the Traffick of Holy Things crept in, and the Holy Philoſophy, by the ſubtile Interpretation of Sycophants, began to be corrupted, polluted, violated with humane Inventions, and old Wives Fables.

Concil. T. 10. *p.* 375.

Apol. An. 1066. *apud Morn. Myſt. iniq. pag.* 245.

In the Twelfth Century, *when firſt we hear of the fixed Number of* Seven Sacraments, *which, in another Sence, were till then* Myſteries. *Since then the* Popes, Cardinals, *and* Prelates, were all the Day intent on Evil, and ever occupied, without Satiety, in the Works of Iniquity; they made Port-ſale of things ſacred, and laboured with all their Might that they might not deſcend to Hell alone: The Clergy neglected God's Service, were Slaves to filthy Lucre, defiled their Prieſthood by Uncleanneſs, ſeduced the People by Hypocriſy, and laid Snares by all manner of ways to ruin them, *ſaith* Honorius Auguſtodunenſis, *then the Offices of* Eccleſiaſtical Dignity were turned into filthy Lucre, and a Work of Darkneſs; nor was the Welfare of Souls, but the Luxury of Riches ſought after in performance of them, and the whole Race of Chriſtians, from the leaſt to the greateſt, ſeemed to have conſpired againſt God; ſo that from the Sole of the Foot to the Crown of the Head there was no Soundneſs in them; nor could Men ſay, As is the People ſo is the Prieſt, for the People were not ſo bad as the Prieſt, *Saith St.* Bernard.

De prædeſt. & lib. Arbitr. l. 2. *verſus finem.*

Serm. 6. *in Pſ.* 90. *p.* 73. *c.*

Serm. 1. *de conv. B. Pauli. F.* 2. *d.*

In the Thirteenth Century, *when* Tranſubſtantiation

tion *was eſtabliſhed in the Fourth* Council *of* Lateran. *Since then* Simony was committed without Shame, the Churches Liberty decay'd, Charity expired, Religion was trod under Foot, and the Daughter of *Sion* was made like a brazen faced Whore, that hath no Shame, *ſaith* Matthew Paris: Then the Pride, Haughtineſs, Perfidiouſneſs, Fraud, Wickedneſs, Luxury, Avarice of the Clergy was not to be endured, they being worſe than Turks, Saracens, Tartars and Jews, and did more offend againſt Chriſtian Simplicity than they, *ſaith* Meinardus. *In Hen.* 3. *A.* 1237. *p.* 438. *Apud Aventin. l.*7. *p.*720,721.

In the Fourteenth Century, *when* Alvarus Pelagius *complained of the* Popes, That many of them came into their Sees by Simony, that they were exceedingly Covetous, that they ſavoured of the things of the Fleſh, but were very careleſs of the good of Souls. Of the Cardinals, That by their pernicious Examples they were commonly the Odor of Death unto Death, that many of them were unworthily promoted, and that they were inſatiable Thirſters after Benefices. *Of the* Biſhops, *That* they were notoriouſly guilty of Simony, Fraud, Uncleanneſs, Pride, Envy, Covetouſneſs, *That the* Prelates *of the* Church *were* an Army of Devils, Companions of Thieves, and did nothing but for Gifts and Rewards. *Of the* Prieſts, *That* they were commonly promoted by Simony, lived incontinently, and committed Fornication with the Women that came to Confeſſion. *Of the* Clergy *in general*, *That* they entered into Orders not out of Love to God, but temporal Advantage; that Drunkenneſs, Gluttony, and Incontineney, were their common Vices; that many of them were Sodomites; that they gave ill Example to the Laity, and commonly were worſe than they. *De planctu Eccl.l* 2. *c.*15. *C.* 16. *C.* 20. *C.* 5. *C.* 27. *C.* 28.

In the Fifteenth Century, *when the* Cup *was taken away*

away from the Laity *by the* Decrees *of the* Councils *of* Conſtance *and* Baſil, *and* Purgatory *was eſtabliſhed in the* Council *of* Florence. *Since then* all Eccleſiaſtical and Chriſtian Diſcipline was in a manner extinguiſhed in every Place, *ſaith the* Council of *Baſil*, Then Oppreſſion, Rapine, Adultery, and Inceſt, and all peſtilent Vices did confound all ſacred and prophane things, *ſaith* Ægidius *in the* Fifth Council *of* Lateran, *to omit the Treatiſes written in this Age by* Clemangis, of the corrupt State of the Church, *by* Gerſon of the Defect of worthy Perſons; *and by the* Cardinal *of* Cambray, of the Filthineſs of the Church of *Rome*.

Ep. Synod. de Con. Author Super Papam Bin. To. 8 p. 124. Bin. To. 9. p. 10.

In the Sixteenth Century, *in which the* Council *of* Trent *was held*, *when* amongſt the Primates of Religion there was either none, or very little Service of God, no good Life, no Shame, no Modeſty: Juſtice declined into Hatred or Favour; Piety was turned into Superſtition, and by all Orders of Men Sin was openly committed, and very often the Vertue of an honeſt Man was made his Crime, *ſaith* Picus Mirandula. When all Fleſh had corrupted their Ways, and were become Citizens, not of *Rome*, but of *Babylon*, *ſaith* Staphilæus: *When the Biſhop of* Bitonto *in the* Trent Council *crys out*, with what Monſters of Filthineſs, what Sinks of Uncleanneſs, what peſtiferous Contagion is not both Prieſt and People defiled? Begin at the Sanctuary of God, and ſee if there be any Shamefacedneſs, any Charity, any Hope or Help of honeſt Life, if there be not unbridled Luſt, notorious Boldneſs, incredible Wickedneſs, *that* the more powerful proceeded from the Worſhip of God to Impiety, from the Defence of the Church to the Exciſion of it, and fell with one Conſent from Religion to Superſtition, from Faith to Infidelity, from Chriſt to Antichriſt, from God to Epicuriſm.

Orat. ad Leon. 10. in Concil. Lat.

Orat. hab. ad Auditores Rotæ. Concil. To. 14. p. 993, 994.

I ſay,

I ſay, in Ages, and in times, in which ſuch Floods of all Impiety had overwhelmed the Clergy, *ſuch Pride, Ambition, Covetouſneſs, and Luxury reigned uncontrolledly among them; 'tis eaſy to diſcern how Practices and Doctrines, ſo well comporting with their vicious Inclinations, might eaſily be introduced by them, and difficult to believe it could be otherwiſe: For if in the* Fourth Century *ſo great Defection was cauſed by the wicked* Arians, *notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition which the vertuous and learned* Biſhops *made againſt them; if then by reaſon of the abounding of Iniquity, the Orthodox declared their Expectations,* τ παντελῆς ἀποστασίαν, of an entire Apoſtacy: *If St.* Baſil's *Complaint, That the Office of the* Biſhop *was ſunk down,* εἰς δυσήνεις ἀνθρώπους, οἰκετῶν οἰκότριβας, to miſerable Men, Servants of Servants, who reproached the Name of Biſhop, *was attended with another that concerned* τ τ πίστεως διαφθοραν, the corruption of the Faith. *If* Iſidore Peleuſiota's, *ſad and manifold Complaints of the* Tyranny, Soul-Murther, Luxury, Covetouſneſs, the Ignorance, the Enmity to Vertue, *which reigned in the* Clergy *of his Age, concludes in this, Theſe are the Men* δι' ὃς ἄνω κ κάτω γέγονε τὰ τ ἐκκλησίας πράγματα, by whom the Affairs of the Church are turned topſy turvey. *If when* Theodoret, *ſaith the* Clergy, *did* τὴν κοινὴν νοσεῖν ἀσέβειαν, labour under a general Impiety, *he alſo ſpeaks more fully of their Declenſion from the Faith, and their* eſtabliſhing a new Hereſy; *what might not be expected in theſe laſt and worſt of Ages, which were the very Sinks of Wickedneſs, the* non ultra *of Impiety? Sure if ever Religion was, or can be made to trucle unto Intereſt, and Faith to Faction, and Government to degenerate into Empire and Tyranny, it muſt be in thoſe Ages, when Men were ſo unworthy of the Aſſiſtance or Direction of*

Theodoret Ep. 63. *Epiſt.* 10.

Epiſt. l. 3. *Epiſt.* 223, 259, 408, 410.

Ep. 134, 135, 142.

the Holy Spirit, *and were ſo worthy to be given up unto the* Spirit *of Deluſion.*

Fifthly, *Theſe novel Practices and Doctrines might eaſily prevail, by reaſon of the groſs Ignorance and Negligence of* Chriſtian *Knowledge, both in the* Clergy *and the People: For who ſees not that Ignorance in the* Clergy *muſt render them unable to diſcern betwixt Truth and Falſhood; to chuſe the Good, and refuſe the Evil, and make it eaſy to impoſe upon them in thoſe Matters by any ſpecious Pretences whatſoever? Thus when the* Pro-

Eſa. 28. 7, 15. phets erred in Viſion, and ſtumbled in Judgment, *then was it that* they made Lyes their Refuge, and under Falſhood hid themſelves: *When the* Watchmen *of* Iſrael *were* all blind, and could not underſtand, *then did*

Eſa. 56. 10. 57. 3, 4 *the People become a Seed of* Adulterers, inflaming themſelves under every green Tree, with Idols. *When* the Prieſts ſaid not where is the Lord, and they that hand-

Jer. 2. 8, 13. led the Law knew him not, *then did* the People commit two Evils, forſaking the Fountain of living Waters, and hewing them out Ciſterns which can hold no Waters: *When the* Paſtors *were* become brutiſh and

Jer. 10. 21. knew not the Lord, *then was it that their* Flocks *were* ſcattered: *When the* Scribes *and* Phariſees *had got the Government of Religion, and religious things into their Hands, our* Saviour *informs us that* the

Matth. 15. 14. blind led the Blind, and both *were in the greateſt Danger of* falling down into the Ditch; *That* the Key of Knowledge *was then* taken away, *and the Peo-*

Luke 11. 52. *ple left* as Sheep without a Shepherd, *and then did*

Mark 6. 34. vain Traditions, *and corrupt Interpretations of the* Scriptures *mightily prevail.*

St.

St. Basil *in his Epistle to* Gregory *the* Divine, *tells him there was* little Help to be expected from the Pride of the Western Church, οἱ τὸ γε ἀληθὲς ὅτε ἴσασιν, ὅτε μαθεῖν ἀνέχνται, who neither knew the Truth, nor will endure to learn it, *but* being prepossessed with Lyes and false Suspicions, they do now, as they did before, in the Case of *Marcellus*, πρὸς τὸς μὴ τ ἀλήθειαν ἰσοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντας, φιλονεικήσαντες, τ δὲ αἵρησιν δι' ἑαυτῶν βεβαιώσαντες, contending with those who shew them the Truth, and stablishing Heresy by themselves: *And again*, I would write, *saith he*, αὐτῷ τῷ κορυφαίῳ, to their Head, but only enigmatically touching Ecclesiastical Affairs, ὅτι ὅτε ἴσασι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τ ἀλήθειαν, ὅτε τ ὁδὸν, δι' ἧς ἂν μάθοιεν, καταδέχνται, for they neither know the Truth of our Affairs, nor do they take the Way to learn it. *Ep.* 10. *p.* [illegible]

And agreeably to this Complaint we find the Arians *in the* Council *of* Ariminum, βεβιβλήσαντες δι' ἁπλότητα, deceiving the Western Bishops, because of their Simpleness; *and the* Historians *telling us, That* φενακισθέντες συνέγραψαν, they were bubbled by them into a Subscription. *Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. l.* 2. *c.* 16.

Sozomen *informs us of the Three hundred* Western Bishops *met at* Milan, *that they consented to the Deposition of* Athanasius, through Fear, ἢ ἀπάτῃ, ἢ ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν ὄντων, or Fraud, or Ignorance of what they were about. *Hist. Eccles. l.* 4. *c.* 9.

And in the general Theodoret *informs us that the* Arians *made it their Business*, φενακίσαι τὸς Ἑσπερίους ἁπλοῖς ἤθεσι κεχρημένους, to gull the Western Bishops by reason of their Simplicity. *Hist. Eccles. l.* 2. *c.* 15.

Again, That Ignorance in the People, renders them easy to receive any thing which is imposed upon them as Matter of Revelation or Devotion, or under the venerable Name of a Tradition of the Church, a Doctrine of the Holy Fathers, or a Definition of a Council, *will be evident, if we consider that being once*

bereft of the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Scriptures, *they have no Principle left them by which they can examine, no Judgment to diſcern the Truth, or Falſhood of any thing which comes propoſed to them under theſe ſpecious Colours, and ſo they are not qualified to judge of, or in Capacity to diſcover the Cheats thus put upon them. Accordingly we find, that in the Times of Ignorance, the People*
1 *Cor.* 12. 2. *were* carried away after dumb Idols, even as they were led, *and were cajol'd into the moſt* ſuperſtitious, *vile, unnatural and cruel Practices, under the ſemblance of paying their religious Worſhip to their* Heathen Deities.

Now of the prodigious Ignorance of thoſe Ages in which moſt of the Romiſh *Doctrines were introduced, or elſe* conciliarly *were eſtabliſhed, and ſo advanced from Opinions and Practices permitted in ſome places, to* Articles of Faith *and* Rules of Manners, *we cannot reaſonably doubt, when we find the* Second Nicene Council *making a* Canon, *That he who was* promoted to a Biſhoprick ſhould be well acquainted with his Pſalter, that ſo he might be able to inſtruct his Clergy in it, *and that* the Metro-
Conc. Nic. 2. *Can.* 2. politan ſhould ſtrictly examine whether he were ſufficient to read the Canons, the Goſpel, the Epiſtle, and the reſt of the Scriptures diſcreetly, and not imper-
Cent. 9. fectly; *when the Enquiry made by the* Biſhops *in their Viſitations was,*

Regino de Eccl. Diſcipl. p. 28, 29. 1. Whether the Prieſt did, *pleniter intelligere*, fully underſtand the Expoſition of the Creed and the Lords Prayer.

2. *Si bene intelligat*, Whether he well underſtood the Prayers, the Preface, and the Canon of the Maſs.

Si

Si Epiſtolam & Evangelium bene legere poſſit, Whether he could well read the Epiſtle and Goſpel: *And when* Baluzius *ſaith*, *ea erat ſæculi iſtius infelicitas, ut neceſſe erat Preſbyteros ab Epiſcopis interrogari utrum bene legere poſſent*, the Infelicity of that Age made it neceſſary for the Biſhop to ask whether the Prieſts knew how to read well; *and that this happened not only to the inferiour Clergy*, *ſed etiam in illis interdum qui ad ſummum Sacerdotium eligebantur*, but ſometimes alſo to them who were choſen to the Office of Biſhops, *as* Carolus Calvus, *and the* Biſhops *of the* Council of Valence *complain*; when good Learning periſhed almoſt throughout *Europe*, Barbarity prevailing every where, *ſaith* Balæus: *When* all the Prieſts had abandoned the Scriptures, appointed for Man's Salvation, and were blind Guides, going before the Blind to Perdition, *ſaith* Honorius Auguſtodunenſis: *When* the Biſhops, Prieſts, and Miniſters of the Church were ignorant almoſt of all things, and the *Waldenſes* carried the Vogue among the People by their Learning, and were admitted by the Prieſts to preach publickly, not that they approved their Opinions, but becauſe they were inferiour to them in Learning, *ſaith* Jacobus de Riberia: *When* he that had learned nothing became a Teacher of others, and though he were like the ſounding Braſs, and tinkling Cymbal, uſurped the Office of a Teacher, being an unprofitable Trunk, and a dumb Idol, *and* they who were ignorant of the Holy Scriptures, uſurped that Burthen of Dignity which they could not bear, *ſaith* Petrus Bleſenſis: *When* there neither appeared Piety or Learning in the Clergy, *ſaith* William, *Biſhop of* Paris: *When* the Pope appointed to almoſt all eccleſiaſtical Dignities, Men ignorant of the Holy

Not. in Regin. p. 540.

Cent. 11. p. 152.

Cent. 12.

De Prædeſt. & lib. Arbitrio l. 2.

In Collect. de Urb. Tol. *Cent.* 13.

Ep. 23.

Lib. de Collat. benefic. *Cent.* 14.

Holy Scriptures, Idiots, and Unlearned, who knew not the Language of the People over whom they preſided: *When* not one among Ten of the Biſhops, Arch-Biſhops, Patriarchs of Provinces, were ſufficiently inſtructed in Divinity, *ſaith* Marſilius *of* Padua: *When* the Church was eclipſed with the black Miſt of Ignorance: *When* the Biſhops ordained Men whom they knew to be unlearned, and unfit, and being Idiots ſuffered themſelves to be made Biſhops, *ſaith* Alvarus: *When* it often happened through the Defect, Negligence, and deceit of them, to whom, by the Biſhops, was committed the Examination of Perſons to be ordained, that Men Unlearned, and altogether Ignorant, were preſented as fit to the Biſhops, and ſo ordained by them, *ſaith the* Council *of* Toledo: *When* ſuch Men were admitted to the Prieſthood, and other Holy Orders, as were Idiots, Unlearned, and ſcarce able to read though waywardly, and without Underſtanding, not knowing when they read or prayed, whether they bleſſed God or blaſphemed him: *When* the Church was ſtock'd with ignorant and wicked Men, and no Man learned in the Scriptures was advanced to great Dignities: *When* the Pariſh-Prieſts could not read, and ſcarce knew *A* from *B*, and knew not the Words, much leſs the Things they read, *ſaith* Clemangis: *When* Biſhops of good Life and Doctrine were not choſen any where, but carnal Men, and ignorant of ſpiritual Things, *ſaith* Gerſon: *When* ignorance of Tongues, and all parts of good Language, and neglect of the Study of Scriptures, were the Vices of the Age, *ſaith* Mirandula: *When* every where there was ſo great a Neglect of the Word, as made it neceſſary that Faith ſhould Periſh, *ſaith* Eſpencæus: *When* neither Greek nor Hebrew, *the only Languages in which the*

Defenſor pacis l. 2. c 24 p. 354, 355, 356.

De planctu Eccl. l. 2. cap. 5. & 20. Cent. 15.

A. D. 1473. apud Bin. To. 8. p. 1053. cap. 3.

De corrupto ſtatu Eccl. c. 11, 12, 13, 25.

Declarat. de defect. virorum Eccleſ. q. 1. vid. etiam q. 22, 74. Cent. 16.

Epiſt. ad Leo 10th.

In 2. Ep. ad Tim. c. 3. p. 116.

the Scriptures were indited, were underſtood by the Divines, and the Diſputers of Four Centuries, *ſaith* Canus: *When* it was the Cuſtom of the Age to make Prieſts and Biſhops out of the moſt unlearned and irreligious Perſons, and the Biſhops generally were more ignorant of the Scriptures than the People, *ſaith* Duarenus: *When the* Biſhops *aſſembled in the* Trent Council *had* but little Underſtanding in Religion: *When* few of them had any Knowledge in Theology, *ſaith* F. Paul: *When* the prevailing part were both unlearned and ſimple, *ſaith* Dudithius.

Loc. com. l. 2. c. 13.

De Sacr. Eccl. Miniſtr. & Benef. l. 1. c. 11 q. P. 153, 168.

Hiſt. of the *Trent* Council *p.* 784.

If therefore falſe Traditions *might ſo eaſily prevail, even in the firſt and pureſt Ages of the* Church, *as* Irenæus *doth inform us,* διὰ τ ἀπλότητα καὶ ἰδιωτισμὸν τῶν κρατούντων, by reaſon of the Simplicity and Ignorance of the Governours, *how much more might they carry all before them in thoſe times of* Ægyptian *Darkneſs? If two or three hundred* Biſhops, *in the more learned Ages of the* Church, *could be ſo tamely bubbled by a few cunning* Arians, *how eaſy might it be for Men of Credit, in the thick Darkneſs of thoſe times, to lead the Blind into the Pit of Error? If the pretended* Donation *of* Conſtantine, *though ſo groſs a Cheat, could obtain ſo long and generally, as to be urged in the* Second Nicene Council, *and put into the* Decretals? *If the* decretal Epiſtles, *now generally acknowledged to be Forgeries, were received as genuine for* Eight hundred *Years, inſomuch that the* General Council *of* Conſtance *condemneth them as Hereticks who reject them, why might not many other ſpurious Pieces, as uſeful to promote* Popiſh *Doctrines, as theſe were to eſtabliſh the* Pope's Supremacy *and the* Veneration *of* Images, *prevail as generally in thoſe darker Ages? If the Credit of one* Marianus Scotus *made the whole*

Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 24.

Act. 2. p. 102.

Diſt. 96. c. 14. Conſt. Imperator.

Seſſ. 45. & Seſſ. 8.

whole West, *even for Five Centuries, believe the Story of* Pope Joan, *which caſt ſo great an Infamy on St.* Peter's Chair, *why might not other things, in favour of the* Church *of* Rome, *obtain an equal Credit by like Means? If, as* Navar *declares, throughout the whole* Church *of* Chriſt, *Multos paſſim invenias nihil magis & explicite de hiſce (Symboli Articulis quos Eccleſia ſolemnizat) credere, quam Ethnicum philoſophum,* you may find every where many who explicitely believe nothing more of the Articles of the Creed, than a Heathen Philoſopher, *muſt not ſuch Men be ready to receive any thing ſuggeſted as an* Article of Faith? *Is it to be expected, that they ſhould riſe up with great Zeal in oppoſition to new Doctrines, or conveigh them by* oral Tradition *to Poſterity?* Laſtly, *If Doctrines of Faith, and Rules of Manners be to be decided, even in* General Councils, *by* Scripture *and* Tradition, *is it impoſſible for Men ſo ignorant, and void of any Knowledge of what the* Scriptures, *or* Tradition *teach, ſhould paſs wrong Judgment in theſe Matters?*

Manual. c. 11. n. 22.

Sixthly, *New* Doctrines *and* Practices *might eaſily prevail, and ſilence all that Oppoſition which was, or would have otherwiſe been made againſt them, when Force and Violence was uſed to promote them, and to ſuppreſs the contrary Doctrines and* Traditions: *For though Force can do nothing to the Conviction of the Conſcience, or to clear up the Underſtanding; nor can the Fire or the Faggot give new Light unto it, yet have thoſe things a very powerful Influence upon the Fearful, the Lovers of the World, and of the* Comforts *of it, to engage them outwardly and hypocritically to profeſs what they do not believe, and to deny, conceal, or not profeſs what really they do believe; hence doth the* Scripture *ſo often teach us, that when*

when Perſecution *did* ariſe for the Truths Sake, *the* ſtony Ground would be offended, *that becauſe Trouble would abound*, the Love of many would wax cold. *Hence the* Apoſtles *were ſo ſollicitous to arm their* Proſelytes *againſt theſe fiery Trials, ſo frequent in their Exhortations to Patience and Perſeverance, ſo deſirous to know the Conſtancy of their Faith, ſo careful that they might not* be moved *by their* Afflictions: *Hence alſo, under the* Heathen Perſecutions, *we find ſuch ſad and numerous Examples of* Apoſtacy. *St.* Cyprian *complains, that by the Fury of the* Decian *Perſecution* Chriſtianity *was* much weakened, *that they* were very few who then ſtood firm, but they who languiſhed were very numerous, *that* the Church then with Tears lamented the Fall of very many, *that there was then* a manifold Decay of that once numerous People which profeſſed the Chriſtian Faith; *yea, that even* at the firſt Onſet of the threatning Enemy the greateſt Number of the Brethren betrayed their Faith. Dionyſius *of* Alexandria *informs us, That* when the Edict of the Emperor came forth, all the Chriſtians were wonderfully terrified; *that preſently through this Fear,* πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστέρων ἀπάντων, many of the moſt celebrated Chriſtians came in to the impure and prophane Sacrifices, ſome being called by Name, ſome brought thither by their Friends, ſome by their Office, *or the* Example *of others*; ſome of them ſo pale and trembling, as if they had not come to ſacrifice but to be ſacrificed; ſome came boldly, denying they had ever been Chriſtians; ſome fled, and others being caught, clap'd into Priſons and into Irons, preſently abjured the Faith; others, as ſoon as they were brought before the Judges: And, *Laſtly*, others when they had ſuffered Torment valiantly for a while, at length grew

Matth. 13. 21.

Matth. 24. 12.

Hebr. 11. 32--36.

1 *Theſſ.* 3. 3, 5.

Ep. 11. *p.* 23, 26.

Ep. 10. *p.* 22.

De lapſis §. 3. & §. 5. *p.* 123, 124. *ed. Oxon.*

Apud. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. *c.* 41.

weary and renounced. *In the Perſecution under* Dio-
Ibid. l. 8. *c.* 3. cleſian, Euſebius *ſaith that* μύριοι, Myriads out of Fear fell preſently ἀπὸ πρώτης προσβολῆς at the firſt Aſſault; *and what then may not be expected of this Nature in the declining Ages of the* Church, *when that ſtrict Diſcipline and ſelf-denial, which prepared the* Chriſtians *of that Age for Sufferings, was laid aſide: That Love of God, which then was fervent, waxed very cold; and that Iniquity, which renders it impoſſible Men ſhould be willing to depart this World, and to appear before their righteous Judge, ſo much abounded.*

This was the Method which the Arians *uſed for Propagation of their* Hereſy. *For* Socrates *informs us,*
Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. *c.* 27. *p.* 118. *that in the Reign of* Conſtantius *the* Perſecution fell upon the Orthodox, κατὰ πᾶσας μὲν τὰς ἀνατολικὰς πόλεις, through all the Cities of the *Eaſt*, *that* they were baniſhed from their Churches, and were afflicted with all kinds of Torments, *and that* the Force then uſed was no leſs than formerly was exerciſed by Heathen Emperors to compel Chriſtians to worſhip Idols. *And when after the Death of* Conſtantine, *the Empire of the* Weſt *fell into his Hands, he uſed the like Severity there alſo. Now the direful Effects of this Perſecution appeared not only in the Fall of the great* Hoſius, *who by*
Ib. c. 31. *p.* 127. *this Violence was* conſtrained to ſubſcribe the Decrees of the Council of *Sirmium*, *but even in the generality*
Theodoret Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. *c.* 13. *Soz. l.* 4. *c.* 9. *of the* Church Governours; *for when* Conſtantius, *the more effectually to move* Pope Liberius *to conſent to the Condemnation of* Athanaſius, *tells him, That* πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη κατεψηφίσατο ὡς περὶ ἀνοσιώτατου αὐτοῦ, the whole Empire had condemned him as a wicked Man, Liberius *anſwers that they had done this,* διὰ φόβον καὶ ἀτιμίαν
Sozom. ibid. τὴν ὡς πρὸς αὐτόν, out of Fear of him, and the Diſhonour which

which he threatned to them, *and the ſame Motive, after a little Exile, prevailed with him alſo. Moreover a great part of the* Biſhops *who met at* Ariminum *declared for the* Nicene *Faith, as being that which* they could not alter unleſs they would prove themſelves ſpurious Children, and Accuſers of the Fathers; *and yet they being carried thence to* Nica *in* Thracia, δεδιξάμενοι, they being terrified, conſented to expunge the Words *of* Subſtance *and* Conſubſtantial, *and only to aſſert* τὸ ὅμοιον, *that* Chriſt was like in Subſtance to the Father, *and* οἱ μὲν δείσαντες, οἱ δὲ φενακισθέντες συνέγραψαν, ſome out of Fear, and others out of Ignorance, ſubſcribed. *St.* Hilary *informs us, that* the Biſhops met at *Ariminum*, being tired out with long Delays, *& minis imperatoris perterriti, damnarunt integram fidem quam antea defendebant, & ſuſceperunt perfidiam quam antea damnaverant*, and terrified with the Threats of the Emperor, condemned that Faith they had before defended, and received that Falſhood which they had before condemned. Sozomen *alſo tells us of Three hundred Weſtern* Biſhops *met at* Milan, *who* ἢ δέει, ἢ ἀπάτῃ, ἢ ἀγνοίᾳ πρὸς σφῶν αὐτῶν, either out of Fear, or Fraud, or Ignorance, conſented to the Depoſition of *Athanaſius*. *And this doubtleſs, gave Occaſion to* Vincentius Lirinenſis *to ſay that, omnes prope Latini Sermonis Epiſcopi*, almoſt all the Weſtern Biſhops were by Fraud or Force deceived, *and that* the Poyſon of Arianiſm, *pene orbem totum contaminaverat*, had defiled almoſt the whole World; *to* Jerom *to complain, that it had* poſſeſſed all the *Eaſt, and that* the whole World, *Arianum ſe eſſe miratus eſt*, admired that it was become Arian; *to* Nazianzen

Theodoret Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 15, 16, 18.

Fragm. p. 482.

Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 4. cap. 9.

Commonit. c. 6.

Epiſt. ad Pam. adv Error. Joh. Hieroſ. F. 59.

Orat. in Athan. quæ eſt Or. 21. p. 387. *to confeſs that,* πλὴν ὀλίγων ἄγαν, except a very few, which either becauſe of their Vertue reſiſted, or for their Obſcurity were contemned, all obeyed the times, ſome being Ring-Leaders in the Impiety, ſome being circumvented by Fear or Gain, Flattery or Ignorance. *And to omit the Complaint of*

Ep. 142. Theodoret, *That in the* Epheſine Council, *ſtyled* λῃςικὴ, *moſt of the* Biſhops βιαζόμενοι συνέθεντο, were moved to conſent by Force, and by their Subſcriptions confirmed a new Hereſy: *To omit the*

Socr. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. c. 17. *Perſecution of* Valens, *which expelled, ſaith* Socrates, almoſt all the Biſhops of the *Eaſt* out of their Sees, *and where the* Biſhops *were not* valiant, *had ſuch ill Influence upon the People, that they all turned*

Lib. 6. c. 21. τὴν πρότερας δόξης, from their former Sentiments *to* Arianiſm: *to omit I ſay, theſe Inſtances,*

It is a wonder to conceive what Force the Edicts of Baſiliſcus *had to engage the* Patriarchs, *and* Biſhops *of that Age to renounce, and* Anathematize *the* General Council *of* Chalcedon. Baſiliſcus *in his* Encyclical Epiſtle *commands all* Biſhops to be content with the Nicene Faith, and to Anathematize,

Evagr. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3 c 4. p. 336, 337. πάντα τὰ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἐν ὅρῳ πίστεως, ἢ ἐκθέσει Συμβόλων εἰρημένα, καὶ πεπραγμένα, all things done and ſpoken in the Synod of *Chalcedon* about the Definition of Faith, or Expoſition of the Symbols; *to* ſubſcribe to his Epiſtle, and wholly to reject the Council of *Chalcedon*; *threatning* Depoſition to the Biſhops and Clergy who ſhould refuſe Obedience

Ibid. c. 5. p. 338. to his Commands; *whereupon* Five hundred Biſhops preſently ſubſcribe, τὸν Λέοντος τόμον, καὶ τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι Σύνοδον ἀποκηρύξαντες, condemning the Epiſtle of Pope *Leo*, and the Synod of *Chalcedon*. *Among them*

them were the Biſhops *of* Aſia, *profeſſing to the* Emperor, *that* they ſubſcribed μετὰ πάσης χαρᾶς καὶ προθυμίας, with all Readineſs and Gladneſs; *and yet, quickly after the Death of* Baſiliſcus, *they beg Pardon for ſo doing of* Acacius, *alledging that they ſubſcribed* ὐ κατὰ πρόθεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης γράμμασιν, καὶ ῥήμασιν, ἀλλ' ὐ καρδίᾳ σωθέμενοι, not willingly, but of Neceſſity, conſenting by their Words and Writings, but not with their Hearts. *Ibid.* *Ibid. cap.* 9.

And as this Force and Violence hath had this fatal Influence on many to deny the Truth, and to embrace, or at the leaſt profeſs the contrary, ſo hath it as effectually prevailed on others to conceal the Truth, or not appear in its Defence, when they were inwardly convinced of it, leaſt they ſhould pull a Storm upon their Heads, and ſhould expoſe themſelves unto the Cenſures of prevailing Perſons, and to the Fury of their Enemies. Thus Sozomen *informs us, that* διὰ τὸν τοῦ Βασίλεως φόβον, for fear of the Emperor *Conſtantius*, both the *Eaſt* and *Weſt* ſeemed to agree in the Faith. Theodoret *informs that there* were ſome in his time who held the Truth of Apoſtolical Doctrine, τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν κρατούντων δείσαντες δυναστείαν δημοσιοῦσαι ταύτην πεφεύγασι, but, fearing the Power of their Governours, they durſt not publiſh it, they ſigh, and groan for the encreaſe of Evils, but yet they are carried away with the Authors of them. Thus, *ſaith he*, I believe it is with thee, O Biſhop *Romulus*, thou art ſound in the Faith, but only out of Fear thou ſerveſt the Times. *Hiſt. Eccl. l.* 4. *c.* 10. *Ep.* 135.

Iſidore

Iſidore Peleuſiota, *alſo tells us, that there were ſome who lived* κατὰ τ' Ἀποστολικὸν χαρακτῆρα, according to the Apoſtolick Rule, but they durſt not open their Mouths, δεδιότες τὸν ἀνόλατον τὸ πλῆθος, being afraid of the Multitude of the Wicked. Zacharias Chryſopolitanus, *ſaith, ſunt nonnulli, imo forſitan multi,* there are ſome, yea, perhaps many, who are of the ſame Opinion with *Berengarius*, and yet condemn him with the Church; *which, without doubt, they did through Fear of running his Fate; whence one of their Writers tells us they were wont to ſay, Sic dicerem in Scholis, ſed tamen maneat inter nos, diverſum ſentio,* Thus would I ſpeak in the Schools, but, keep it ſecret, I think otherwiſe.

L. 5. Ep. 126. Ep.

Moxoteſſaron p. 309.

Pardlip. ad Abbat. Vrſperg. p. 448. Ed. Baſ. 1569.

Let us then ſeriouſly conſider how much the Church *of* Rome, *for theſe Five laſt Centuries, hath outdone all that ever* Heathen *or* Arian *Perſecutors have attempted in her Severities towards thoſe whom ſhe is pleaſed to call* Hereticks. *That,*

1. *She hath taken the greateſt Care for the Diſcovering and apprehending them, authorizing by her* papal Bulls, imperial Conſtitutions, *her* canon Law, *and her* conciliar Definitions, Inquiſitors, Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, *&c.* to require the Magiſtrates Aſſiſtance in enquiring after, and apprehending Hereticks, *and* enabling theſe Inquiſitors, *&c.* to tender a corporeal Oath to all ſuſpect of Hereſy, *that is,* of holding *any thing in Contradiction to the Doctrine of the* Roman Church, *to anſwer to ſuch Queſtions as they ſhall propoſe, for clearing of themſelves, and to condemn them as* Hereticks, *if*

Conſt. Innocent. 4. c. 19. Clem 4. Conſ. 13. l. 18. Concil. To. 11. p. 606.

Conſil. Conſt. Seſſ. 45. Bin. To. 7. p. 1121.

if they do not thus purge themſelves: *That ſhe gives them Power* to require the Magiſtrates Aſſiſtance in enquiring after, and apprehending Hereticks, and to engage by Oath all Earls, Barons, Rectors and Conſuls, and the whole Neighbourhood efficaciouſly to aſſiſt the Church according to their Power in this Work, and to endeavour to give Notice of ſuch Perſons and ſecure them. *Decretal. l. 5. Tit. 7. c. 5. Concil. Lat. 4. Can. 3*

2ly. *That ſhe obliges* all ſecular Powers to extirpate them, and all their Favorites, upon the pain of Excommunication, loſs of their Dominions, and being deemed Favourers of Hereticks, *and doth encourage all Men* to fight againſt, and labour to deſtroy them, by the Promiſe of Remiſſion of Sins, and a great Reward hereafter. *Conſt. Fred. 2. Concil. T. 11. p 622. Ludov. 7. Ib. p. 423. Concil. Lat. 4. Can. 3. lat. 3. cap. 23.*

3ly. *That ſhe hath decreed, That* they ſhall ſuffer Excommunication, with all the Conſequences of it, loſs of Goods, and when impriſoned, any Puniſhment which doth not diminiſh their Members, or endanger their Death, *and that* after Sentence paſſed upon them, they ſhall be puniſhed with Death, and want of Chriſtian Burial. *Concil. lat. 3. c. 27. Quartum can. 3. Conſtan. Seſſ. 45. Bin. T. 7. p. 1121. Conſt. Freder. 2. Concil T. 11 p. 619, 621. Ludov. 7. p. 423.*

4ly. *That for the Execution of theſe Puniſhments*, without Delay or Relaxation, or enquiry into the Juſtice of them, all Governours ſhall have a Copy of thoſe Laws, and ſhall aboliſh all that contradict them, *and* at their Entrance on their Government, ſhall ſwear to execute them; *and* ſuch as will not execute them, or are remiſs in doing it, ſhall loſe their Office, have their Juriſdiction interdicted, *and* be proceeded againſt as Favourers of Hereticks. *Conſt. Innocent. 4. Clem. 4. Alex. 4. decretal. l. 5. T. 2. c. 9, 11. Concil. Toloſ. c. 7. Albienſ. c. 7. Concil. T. 11. p. 428, 723. vide ibid. p 698, 726, 727.*

Again,

Again let us ſeriouſly conſider farther.

1. *That it was in thoſe Ages deemed* Hereſy, *to contradict the* Doctrine of the Roman Church; *or in the Language of the* Council *of* Conſtance, *de fidei Articulis aliter ſentire aut docere quam Sancta Romana Eccleſia & Univerſalis prædicat*, to think or teach otherwiſe of the Articles of Faith than the Holy Roman or univerſal Church preacheth and obſerves.

Seſſ. 45. *Edit.* 1499.

2*ly. That when* Tranſubſtantiation *was eſtabliſhed in the* Fourth Council *of* Lateran, *then were alſo made the ſevere and ſanguinary Decrees now mentioned againſt* Hereticks, *to force Men againſt all the Evidence of Senſe and Reaſon to profeſs that* Article.

3ly. *That the* Council *of* Conſtance *having eſtabliſhed the Practice of* Communion in one kind for a Law, *it concludes with a* Decree, *enacting all the aforeſaid Puniſhments againſt* Hereticks, *viz. Againſt thoſe who believe not* the Supream Authority of the Pope over the Church, the Infallibility of general Councils, the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, the Lawfulneſs of Communion in one kind, the neceſſity of auricular Confeſſion, the Power of the Pope to conferr Indulgences, the lawfulneſs of venerating Reliques, and the Images of Saints, *&c.*

Seſſ. 45.

4ly. *That in theſe perſecuting Ages Men were afraid to profeſs what they believed, or to oppoſe themſelves againſt the Torrent of their Adverſaries; thus* Petrarch *declares, That* he durſt ſcarcely ſpeak the Truth for fear of Enemies: Clemangis, *That* Men followed the erring Herd, willingly embracing falſe things

Libro ſine Titulo Epiſt. 11. *Epiſt. de Egreſſu ex Babylone p.* 177.

things for true, and desiring rather to be mad with the multitude, than to be wise alone with danger and derision. Erasmus *confesseth*, That there were some things received in the Church, *quæ magno Religionis Christianæ bono mutarèntur*, which to have changed would tend to the great good of the Church; *but being desired to put his helping Hand to the Work, he saith*, per alios ego fieri malim, quam per me; I had rather others should do this than my self: *And that*, 1. *Out of fear that by attempting it he might create a Tumult and Sedition in the* Church, which, *saith he*, I so much abhor, , *ut veritas etiam displiceat seditiosa*, that even Truth purchased by Sedition is displeasing to me. 2. *Out of the sense of the great hazzard he should run, and the little hopes he had of good success:* I should be more free, *saith he*, could I see hopes of success; but, *dementiæ est tibi perniciem accersire si nulli prosis*, it is madness to destroy my self, when I cannot profit any by it. *Apud Hottinger. Hist. Eccl. Sect. 16. Part. 2 p.24,25, 29*

I say whosoever weighs these things will be convinced, that by these cruel methods great Errors might prevail without much contradiction; and many Ancient, but decryed Truths might lie concealed, and stifled in the breasts of Learned Men, expecting a more favourable opportunity to bring them forth. For if the severity of Heathen *and* Arian *Persecutions had such sad Effects upon so many in the most pious and learned Ages of the* Church, *whilst they continued to be exercised; these* R. Cruelties *being confessedly exercised for almost Five whole* Centuries, *might easily engage the generality of Men, in the more Ignorant and Vicious Ages of the* Church, *to own the corrupt Doctrines and Practices her* Governors *had introduced, or to abstain at least from making any free and publick opposition to them.*

To conclude: Theſe being the chief Cauſes which naturally tend to the Introduction of new Practices and Doctrines, viz. 1. Falſe Rules and Meaſures uſed for Diſquiſition of the Truth; *from which it is not to be wonder'd that falſe Concluſions ſhould ariſe: Or* 2. True Rules miſapplied and miſconſtrued, *and therefore actually falſe to them who thus miſtake the Purpoſe of them.* 3. The Admiration of the Perſons, and the Reverence of the Authority of Men ſubject to like Miſtakes and Errors with us. 4. The Advantages we may obtain by the promoting of ſome Doctrines, *the Tendency they have to the gratifications of our Avarice, our Pride and love of Empire and other ſinful luſts.* 5. The Corruptions in our Manners which diſpoſe and fit us for Deluſions. 6. That Ignorance and Negligence in reference to Sacred things which rendereth us an eaſy prey to the Deluders ſubtilty. 7. *Laſtly,* The Force, and Terror, and Torments, and Puniſhments which may be uſed to affright us into an outward, and Hypocritical profeſſion of what we do not from our hearts believe, or a concealment of our inward Sentiments; *I Say, theſe being the chief inducements to a change in Doctrine, or in Practice, and all theſe things ſo palpably, and frequently concurring to the eſtabliſhment of the New Doctrines, and the ſuppoſed Traditions of the* Church *of* Rome, *what wonder is it that they ſhould ſo mightily obtain in the dark Ages of the World, and by thoſe methods carry all before them?*

And truly 'tis ſo evident that upon the concurrence of thoſe circumſtances, the true Faith might decay; and Error might be introduced in the Weſtern Churches, *that the* Hiſtorians, *and* Writers *of thoſe dark and evil Ages do confeſs it actually was ſo: That* the Prieſts brought

Carol. Mag. Cent. 8.

into

into the Church ſuch Doctrines as were never known to Chriſt and his Apoſtles; *That* this was *tempus peſſimum, in quo defecit ſanctus, & veritates diminutæ ſunt a filiis hominum*, the worſt of times, in which the Holy man failed, and Truth was diminiſhed from the ſons of men; *That the* Ancient Traditions were then proſcribed; *That* the Chriſtian Faith extreamly did begin to fail, and decline from its former vigor; neither the Sacraments nor Eccleſiaſtical Rites being obſerved; *That* the Holy Philoſophy by the ſubtile interpretation of Sycophants began to be corrupted, poluted, violated with human Inventions, and old wives Fables; *That* the ſpark of Faith began to wax exceeding cold, and was almoſt reduced to aſhes, ſo that it ſcarce did ſparkle; *That* the Church was eclipſed with the black miſt of Ignorance, Iniquity and *Error*; *That* they did not only not receive ſound Doctrine, but bitterly perſecuted all that reſiſted the madneſs of their wills; And *that* following the erring herd, men willingly embraced falſe things for true; *That* the variety of Pictures and Images occaſioned Idolatry in the Simple; *That* Apocryphal Scriptures, Hymns and Prayers were brought into the Church to the great hurt of *Chriſtian faith*; *That* there was much Superſtition in the Worſhip of Saints, *and many* Obſervations without all ground *or* reaſon; Credulity in believing things concerning the Saints reported in the uncertain Legends of their Lives, dubious opinions of obtaining Pardon, and Remiſſion of Sins by ſaying ſo many *Pater Noſters* in ſuch a Church before ſuch an Image, *as* if in the Scripture, and Authentick Writings of Holy Men, there were not ſufficient directions for all Acts of Piety, and Devotion, without theſe fabulous and frivolous additaments; *That*

Rolwink. al A. Chriſti 884.

Baron. A.D. 912.

Carthuſ. faſciculo temporum ad A. 1000.

Apol. Clerus Leod. A.D. 1066

Matth. Paris in Hen. 3. *ad A.D.* 1237. *p.* 438.

Alvar. Pelag. de planctu Eccl. l. 2. *c.* 5. *Cent.* 14.

Clemang. de Egreſſu ex Bab. p. 177. *Cent.* 15.

Gerſon de defect. Eccleſ. Vi. rorum 30. *idem de direct. Cordis. Conſid.* 16.

Ibid. Conſid. 29, 30.

Dial. Apol. Judicium de Can. Conſt.

ſundry lewd aſſertions, prejudicial to the States of Kings and Princes, could not be condemned in the Council of *Conſtance*, though many great ones much urged their condemnation, by reaſon of a mighty Faction which prevailed in it; *That* exorbitant Abuſes and Errors which were crept into the Church found no amendment, nor was a Reformation in things concerning *Faith*, and Religion, *Doctrine*, and Manners to be expected till the Secular Powers took it in hand; *That* Pagan Abuſes, and Diabolical Superſtitions were ſo many at *Rome* that they could not well be imagined; *That* they were fallen with one conſent from Religion to Superſtition, from Faith to Infidelity, from *Chriſt* to *Antichriſt*; *That* there was ſuch a neglect of the Word, as made it neceſſary that Faith ſhould periſh; *That* the Faith and Religion Preached by *Chriſt*, and ſettled afterwards by his Apoſtles and cultivated by their Epiſtles, is ſo different a thing from that Chriſtianity that is now profeſſed, and taught at *Rome*, that if theſe Holy Men ſhould be ſent again by *God* into the world, they would take more pains to confute this Gallimaufry, than ever they did to preach down the Traditions of the Phariſees, or the Fables, and Idolatry of the Gentiles, and would in probability ſuffer a New Martyrdom under the Vicar of *Chriſt* for the ſame Doctrine which once animated the Heathen Tyrants againſt them. *He that deſires to read more of the Confeſſions made by the few comparatively learned of theſe Ages of the corruptions both in doctrine and manners, and the prodigious ignorance which then obtained, may find more than enough in a book Styled,* Catalogus teſtium veritatis, *and* Morney's Myſtery of Iniquity.

Ibid.

Card. Camer. de Squal. Eccleſ. p. 34.

Cent. 16.

Biſhop of Biton-to *and* Eſpencæus *Vide Supra.*

Machiavil Epiſt. ad Zanob. Buon Delmont before his works in Engliſh.

OF

OF TRADITION.

The State of the Question.

CHAP. I.

1. *It is acknowledged, that a Doctrine is neither more or less the Word of God for being written or unwritten,* §. 1. 2dly. *It is proved, That the assurance which we have that Scripture is the Word of God, is greater than can be produced for any pretended Traditions of the Church of* Rome. *The Grounds of this assurance are,* 1. *The necessity that the Word of God should be preserved in some Records, and the certainty we have that actually it was so.* 2. *That the Records of the* New Testament *averr, That they were written by the Servants and Apostles of our Lord, whose Names they by a general and uncontrouled Tradition bear, and so by Men assisted with the Holy Ghost, and writing the Commandments of the Lord.* 3. *That the matter of them is worthy of the God of Heaven to reveal.* 4. *That they were owned, read, and appealed to as such by all Christians.* 5. *The* Jews *and Heathens made their Objections against Christianity out of them, and attempted the ruine of the Christian Faith by destroying them; and that none of these particulars agree to the Traditions of the* Church *of* Rome *rejected by us,* §. 2. *For farther Explication of the Question observe,* 2dly. *That our Dispute with the Church of* Rome *is chiefly about doctrinal, and not historical Traditions,* §. 3. *The uncertainty of historical Traditions, shewed,* 1. *In the Instance of our Lord's Birth,* Clauso utero, §. 4. *Of his Age,* §. 5. *Of the penetration of his Body through the Doors and the Stone of the Sepulchre,* §. 6. *Of the Story of the Phœnix,* §. 7. *And of the Cells of the Seventy Interpreters,*

terpreters, §. 8. *Obſerve* 3dly. *That we contend not with the Church of* Rome *touching Eccleſiaſtical Traditions concerning Ceremonials and unneceſſary Obſervations, but only touching neceſſary Rules of Faith and Manners*, §. 9.

FOR the right ſtating of this *Queſtion*, let it be conſidered,

§. 1. 1. That we acknowledge, That *a Doctrine is neither more or leſs the Word of God for being written or unwritten*, for that Word which our *Saviour* ſpake unto the *Jews*, was for a time unwritten, and yet was nevertheleſs the Word of God, becauſe not written: We alſo ſay there is no reaſon to diſpute, *Whether the written or unwritten Word of God*, when equally known to be ſo, *is moſt to be relied on*: For the Word of God being therefore believed, becauſe known to us to be the Word of God, muſt equally be believed in that Caſe, whether it be written or unwritten. We do not therefore quarrel with the *Church* of *Rome* for ſaying, "That the *Traditions* which "proceeded from the Mouth of *Chriſt*, or his *Apoſtles* ſpeaking "by the *Holy Spirit*, and preſerved by a continual Succeſſion in "the *Catholick Church*, are *with the ſame Reverence and pious "Affection to be received* as what they writ. But only deſire them to prove the things which they affirm, and we deny to have been thus delivered, and then we promiſe to receive them as the Truths of *Chriſt*. And becauſe *Mr. M.* hath the Confidence to ſay, "That *our Miniſters uſually ſo confound the Buſi-"neſs, that they make their Auditors even to ſtartle when they tell "them that we hold Tradition equal to Scripture, whereas if they "meant to deal really they ſhould ſay what the Truth is, that we do "indeed equalize Tradition to Scripture, and that we have all reaſon "to do ſo.* To let him ſee how little reaſon he had to accuſe us of corrupt Dealing in this Matter, I will faithfully tranſcribe the Aſſertions of our moſt able Writers touching this Point. *Archbiſhop Laud* declares, That *the Voice and Tradition of that Church which included in it Apoſtles, Diſciples, and ſuch as had immediate Revelation from Heaven, was Divine*; and *the Word of God from them is of like validity written or delivered. Biſhop Taylor* owns, That Tradition would be *of the ſame uſe as Scripture is, if the Tradition were from Chriſt and his Apoſtles,*

Concil. Trid. Seſſ. 4.

P. 397, 398.

Sect. 16. n. 20.

Duct. Dubit. §. 2. c. 3. P. 484.

and

and were as Certain as Univerſal, as Credible as that is by which we are told that Scripture is the Word of God.

We willingly grant, ſaith Mr. *Chillingworth, the Church to be as Infallible in her Traditions as the Scripture is, if they be as Univerſal as the Tradition of the undoubted Books of Scripture is.* And again, *The Tradition of the Church you ſay muſt teach us what is Scripture, and we are willing to believe it; and now if you make it good unto us that the ſame Tradition down from the Apoſtles hath delivered from Age to Age, and from Hand to Hand any Interpretation of any Scripture, we are ready to embrace that alſo.* Chap. 3. §. 45. vid. Chap. 2. §. 53, 88. *Anſwer to the* Jeſ. *p.* 35. Rat. p. 168, 210, 216.

So alſo *Biſhop Uſher* and *Doctor Stillingfleet* in his *Rational Account* frequently. And therefore *R. H.* who was better acquainted with our Writings than *Mr. M.* declares, "That "Proteſtants acknowledge a ſufficient certainty of the Tra- "dition concerning Scripture, and conſequently concerning all "the Articles of Chriſtian Faith that are built on Scripture, "upon which ground alſo they freely grant, N. B. That if "any other point wherein they diſſent from *Catholicks* can be "proved by as Univerſal a Tradition as that of the *Scriptures*, "they will ſubſcribe to it. We therefore manifeſtly do agree with *Chryſoſtom, Oecumenius* and *Theophylact*, when they ſay, That *the things delivered by the Mouth of the Apoſtles, and by their Writings are,* ἀξιοφύλακτα ἀμφότερα, *both worthy of Obſervation.* That, ὁμοίως κακεῖνα κἀ ταῦτα ἔστιν ἀξιόπιστα, *both equally deſerve to be credited,* when we have equal certainty of both, and therefore theſe paſſages are vainly cited againſt us by Mr. *M.* Let him once prove that the ſame Tradition tells us, That the *Apoſtles* delivered the Points in Controverſy betwixt us and the *Church* of *Rome* as Divine Verities by word of Mouth only, and we are all his Humble Servants. Guid. Diſc. 3. c. 11. p. 157. Oecum. in 2. Theſſ. ij. 15. Chryſoſt. ibid. & Theophylact.

But alas he knows how vain and how impoſſible an attempt this would be, and therefore thinks it better boldly to aſſert what he can never prove, by ſaying, That *our beſt and only aſſurance that the Scripture is the Word of God, is that all the Chriſtian world ſaith ſo; but the ſame Tradition which tells us this tells us alſo, that the Apoſtles delivered theſe, and theſe Points to us as Divine Verities by word of Mouth; viz.* All the Traditions received as *Apoſtolical* in the *Roman Church.* Now to reflect a little on this falſe Aſſertion, and to expoſe this way of Arguing. §. 2. P. 399.

1. Put it into the Mouth of a *Jew*, and it thus pleads for thoſe *Traditions* which our *Lord* condemned, and by which they condemned him. *The beſt and only Aſſurance which you* Jewiſh Chriſtians *can have, that the Scripture* of the Old Teſtament *is the Word of God, is that all* the Jews *ſay ſo; but the ſame Tradition which tells us this, tells us alſo,* That *Moſes* and the Prophets *delivered theſe, and theſe Points to us as Divine Verities by word of Mouth,* which your *Jeſus* rejected as vain *Worſhip,* and as the
1 Pet. i. 18. *Doctrines of Men*; and your St. *Peter* mentions, as Traditions received from our Fathers; though he ſtiles them *vain*; you therefore muſt have equal Reaſon to receive thoſe Traditions which condemn your *Jeſus*, and ſhew he could not be the true *Meſſiah*, as to own thoſe *Scriptures* of the *Old Teſtament*, which, ſay you, Propheſied of him.

2. Though we grant the Atteſtation of the whole *Chriſtian* World to be a very good aſſurance of any neceſſary Article of *Chriſtian* Faith, yet have we more aſſurance that the *Scriptures* are the Word of God than ſo. As,

1. The neceſſity that the *Chriſtian* Revelation ſhould be preſerved in ſome Records, and the aſſurance that we have that it hath been preſerved to us in no other. The neceſſity, I ſay, that the *Chriſtian* Revelation ſhould be preſerved in ſome *Records*, for if St. *Paul* thought it neceſſary to write to the
Rom. xv. 15. Church of *Rome*, *to put them in remembrance of the Grace given to*
2 Cor. i. 13. *him*, as alſo to ſend in writing to his *Corinthians* the things which they already read and did acknowledge; and to write
Phil. iij. 1. the *ſame things* which he had taught to his *Philippians*. If St. *Peter* thought it needful to write unto the *Jewiſh Converts*, to
1 Pet. v. 12. teſtify to them, *that was the true Grace of God in which they ſtood,*
2 Pet. iij. 1. *and to ſtir up their ſincere minds by way of Remembrance.* St. *John*,
1 Jo. v. 13. *that they might know they had eternal Life*, and might *believe in*
Ver. 3. *the Son of God.* St. *Jude*, to mind them of the *Common Salvation.* If the *Evangeliſt* cloſeth his Goſpel with theſe words,
Joh. xx. 31. —*Theſe things were written that you might believe, and believing might have Life through his Name*; ſurely theſe perſons would not but think it neceſſary that the eſſential Doctrines of *Chriſtianity* ſhould be written? And who can think the *Holy Spirit* of God would have aſſiſted them to indite theſe *Goſpels* and *Epiſtles*, had he conceived it needleſs that they ſhould be written?

2. We

2. We have the plain Aſſertions of the *Authors* of the *New Teſtament*, that they were written by the Servants and the *Apoſtles* of the Lord, by Men who declared that the things they writ *were the Commandments of the Lord*; by Men who preached the Goſpel to them *by the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt ſent down from Heaven*, and proved the Truth of what they ſaid by mighty Signs and Miracles, owned even by *Jews* and *Heathens*, as well as by their *Chriſtian Converts*. 1 Cor. xiv. 37. 1 Pet. i. 18.

3. We find the matter of them worthy of the God of *Heaven* to reveal.

4. We find them generally received as ſuch by thoſe who bore the Name of *Chriſtians*, however differing in other matters; read daily in their *Aſſemblies*, cited in all their *Homilies* and *Sermons*, called their *Digeſts*, and their *God-making Books*, by appealing to which they confirmed their Doctrines, and confuted their *Adverſaries*, and which they offered to be peruſed to the very *Heathens*: And hence we have juſt reaſon to preſume, that they had Cauſe ſufficient to believe them ſuch.

5. We alſo have the concurrent Teſtimony of *Jews* and *Heathens* citing them as ſuch, and thence making Objections againſt the *Chriſtian* Faith, and attempting to wreſt them out of the Hands of *Chriſtians*, that ſo *Chriſtianity* might be deſtroyed out of the World.

And laſtly, We have good reaſon to ſuppoſe that Providence of God which was ſo highly intereſted in propagation of the *Chriſtian* Faith, and making of it known unto the World, would not permit falſe *Records* of that Faith to be ſo early and generally impoſed upon the *Chriſtian* World.

Let us then ſee it proved by Mr. *M.* that the matter of thoſe *Roman Traditions* contained in their *new Creed*, *is worthy the God of Heaven to reveal*, and that we have like reaſon to ſuppoſe *his Providence concerned about them*; let us ſee plain Aſſertions of the like Primitive *Authority*, that *they were delivered by Men aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt*, and equal *Miracles* performed in confirmation of that Aſſertion; let us ſee a like neceſſity that *Chriſtian Revelations* ſhould be handed down by word of Mouth; a like general Reception of theſe *Traditions* throughout all Ages, a like appearance of them in the *Chriſtian* Writings, or Citation of them by *Jews* or *Heathens*, and when

when this Evidence hath been produced by Mr. *M.* we ſhall be ready to Embrace and own them alſo as the unwritten Word of God.

But whoſoever undertakes this Task will find ſome of theſe things imply a contradiction, *viz.* That an Oral Tradition ſhould be neceſſary to be Recorded, or daily read in the Aſſemblies of *Chriſtians.*

P. 605. 613. That it is upon the Matter confeſſed by *Du Pin* in his Abridgment of the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Three firſt Centuries, that ſcarcely any mention of theſe ſuppoſed Traditions can be found in the *Homilies* or Writings of thoſe Ages.

Moreover we find not in thoſe *Primitive* Ages any mention of the *Divine Original* of theſe *Traditions*, any appeal to them as ſuch, any confirmation of *Chriſtian* Doctrine, or confutation of their Adverſaries by them, nor any thing objected from them either by *Jew* or *Gentile* againſt the *Chriſtian* Faith, tho' ſince the time that we confeſs they came into the *Church*, both *Jew* and *Gentiles* have been very forward to object, as againſt other things, ſo eſpecially againſt *Tranſubſtantiation*, and the *Veneration of Images*, and the *Adoration of the Hoſt.*

Laſtly, there appears no ſuch real Excellency in them, no ſuch tendency to the advancement of true Holineſs and Goodneſs as may convince us they are *things worthy of the God of Heaven to reveal*, and which his *Providence* ſhould be concerned to preſerve, and propagate throughout all Ages.

§. 3. Diſt. 2. Moreover we diſtinguiſh betwixt *Hiſtorical Traditions* of the *Primitive* and ſucceeding *Churches*, ſuch as are the Tradition concerning the *perpetual Virginity of the Bleſſed Virgin*, the Birth of our *Lord*, or his coming forth out of her Womb, *Clauſo Utero*; his coming to his Diſciples *the Doors being ſhut*; his *Age*; the time of his preaching upon *Earth* and the like, and Traditions touching Articles of Faith, and Doctrines to be believed in Order to our being either ſound Believers or good *Chriſtians.*

Touching the firſt we ſay;

1. That we have no occaſion to diſpute with them about ſome of theſe things; and therefore what St. *Baſil* ſaith of the perpetual Virginity of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, [That *though it would not be offenſive unto Piety to ſay, That afterwards ſhe did the works of Matrimony, her Virginity being only neceſſary till the Birth of Chriſt*,

Christ, yet the Mystery being not concerned in it, we leave it unregarded and unsearched into.] We say of other matters of this nature, ἀπολυπραγμόνησα κἀλαλήφωμεν, *we think it best not to search curiously into them*; though that of *Origen*, Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντες τὸ ἀξίωμα μᾶλλον ἐν παρθενίᾳ τηρεῖν μέχρι τέλους βούλονται, *They who say these things would preserve the perpetual Virginity of* Mary, seems to insinuate that this was once but the Opinion of some Men. And they who were most zealous for it, as was St. *Jerom* against *Helvidius*, do it upon this Ground, because the contrary is not written, for thus he speaks, *As we deny not those things which are written, so we refuse those things which are not written; we believe our Lord to be Born of a Virgin, because we read it; we believe not that* Mary *was Married after her delivery, because we read it not.*

De humana Christi Gener. Tom. 1. p. 569. In Matth. Ed. Huet. p. 223.

Ut hæc quæ scripta sunt non negamus, ita ea quæ non sunt scripta renuimus, natum deum esse de virgine credimus quia legimus, Mariam nupsisse post partum non credimus quia non legimus. *Tom.* 2. *f.* 6. a.

§. 4.

2*dly*. We add, That as for the pretended *Tradition*, that our Lord came out of the Womb of the *Blessed Virgin*, without opening of it, though it seems generally to have prevailed in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, yet doth it plainly seem to contradict the Testimony of the *Holy Scriptures*, which teach, That *when the days of her Purification were accomplished, according to the Law of* Moses, *they brought him to* Jerusalem *to present him to the Lord, as it is written in the Law of the Lord*, Every Male that openeth the Womb *shall be called holy to the Lord.*

Luk. ij. 22,23. Puram aperiens vulvam.

According to the import of which Scripture, *Irenæus* doth expressly teach, That our Lord at his Birth *opened the Womb of the Virgin.*

L. 4. c. 66. In partu suo nupsit ipsa patefacti corp. lege.

Tertullian adds, That she was a Virgin as not having known Man, but was no Virgin, *quantum a partu, at her teeming, her Womb being then opened*, according to that saying, *Every Male that openeth the Womb*, &c. *Origen*, That *Matris domini eo tempore vulva reserata est quo partus editus, the Womb of the Mother of our Lord was opened when she brought forth her Son.* *Clemens* of *Alexandria* evidently shews that this was in his time only the saying of some Men, attending to the Fable of the false Gospel of St. *James*, That *the Midwives after her delivery found by Inspection, that she was a Virgin*, and that others held the contrary; for, saith he, *It seemed to many, and yet seemeth, that* Mary *was by the*

Lib. de Carne Christi c. 23. vid. etiam c. 4. & 20.

Hom. 14. in Lucam Tom. 2. f. 101.

the Birth of her Son a Woman properly delivered of a Child, though she was not, λεχὼ, *a Woman properly delivered;* ἢ γὰρ μέλλα τὸ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν μαιωθεῖσαν φασίν τινες παρθένον εὑρηθέναι; *for some say that being inspected by the Midwives after the Birth of her Son, she was found a Virgin.* He respects, saith *Petavius*, *the Old Wife's Tale, invented by some idle Trifler, which we find in* Suidas, *and in the* Proto-Evangelium S. Jacobi, *which I could wish he had no otherwise related than by way of Contempt and Derision.* Thus we learn upon what Grounds this was believed by him against the Opinion of many others. St. *Basil* grounds this Opinion upon another Story of like nature: *The Story of* Zacharias, saith he, *proves that the Virgin* Mary *was,* μέχει παντὸς παρθένον, *an entire Virgin; for it is derived to us,* ἐκ παραδόσεως, *from Tradition, that* Zacharias *was slain between the Porch and the Altar for saying, that* Mary *was a Virgin,* μετὰ τὸ Κυρίε Κύησιν, *after the Birth of our Lord.*

Strom. l. 7. p. 756.

De Incarn. l. 14. cap. 6. §. 1.

De human. Christi Gener. Tom. 1. p. 509.

Qui hujusmodi Traditioni non credunt.

Origen delivers the same thing in the like words, *Venit ad nos Traditio quædam, Such a Tradition hath come down to us.* And *Theophylact,* Λύγον ἔχει παραδοθεὶς ἡμῖν, *We have it from Tradition;* and yet *Origen* in the same place confesseth that this Tradition was not believed by others; and *Jerom* saith, That it came, *Ex Apocryphorum Somniis, From apocryphal Dreams;* and adds, That *Quia de scripturis non habet autoritatem eadem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur, Because it hath no Authority from Scripture, it is as easily condemned as approved of.*

In Matt. Hom. 26. f. 49. b.

In Matth. 23. 35.

In locum.

And thus we see the rise of this *Tradition*, which afterwards prevailed over the *Christian* World.

§. 5.

Sicut Evangelium & omnes seniores testantur qui in Asia apud Joannem Discipulum Domini, convenerunt, id ipsum tradidisse eis Joannem. *L.* 2. *c.* 39.

3*ly.* That our *Lord* lived above Fourty if not to Fifty Years, is the express Assertion of *Irenæus*, and for this he produceth *the Testimony of the Gospel, and of all the Elders of the Church, who met S.* John *the beloved Disciple of our Lord, in* Asia, *and declared that he delivered to them the same thing, yea,* saith he, *some of them saw not only* John, *but the rest of the Apostles, and heard the same things from them,* & testantur de hujusmodi Relatione, *and testifie the truth of the Relation.*

To say with *Feuardentius* upon the place, that he might have had this from *Papias*, is a very unlikely thing, for he speaks

ſpeaks not of the Teſtimony of one Man, but of *all the Seniors*; not of Men who had *never ſeen the Apoſtles*, as *Papias* had not, but of them who had; he cites not *Papias*, as in the Caſe of the *Millennium* he did; here therefore is a ſolemn Declaration of a *Tradition* received from the Mouth of the *Apoſtles*, and atteſted by all the *Seniors*, and yet ſo far from being in the Goſpel, as is pretended, that by the Goſpel it may be evidently confuted; ſo far from being owned as ſuch in after Ages, that upon a very ſlight Ground, even the ſaying of the *Prophet Iſaiah*, That *Chriſt* was ſent *to Preach the Acceptable Year of the Lord*; many of the *Fathers* took up a contrary Opinion, that our Lord Suffered in the Fifteenth Year of *Tiberius*, and preached One Year only. When *Jeſus* came to his Baptiſm, ſaith *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *he was about Thirty Years old, and that he was to Preach but One Year, is thus written, He ſent me to Preach the Acceptable Year of the Lord*; this *both the Prophet and the Goſpel, according to the plain meaning of the Words averr*, ſay ſome in *Origen*, *That our Lord Preached the Goſpel but one Year*, and that *on this account it was ſaid, that he was ſent to Preach the Acceptable Year of the Lord. Tertullian* in his Book againſt the *Jews* ſaith, That Chriſt ſuffered, *annos habens quaſi triginta, being about Thirty Years Old.*

Vid. Feuard. in Iren. p. 46. & 188.

Τοῦτο καὶ ὁ προφήτης εἶπεν καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ὅτι πληροῦνται τριάκοντα ἔτη ἕως ὃ ἐπαθεν.
Strom. 1. p. 340.

Hom. 32. in Luk. f. 111.

Cap. 8.

Ἐνιαυτὸν γὰρ ἕνα βάλλουσι αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸ Βάπτισμα αὐτοῦ κεκηρυχέναι. L. 1. C. 1. p. 16.

Lactantius, *Africanus*, and others, cited by *Feuardentius*, ſay the ſame. And yet this was no better than an Opinion firſt invented by the *Gnoſticks*, as we learn from *Irenæus*, and for which they produced the ſame Text; and 'tis as eaſily confuted by the Enumeration of the *Paſſovers* our *Saviour* Celebrated after his *Baptiſm* and before his Death.

Now if a Tradition could ſo generally obtain in the Fifth Century which had its riſe from *Fabulous Legends*, and *Apocryphal Dreams*, againſt plain Words of *Scripture*, and plain Aſſertions of the *Fathers* living in the former *Centuries*, as that of our *Lords* coming out of the Womb of the *Virgin* without opening of it did, why might not other *Traditions* pretended by ſome later *Councils* and the *Church* of *Rome* be of like nature? Why may we not credit the *Council* of *Frankford*, declaring that the *Second Nicene Council* for their pretended

In lib. Carol. p. 3. c. 30.

Tradition of Image-Worship, *had recourse*, ad Apocryphas quasdam & risu dignas nænias, *to Apocryphal and Ridiculous Tales.* Or *Espencæus* a *Romanist*, confessing, that *they defended it*, dæmonum Spectris & muliebribus Somniis, *with diabolical Apparitions and old Wife's Dreams*; especially when, as he there saith, this we see in the very *Synod*, which approves and urgeth in confirmation of it, the Tale of *Constantine*'s Leprosy, and of his Baptism by *Pope Sylvester*, and of the *Images* of *Paul* and *Peter* produced then to him; the Tale of the *Image* sent to *Agbarus*, of the Passion of the *Image of Christ at Beryth*, and that infamous Tale of the old Fornicating *Monk*, all confuted and exposed by Learned *Crakanthorp*, and a late * excellent Discourse of the Second *Nicene Council.*

Comment. in 2. ad Tim. p. 155.

Def. Constant. contr. Baril. c. 10, 11. adversus Spalat. c. 65. p. 458, 459.

* Cap. 5. p. 22, 23.

If *Irenæus* could so early pretend to a Testimony of *all the Elders of the Church of Asia*, for a matter of apparent falshood, if others in the Second and Third Century could frame a contrary Doctrine, from such a weak allusion to a *Prophetick* Saying, I hope the saying of One or Two *Doctors* in the following Ages, cannot be reasonably supposed to amount to any certain proof of the *Traditions* or Doctrines derived from the *Apostles.* And if their Testimonies in such Cases in which they are most properly *Testators*, or *Relaters* of *Church History* and of *Traditions* received from the *Elders* of the *Church*, prove so uncertain, and so alien from Truth, less Credit must be given to them in those Articles of Faith, or Doctrines of Manners, in which they only give their Judgment, without pretending to *Apostolical Tradition* for the Truth of what they say: The *Patrons* of *Oral Tradition* confessing and declaring that they rely not on them as *Doctors* and *Divines*, but as *Witnesses* of *Tradition* only.

§. 6.

Moreover it is the constant Opinion of the *Fathers*, since the Fourth *Century* that our *Saviour* twice penetrated with his Body through the Doors where the *Disciples* were assembled, because he came twice to them, saith St. *John*, *The Doors being shut, and stood in the midst of them.*

Joh. 20. 19, 26. Vid. Maldonat. in locum.

Whereas 'tis evident that this Phrase doth not inferr this Penetration, any more than my saying, *I came into the College the Gates being shut*, imports, that with my Body I pierced through the *College Gates.* It doth not in the least inforce us

to

to conclude, that our *Lord* did not by his power open the Doors, or come in any other way.

And whoſoever ſeriouſly conſiders the circumſtances of the Text, will find good Reaſon to believe, that *Chriſt* did not thus penetrate through the Doors as they imagined, for the *Apoſtle* doth inform us, *ver.* 20. that *Chriſt* when he was come among them *ſhewed them his Hands and his Feet*; he therefore purpoſely appeared to convince them that he was riſen in the ſame Body in which he Suffered, and which he laid down in the Sepulchre. *They*, ſaith St. *Luke*, *were troubled* at his Appearance, *and thought that they had ſeen a Spirit*; to remove which Imagination, our *Lord* ſpeaks to them thus, *Why are ye troubled, and why do ſuch Reaſonings riſe up in your Hearts, ſee my Hands and my Feet, that it is I my ſelf, handle me, and ſee, for a Spirit hath not Fleſh and Bones, as you ſee I have.* St. *John* informs us, that his ſecond Appearance, when the Doors were ſhut, was deſigned particularly to convince St. *Thomas* of the ſame Truth, and to confirm the Reſurrection of his proper Body to him. He ſpeaks thus, *Reach hither thy Finger, and behold my Hands, and reach hither thy Hand, and thruſt it into my Side, and be not faithleſs but believing*; whereas had *Chriſt* penetrated with his Body through the Doors at both theſe Appearances, and ſo had entred in to them after the manner, not of a Body, but a Spirit, he had done that which muſt have ſtagger'd their Faith at the ſame time that he deſigned to confirm them in it. For, notwithſtanding any thing they ſeemed to ſee or feel, they could not well believe he had true Fleſh and Bones, and was no Spirit, had they believed and known, he even then had thus penetrated through their Doors, and therefore had done that which only *Spirits*, and no true Fleſh and Bones could do. And if you here referr this Action with the *Fathers* to *Chriſt*'s Almighty Power, why might not his *Diſciples*, if they did the like, miſtruſt that by the ſelf-ſame power, he, who did this, might make that Body which appeared to them, ſeem to have Fleſh and Bones, and Prints of Wounds, when it had not?

Luk. xxiv. 38, 39.

Joh. xx. 27.

When our *Roman Doctors* ſhall have anſwered this Scruple, I ſhall pay greater Reverence to the *Authority* of the *Fathers* of the Fourth and the enſuing Centuries touching this matter, but

Pſeudo-Juſtin, Nazianz. Chryſoſtom, St. Jerom, Auſtin, Euthymius. *Apud Maldonatum in* Matth. xxviij. 2

till then I shall continue as much to Scruple Christ's penetration with his Body through the Doors, as I do that other fine Invention of some of the same *Fathers*, that our Lord's Body at his Resurrection, *penetrated through the Stone of the Sepulchre.*

But besides all these Instances there are two celebrated in *Church-History*, which are abundantly sufficient to discover the uncertainty of the pretences to Tradition in such Cases, even according to the Judgment of most Learned *Romanists*.

§. 7. The First is the known Story of the *Phœnix*, that solitary Bird, which hath no other of its Kind, and which is propagated only by a Worm arising out of its burnt Ashes, as is related in the first *Century* by *Clemens Romanus* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, which used to be publickly read in the *Church*. By *Tertullian* in the Third Century. In the Fourth Century by *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, who saith, ἱστοῦσι πλείονες, Clemens *and many others did relate it*, and bids us *not disbelive it*. *Epiphanius* not only introduceth it as a thing whose Fame had come to many of the Faithful, but he triumphs over the *Jews* with this *Question*, *Why should you not believe our Lord's Resurrection in Three days*, ἐπειπὼν τὸ ὄρνιον διὰ τριῶν ἡμέρων ἐζωοποιήθη, *when a Bird was restored to Life in Three Days?* St. *Ambrose* saith, *Hoc relatione crebra, & Scripturarum Authoritate cognovimus, We know this by frequent Relation, and by the Authority of the Scriptures*, which he saith, as being of the number of those *Fathers*, who applied that Saying of the Psalmist, Δίκαιος ὡς φοῖνιξ ἀνθήσει, *The Just shall flourish as a Palm-Tree*, to this Bird, because the same *Greek* word signifies both a *Palm-Tree* and a *Phœnix*. *Synesius* saith, That by the coming of this Bird, the *Ægyptians measured*, τὰς περιόδους, *the Circuit of their Times*, he coming, as the Story saith, once only in Five hundred Years. *Ruffinus* in his Symbol mentions this as a thing certain.

P. 34, 35. De Resur. Carn. c. 13. Catech. 18. p. 213, 214. Ancorat. c. 85. Physic. c. 11. De fide Resur. p. 39. vide etiam Hexam. l. 5. c. 23. & in Ps. 118. p. 565. Ps. xcij. 12. Dion. p. 49. Renasci Constat, apud Hieron. Tom. 4. f. 47. b. L. 5. c. 7. p. 246. Carmen de Phœn. Tom. 4. f. 54.

The *Constitutions* stiled *Apostolical*, —— The Verses which pass under the Name of *Lactantius*, —— The Epistle under the Name of *Jerome* to *Præsidius* say the same thing. And yet this Story is deservedly now rejected by the best Writers of the *Church* of *Rome*. And whosoever considers the *Heathenism* mixed with it; *viz.* That this Bird comes, πρὸς τὸ λεγόμενον ἡλίου βωμὸν, *to the Altar of the Sun*, and doth, τῷ ἡλίῳ προσεύξασθαι, *pray*

Const. Apost. & Lact. ubi sup. Epiph. & Hieron. ibid.

pray to the Sun; and when ſhe is to be conſumed, ſhe goes to the *Prieſt* of *Heliopolis*, and enters with him into the *Temple*; that the new Bird which ariſeth out of her Aſhes, ἀσπάζεται τὸν ἱερέα, *ſaluteth the ſame* Pagan *Prieſt*, and taking up the Bones of her Conſumed Parent, ὁ δὲ τὸν ἥλιον βωμὸν πέμπουσιν αὐτῷ, *lays them upon the Altar of the Sun.* Epiph. Phyſ. c. 11.

I ſay, Whoſoever well conſiders of theſe things, will find ſufficient cauſe to ſay with *Cotelerius*, *Mirum cunctis Chriſtianis non ſuboluiſſe fraudem ob Paganiſmum fabellæ permiſtum*, *It is to be wondered that the Paganiſm mixed with this Fable, diſcovered not the Cheat unto all Chriſtians.* Not. in Clem. P. 90.

§. 8.

The Second is the Story of the *Cells* of the *Septuagint*, in which they are ſaid to have been ſeverally placed when they Tranſlated the *Old-Teſtament* from the *Hebrew* into *Greek*, and yet to have performed this Tranſlation all in the ſame words. This *Juſtin Martyr* having related, uſeth theſe words, Ταῦτα δὲ μῦθον ὑμῖν οὐδὲ πεπλασμένας ἱστορίας ἀπαγγέλλομεν, ἀλλὰ ἀληθῆ· ἔστι γὰρ ἐκεῖ ὡς τὰ πάτρια παραδεδομένα ἀκηκόοτες ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλομεν; *Theſe things we report to you* Gentiles *not as Fables, or as feigned Stories, but as a received Tradition, delivered to us by the Inhabitants of the Place.* *Irenæus* having told the ſame Hiſtory, concludes thus, *Firma eſt, & non ficta quæ ſecundum nos eſt fides, manifeſtam oſtenſionem habens ex* his Scripturis, *Our Faith is firm, and not feigned, having manifeſt demonſtration from theſe Scriptures.* Exhort. ad Græc. p. 13, 14. L. 3. c. 25.

Clemens Alexandrinus, St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, and *Epiphanius* among the *Greek Fathers*, expreſly affirm the ſame thing touching theſe Cells, or their Interpretation of *Scripture*, in the very ſame words, though ſeparated one from the other. *Tertullian* ſpeaks, *De ſententiæ Communione*, Of this *conſpiring in their Sentiments*, as an Evidence of a divine Providence aſſiſting them. And St. *Auſtin* is expreſs both for their ſeparate Interpretation, and their exact Agreement in the words. And all theſe *Fathers* hence conclude, that this Interpretation was performed, Θείᾳ δυνάμει, κατ' ἐπίπνοιαν Θεοῦ, ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, *Spiritu eodem aſſiſtente qui in Prophetis erat quando illa dixerunt*, by divine Power and Inſpiration, by the ſame Holy Spirit which enabled the *Prophets* to indite theſe *Scriptures*. And they who do not ſpeak expreſly of theſe Circumſtances, do notwithſtanding generally acknowledge that their Interpretation was *Prophetical* and Divine. Strom. 1. p. 342. Catech. 4. p. 37. De Menſur. p. 160, 161, 163. Apol. c. 18. De C. D. l. 18. c. 42, 43. *Ibid.*

Euſebius

Præpar. Evan. L. 8. c. 1. *Eusebius* saith, That it was, Θεόθεν οἰκονομηθεῖσα ἑρμήνεια, *an Interpretation ordered by God*; it was done by them, saith St. *Hilary*, Spirituali & Cœlesti scientia, *with Spiritual and Heavenly Knowledge*, —— μὴ ἄνευ θείας ἐπιπνοίας, *not without Divine Inspiration*, saith *Theodoret*, and that by reason of the great *Symphony*, which was in their Interpretations.

Prolog. in Psalm. p. 635. Præfat. in Psalm.

And yet these things delivered with so great consent of *Ancient Fathers*, and contradicted only by Saint *Jerom*, who upon that account hardly escaped their *Censure*, are now rejected by the most learned *Romanists* as false and incredible. For, as for the Story of the *Cells*, *Bellarmine* saith, That *the* Jews *might easily impose on* Justin Martyr, Fabulam à se confictam, *a Fable feigned by themselves*; *and it might as easily happen*, that *aliqui posteriores fidem habuerint Justino*, *That some succeeding Fathers should give credit unto* Justin: *That Story of the Cells*, saith *Petavius*, ægre admodum fidem obtinet, *is scarcely credible*. Mr. *Du Pin* declares, This is *une fiction des Juifs*, to which the *Fathers* above-named yielded their assent. F. *Simon* saith, That *all which the Fathers have said of the Seventy Interpreters, excepting some few things feigned afterwards by the* Jews, *were taken out of* Aristæus, *whom all judicious Criticks now judge Spurious*; and having objected against himself, *Patrum omnium Autoritatem the Authority of all the Fathers*, he answers, That *we are not so much in this matter to consider*, quid a Patribus dictum fuerit, *what the Fathers said, as what Reasons they had to say so*; and that *Jerom did not scruple to oppose himself*, contra communem Patrum sententiam, *against the common Opinion of the Fathers about the Cells, to Laugh at* Justin for it, *as a simple Man, and to say roundly*, Nescio quis primus auctor Septuaginta Cellulas mendacio suo exstruxit, *I know not who was the first Author of the Lye.*

De verbo Dei l. 2. c. 6. §. hæc sententia. Notæ in Epiph. de Mens. & Pond. p. 378. Nov. Biblioth. part. 1. differt. prælim. p. 82, 88. Disq. Crit. c. 15. p. 109. Ibid.

As for the Second Point touching their *Inspiration*, or Divine Assistance in this work; he confesseth that *Vossius* in that Assertion, that they were thus inspired, *Sibi consentientes habet Patres omnes, si unum exceperis Hieronymum*, *Had all the Fathers on his side, excepting* Jerom, *and as for him, he narrowly escaped being cast out of the Church as an Innovator for denying it*; *and yet*, saith he, *the Judgment of St.* Jerom, *and the Grave Authors of our Age is to be preferred*; *for the Fathers being only skill'd in Greek and Latin*, de rebus sibi incognitis quidquam certi definire non

Parum abfuit quin ab Ecclesia tanquam Novator ejiceretur. C. 16. p. 129, 130. C. 14. p. 115.

non potuerunt, *could ſay nothing certain of things unknown to themſelves*; *indeed*, ſaith he, *in matters of Faith, the conſent of the Doctors of the Church hath in it ſomething of Divine*; at ille cordatus non eſt, nec religioſus, *but he is not ſincere or Religious, who in things which are not of Faith, fears to depart from the Sentence of the Fathers, and had rather believe other Mens Writings, than his own Eyes and Experience.* And he concludes with theſe remarkable Words, *Cenſuræ Hieronymi Patronam ſe præbuit Eccleſia Romana, dum relicta Septuaginta Interpretum Verſione, quæ per tot annos univerſum orbem catholicum ſola occupaverat, Hieronymianam, recens cuſam ad Judæorum codices, amplexata eſt*; *The Church of* Rome *hath given Patronage to the Cenſure of* Jerom, *by leaving the Verſion of the Septuagint which had obtained in the whole Church Catholick, and Embracing the Verſion of* Jerom *made new according to the Books of the* Jews.

C. 16. p. 130.

C. 14. p. 116.

If then the *Heatheniſh* Story of the *Phœnix* could obtain ſuch Credit among the *Primitive Fathers*, as to be gain-ſaid by none but *Maximus*: If the *Jewiſh* Fiction of the *Cells* obtained ſtill greater Credit, being only queſtioned by St. *Jerom*, what Security can we have that other Stories of like Nature are of unqueſtionable Credit? If the ſole Aſſertion of St. *Jerom* is patronized by the *Church* of *Rome*, againſt the conſtant Judgment of the whole *Catholick* World, if his Tranſlation from the *Hebrew*, which when he made it firſt was generally Condemned and Cenſured, and for which ſome charged him with *Hereſy*, and all with *Innovation*, is now made *Canonical*, muſt not the *Church* of *Rome* have changed her Judgment? Muſt ſhe not have rejected the Sentence of the whole *Church Catholick* of the Five firſt Ages, and given us juſt Reaſon to uſe the ſame Liberty, if we were minded ſo to do, in any other Inſtance of like Nature.

Ruffinus ei notam Hæreſeos impingebat. *Eraſm. Arg. Apol. Hierom. adv. Ruff. Ep. Tom.* 2. *f.* 82. b.

For further Explication of this Queſtion, let it be obſerved that we contend not with the *Church* of *Rome* about *Eccleſiaſtical Traditions*, touching *Ceremonials*, unneceſſary Obſervations and Conſtitutions *Eccleſiaſtical*, ſuch as are the Croſs in Baptiſm, Trine Immerſion, the Renunciation of *Satan* and his Pomps, the Unction of the Baptized Perſons, the Words uſed at the Conſecration of that, and of the other Sacrament, the

§. 9. Qu. 4. Diſt. 3.

Kiſs

Kiſs of *Charity*, the *Lent Faſt*, the Worſhip of God towards the *Eaſt*, Prayer ſtanding on the Lord's Day, *&c.* but only touching neceſſary Rules of Faith and Manners. In matters of the firſt kind we ſay in the words impoſed upon St. *Baſil*, That *the Practice of the Church is ſufficient, though we cannot tell* ἐκ ποίων γεγραμμάτων ἔχομεν, *from what Scripture we derive theſe practices*; but in Matters of Faith, we ſay with the true St. *Baſil*, treating upon the Articles of *Chriſtian* Faith: That *it is the property of a faithful Steward to deliver nothing to his fellow Servants, as part of holy Faith, but what is committed to him by his good Lord:* i. e. what he hath learned from the *Holy Scriptures*. That *it is a manifeſt falling from the Faith, and an argument of Pride either to reject any thing that is written, or to ſuperinduce any thing that is not written*; *our Lord having ſaid, My Sheep hear my Voice*. That *the Apoſtle vehemently forbids, that any thing ſhould be added to, or taken from the divinely inſpired Scriptures which are Chriſt's Will and Teſtament.*

De Spiritu Sancto, c. 27.

De vera & pia fide, p. 386.

Vid. Chap. 10. §. 5.

Of matters of the *firſt* kind we ſay with *Tertullian*, that they are ſuch as we think fit to be received and obſerved in any *Church* which ſhall enjoin them, *ſine ullius ſcripturæ inſtrumento, ſolius traditionis titulo, & exinde conſuetudinis patrocinio*; *Upon the ſole account of Tradition and Cuſtom*, though Scripture *hath ſaid nothing of them*. In matters of the ſecond kind we ſay with the ſame *Tertullian*, *None can diſcourſe of the things of Faith but from the Holy Scriptures*; That *none can have the Integrity of Doctrine without the integrity of thoſe Inſtruments*; that *what the Scriptures are, we are*; and that *we adore the fullneſs of the Scriptures*. If the Queſtion were of the firſt, as *v. g.* Whether on *Holy Thurſday* we ſhould offer in the Morning, and after Supper too, or faſt the Evening, and then offer; we anſwer to that Queſtion with St. *Auſtin*; *Si quid horum totum per orbem frequentat Eccleſia*; *If the whole Church doth any thing of this nature, it is inſolent madneſs to diſpute whether it ought to be done*; for this is to diſpute and trouble the *Church* about a thing of nought, and ſo to diſcover an unpeaceable, and ungovernable temper of mind. Or if the *Queſtion* were, *Whether the Sacrament is to be received faſting, or not*, we think it fit to be concluded by the practice of the *Univerſal Church*, not contradicted by our *Lord*'s Precepts, nor repugnant to Faith, or Manners. For in ſuch caſes St. *Auſtin* ſaith, *Emendari oportet quod perperam*

De Cor. Milit. cap. 2.

L. de præſcript. c. 15. Cap. 38. Adv. Hermog. c. 22.

Ep. 118. ad Jan. cap. 5. p. 558.

Ep. 118. ad Jan. c. 6. p. 559.

perperam fiebat; *That which was ill done, ought to be amended*; and that *none should vary from our Lord's Command.* But if the *Question* be of *Articles* of Faith, and necessary Rules of Manners, we say with the same St. *Austin*, *Wherefore should I teach thee any thing more than that we read in the Apostle*; *for the Holy Scripture fixeth the Rule of our Doctrine, lest we should attempt to known more*; and again, *If any one, I will not say if we, (no way to be compared to him who said, Though we,) but if an Angel from Heaven should preach unto you, either concerning Christ or his Church, or any other thing which belongs to our Faith, or Life, besides what you have received in the Legal, and Evangelical Scriptures, let him be accursed.* In a word, the Kiss of Charity, the Office of the *Diaconess*, the breaking of the Bread distributed, and *Baptism* by immersion, which are all Ceremonies, and Constitutions mentioned in *Holy Scripture*; Prayer standing on the *Lord's* Day, commanded by the first *General Council* of *Nice*, Prayer towards the *East*, the Consecration of one Loaf for all the Communicants, carrying home the *Eucharist*, to omit many things of a like nature, were all of them Customs received generally in the next Age to the *Apostles*, and yet now generally disused by the present *Church* of *Rome*, which therefore cannot justly blame others for disuse of any Customs of like nature.

Cap. 5. ibid.

De Bono Vid. cap. 1. Tom. 4. p. 1018.

Sive de Christo, sive de ejus Ecclesia, sive de quacunq; alia re quæ pertinet ad fidem vitamque nostram, si Angelus de cœlo vobis annunciaverit præterquam quod in Scripturis legalibus & evangelicis accepistis, Anathema sit. *De lit. Petil. l.* 3. *c.* 6.

Ἐσῶτας ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδύναι τῷ Θεῷ. Cap. 20.

CHAP. II.

Fourthly, *For Explication of the Question observe, That the Tradition we admit is the Tradition of all past Ages, and not that of the present Church, and much less of the Church of* Rome, §. 1. *This also is the Tradition pleaded by* Origen, *St.* Basil *and St.* Austin, *and which 'tis suitable to Reason to allow,* Ibid. *The Testimony of the present Church of* Rome, *and her Adherents, can be no sure Evidence of true Apostolical Tradition,* 1. *Because she actually hath imposed false Doctrines and Practices as Apostolical Tradition.* 2. *Because she hath no better Right to testifie in this Matter than the Eastern Churches,* §. 2. 3. *Be-*

cause her present Testimony contradicts the Testimony of the whole Church in general, and of the Roman *Church in particular, in former Ages*, §. 3. 1. *Touching the number of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament.* 2. *Of the Authority of the Epistle to the* Hebrews. 3. *Of the number of the Sacraments.* 4. *Of Concomitance.* 5. *Of pronouncing part of the Maß in a low Voice.* 6. *Of the Veneration of Images.* 7. *Of Communion in one Kind.* 8. *Of her Twelve new Articles.* 9. *Of the no necessity of giving the Eucharist to Infants*, Ibid. 4. *Because this Doctrine makes Scripture, Reason and Antiquity not only useless but pernicious to us*, §. 4. *More Instances of the Contradiction betwixt the Decrees of the Ancient Catholick Church, and of the present Church of* Rome, 1st. *In the Decree of the* Trent *Council, touching the Freedom of the Blessed Virgin from Actual Sin*, §. 5. 2dly. *In the permission that Church gives to eat things Strangled and Blood*, §. 6. *In punishing Men with Death for their Religion*, §. 7. *In not breaking the Bread they distribute; not permitting the Communicants to carry it home; not Consecrating it with a loud Voice*, §. 8. *In the Matter of the Immaculate Conception, though not conciliarly defined*, §. 9. *Seven Corollaries from this Instance*, §. 10.

§. 1. Dist. 4. MOreover, for farther Explication of this *Question*, let it be noted, That by the word *Tradition*, when we allow what can be proved by it, to be in Matters of Faith a *Doctrine*, or a *Revelation* derived from the *Apostles*, in matters of *Government*, of *Discipline*, or practice an *Apostolical* Ordinance or Institution; we mean not the *Tradition* of the present *Church*, and much less the *Tradition* of the *Church* of *Rome*, and her *Adherents*, but we mean with Mr. *Knot*, *Such a Tradition which involves an evidence of Fact, and from Hand to Hand, from Age to Age, bringing us up to the Times and Persons of the Apostles, and our Saviour himself, cometh to be confirmed by all those Miracles and other Arguments, by which they proved their Doctrine to be true, or such a Practice as the Church hath observed in all past Ages*, according to the Third Rule of *Bellarmine*, for the discerning *Apostolical* Traditions, and such an Article of Faith as all the *Doctors* of the Church, by common consent, have always testified to have descended from *Apostolical* Tradition.

Charity Maint. ch. 2. §. 14.

Id quod in Ecclesia Universa, & omnibus retro temporibus, servatum est, merito ab Apostolis creditur institutum. *De verbo Dei non scripto, l.* 4 *c.* 9.

Such

Such is the Tradition which St. *Basil* insists upon for the use of the Words, σὺν πνεύματι, *with the Spirit*, in the Doxology of the *Church*, *viz.* That ἀφ' ἧς καλαγγέλλη τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, μέχει τῦ νῦν ἐμπολιτευομένη ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις διεκυλάχθη, *which was customarily used in the Churches from the first Preaching of the Gospel to that very time*; and of such Traditions we say with him, That it is ἀποστολικὸν, *suitable to the Apostles Doctrine to continue in them.* Such is the Tradition of which *Origen* speaks when he saith, That *only is to be believed as Truth, which in nothing disagreeth from the Tradition Ecclesiastical*, that is, *The*, prædicatio per successionis ordinem ab Apostolis tradita, & usque ad præsens in Ecclesiis permanens, *preaching delivered down by order of Succession from the Apostles, and to this present time continued in the Churches.* This is the Tradition of which St. *Austin* speaks in his Book *De utilitate credendi, viz.* of the Tradition, *quæ ab ipso Christo per Apostolos ad nos usque manavit, which came down from Christ by his Apostles to that present time*, which, à Majoribus nostris tradita ad nos usque servata est, *being delivered by our Ancestors, hath been preserved to our times, and which is*, celebritate, consensione, vetustate roborata, *strengthened with a general Fame, Consent and Antiquity.* And this is also the *Authority* he meaneth when he saith, *I should not have believed the Gospel*, nisi me Catholicæ Ecclesiæ moveret Authoritas, *unless the Authority of the Catholick Church had moved me.* For he informs us, That he speaks of that Authority which was, *Miraculis inchoata, vetustate firmata, begun by Miracles and confirmed by Antiquity*: And this must of necessity be meant by that Tradition which is the Foundation of an Article of Faith, for Faith must be a matter of Divine *Revelation*, and therefore must proceed from *Christ* or his *Apostles*, from whom alone all Revelations of the *Christian* Faith have issued, the *Churches* Business being to Believe, to Preach and Testifie, not to enlarge or shorten, to alter or diversifie the Faith by them delivered to her, and what they taught her as a thing necessary to be believed, or practised by all *Christians*, must consequently be so believed, taught and practised through all future Ages, provided that they walk according to their Rule. Hence saith *Vincentius Lirinensis*, *Hoc est vere, proprieque Catholicum, quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus, That is truly Catholick Doctrine which was held in all places, all times, and*

L. de Spiritu Sancto, c. 29.

Ibid.

Præfat. in libr. περὶ ἀρχῶν.

Cap. 8.

Cap. 10.

Cap. 14.

Contr. Epist. Man. quam vocant Fundament. c. 4.

Common. c. 3.

Sect. 4. *by all Persons.* And accordingly the *Trent Council*, and the *Roman Doctors* pretend to have received those Doctrines in which they differ from us, partly from Scripture, and partly from *Tradition, derived from the Apostles to their days.*

§. 2. But here begins the difference betwixt us, (1.) That they will have the Testimony of the present *Church* to be an "Evidence sufficient of the Tradition of the *Church* of for-"mer Ages, and will maintain this way of Arguing to be "good. The present *Church* of *Rome*, and they who hold "Communion with her, deliver such and such Doctrines "as Traditions received from the *Apostles*, and handed "down from them thoughout all Ages, and by all true *Chri-*"*stian Churches* to this present Age, and therefore they un-"doubtedly are such.

We on the contrary say, That we have clear unquestionable Evidence from *Scripture* and *Church-History*, that many of the Doctrines imposed upon us by the *Church* of *Rome* as *Apostolick* Doctrines and Traditions, were not received, but rather were condemned and abhorred by the former Ages of the *Church* of *Christ* in general, and in particular by that of *Rome*, and this hath been already proved in the instance of their *Latin Service*, the *Veneration of Images*, and *Communion in one Kind*; whence it demonstratively follows, that this proposition is contrary to plain matter of Fact.

Again, What better reason can be given for this Consequence, *viz. The present Church of* Rome, *with her Adherents, deliver such a Doctrine for Apostolical Tradition, and therefore so it is*, than of this other which plainly contradicts it, *The* Greek *and* Eastern *Churches with their Adherents, teach such and such Doctrines opposite to the pretended Traditions of the Church of* Rome, *as Doctrines delivered to them from the Apostles, and from the former Ages of the Church of Christ, and therefore they are truly such*: For these *Churches* never pretended to have made any Reformation, but that they, since the days of the *Apostles*, have kept safe and sound, as *Barlaam* saith, τὰς τ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παραδόσεις, *the Traditions of the Catholick Church.* The *Oriental Patriarchs* in the *Council* of *Florence* allow, that others should be their Vicars, and that they would assent to

Καὶ τὰς παραδόσεις τῆς ἁγίων οἰκουμενικῶν Συνόδων, καὶ τῆς ἁγίων Διδασκάλων τ ἐκκλησίας. Hist. Concil. Flor. §. 3. c. 3.

what

what was done in that *Council*, provided that they acted, κατὰ τὰς παραδόσεις, *according to the Traditions* of the Holy *Oecumenical Synods*, and the Holy *Doctors* of the *Church*, and that nothing were added to, or taken from, ἢ καινοποιήθη, *or was innovated in the Faith.*

The Legats of *Iberia* in the ſame *Council* ſpeak thus to the Pope, ἡμετέρα ἐκκλησία κατέχει καλῶς ὅσα παρέλαβεν, &c. *Our Church preſerveth whatſoever ſhe hath received from the Doctrine of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the Tradition of the Holy Apoſtles, and the Oecumenical Synods and the Holy Doctors of the Church*; καὶ οὐδ' ὅλως παρεξῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆ διδασκαλίας αὐτῆς, καὶ ἤτε προσέθηκε, ἤτε ἀφείλετο τὸ τυχὸν; *and ſhe hath not at all deviated from their Doctrine, nor added to, or taken away any thing from it.* The *Greeks* in the *Florentine Council* ſhew their zeal, that nothing ſhould be added to, or taken from the Faith, becauſe they were not to change the *Old Land-marks which their Fathers had ſet.* And they approve that Decree of the Second *Nicene Council*, Εἴ τις πᾶσαν παράδοσιν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἔγγραφόν τε καὶ ἄγραφον ἀθετεῖ, ἀνάθεμα, *If any Man make void any Eccleſiaſtical Tradition, written or unwritten, let him be Anathema*: Such Reaſon had *Barlaam* to ſay, That among them, οὐδὲν οὕτω τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παράδοσεως νενόμισται πρότερον, *nothing (by them) was more eſteemed than the Tradition of the Catholick Church.*

Hiſt. Concil. Flor. S. 9. c. 12.

Seſſ. 5. apud Bin. Tom. 8. p. 589.

P. 596.

§. 3.

Thirdly, If the belief, and declaration of the preſent *Church* of *Rome*, and her adherents be a ſufficient Evidence of the Tradition of all former Ages, and what ſhe now averrs to be Tradition *Apoſtolical*, muſt always have been ſo, and what ſhe now denies to be *Tradition*, muſt never have been ſo, then many things muſt be derived from *Primitive*, and *Apoſtolical* Tradition, and yet muſt not be ſo; for the *Church* of *Rome* cannot be more infallible in declaring, in this preſent Age, what is *Tradition*, than ſhe was in all paſt Ages, they being once the preſent Age. And yet it is exceeding certain, that the preſent *Church* of *Rome*, with her *Adherents*, holds many things to be Traditions *Apoſtolical* which in the former Ages were by her, and by the whole *Church Catholick* declared to be no ſuch matter, and that ſhe holdeth many things to be no *Traditions* truly *Primitive* and *Apoſtolical*, which ſhe, and others, who conſented with her, formerly declared to be true *Primitive* and

and *Apoſtolical* Traditions, as will be evident by theſe enſuing Inſtances.

1. She holds at preſent all the Books of the *Old Teſtament*, enumerated in the Fourth Seſſion of the *Trent Council*, to have been handed down as *Canonical Scriptures*, continuâ Succeſſione in Catholica Eccleſia, *by continual Succeſſion of the Catholick Church*; whereas, I ſhall hereafter prove, that for the Four firſt Centuries, and from the Sixth to the Fourteenth ſhe and all other Churches held ſome of them to be *Apocryphal* or *Uncanonical*.

Ibid. Seſſ. 4.

2. She holds at preſent, That it is a Tradition preſerved by continual Succeſſion in the *Church Catholick*, that the *Canonical Epiſtles* of St. *Paul* are *Quatuordecem*, *Fourteen*, and that the *Epiſtle* to the *Hebrews* is *Canonical*, whereas formerly ſhe, and other *Weſtern Churches*, agreeing with her in that matter, did not receive the *Epiſtle* to the *Hebrews* as *Canonical*, and conſequently could not believe that the *Church Catholick* did by continual Succeſſion hold, that the number of St. *Paul*'s *Canonical* Epiſtles were *Fourteen*.

See Chap. 3. *Sect.* 16.

Concil. Trid. Seſſ. 7. Can. 1.

3. She pretends at preſent, *Apoſtolicis Traditionibus, atque aliorum conſiliorum, & patrum conſenſui inhærendo*, *Adhering to Apoſtolical Tradition, and the Conſent of Fathers and of Councils*, to define, That *the Sacraments of the New Law inſtituted by Chriſt Jeſus, and truly and properly ſo called, are neither more nor leſs than Seven*; and yet it hath been lately proved, that from the days of *Gregory* the *Great*, or from the *Sixth* to the *Twelfth Century* ſhe declared the contrary.

Treat. of Latin Serv. præf. p. 5, 6, 7, 8.

Seſſ. 13. cap. 3.

4. She holds at preſent, That *ſemper hæc fides in Eccleſia Dei fuit*, *This was the Faith perpetually received in the Church*, that, *by virtue of Concomitance, the Body of Chriſt in the Sacrament is under the Species of Wine, and his Blood under the Species of Bread, and his Soul under both*; and that this is the Doctrine, *quam ſemper Catholica Eccleſia retinuit*, *which the Catholick Church being taught by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and the Holy Spirit hath always retained*; and yet it hath been fully proved, that to the Tenth *Century* ſhe taught the contrary.

Treat. of Com. in one Kind, c. 7. §. 5, 6, 7.

Ibid. c. 5. §. 1. *Tr. of Lat. Serv.* c. 16. p. 69.

5. She holds at preſent, That the *Roman Inſtitution*, *to pronounce ſome things in the Maſs with a low, and others with a loud voice, proceeded*, ex Apoſtolica Doctrina & Traditione, *from the Apoſtolical Tradition and Diſcipline*, whereas it hath

hath been proved that formerly ſhe taught the contrary.

6. It is the preſent Tradition of the *Romiſh Church*, and her Adherents, That *the Veneration, and Honorary Worſhip of Images is ſuitable to the Tradition*, Catholicæ & Apoſtolicæ Eccleſiæ, *of the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church*, whereas this hath been proved contrary to the *Ancient Tradition* of the whole *Church* of *Chriſt* in general, and of that of *Rome* in particular. Concil. Trid. Seſſ. 25. *Treat. of the Veneration of Images.*

7. The preſent Church of *Rome* pretends, following *ipſius Eccleſiæ judicium & conſuetudinem, the Cuſtom and Judgment of the Church*, to declare and teach, That *Laicks, and Clerks not conſecrating, are not obliged to receive the Sacrament in both Kinds*, whereas it hath been proved that for a Thouſand Years the contrary was both the Judgment and Cuſtom of the whole *Church* in general, and of that of *Rome* in particular. Seſſ. 21. c. 1. *Treat. of Com. in one Kind.*

8. The preſent *Church* of *Rome* declares, touching her new *Creed*, containing Twelve *New Articles*, neither comprized in, nor deducible from the *Apoſtles* or the *Nicene Creed*, that it contains, *veram Catholicam fidem extra quam nemo ſalvus eſſe poteſt, the true Catholick Faith without which no man can be ſaved*, whereas it is here proved, that the whole Church of *Chriſt* in general, and in particular the *Roman Church*, believed that the *Apoſtles* and the *Nicene Creed* contained all the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith. Ch. 7. §. 4. 10.

9. The preſent *Roman Church* pronounceth an *Anathema* on thoſe who ſay the *Euchariſt* is neceſſary to Children before they come to Years of Diſcretion, that is on *Pope Innocent*, *Pope Pelagius*, and the whole Church of *Chriſt* for Six hundred Years. Concil. Trid. Seſſ. 21. can. 4. Chap. 12. Sect. 3, 4, 5.

§. 4.

And truly if the Tradition or the Doctrine of the preſent Church of *Rome*, muſt be the Rule by which alone we are to judge of the *Tradition*, Practice, and Doctrines of the whole *Church* of *Chriſt* throughout all Ages; if we lie under any Obligation to determine thus, That *this is the Practice, the Tradition, the Doctrine of the preſent* Roman *Church, therefore this was the Doctrine, the Practice, the Tradition of all former Ages of the Chriſtian Church*, then all the Reaſon God hath given us, and all the Learning which we can, with all our induſtry acquire from *Scripture*, and all the Teſtimonies of the *Fathers* and *Church* Writers, could we ſhew them throughout Fifteen

Canon of Script. Fifteen Centuries, as *Dr. Couſins* hath done, declaring themſelves fully in oppoſition to the *Church* of *Rome*: I ſay, if the Declarations of the *Church* of *Rome* muſt wholly over-rule us in theſe matters, all the knowledge we can acquire from *Scripture*, Reaſon, or the *Fathers*, is not worth one Straw; we may even burn all our Books of *Antiquity*, our *Fathers*, and *Church Hiſtory*, yea, and our *Bibles* too, and lay aſide our uſeleſs Reaſon; for whatſoever ſervice theſe things may do to *Holy Church*, they can do none to us. The reading of theſe *Authors*, the uſe of Reaſon to diſcern betwixt good and evil, right and wrong, true and falſe in *Chriſtian* Practices and Doctrines, muſt be the moſt pernicious things in which we can be exerciſed; for, ſure I am, no Man of honeſt Conſcience and ſound Judgment can read the *Scriptures* and the *Fathers* carefully, but he muſt very ſtrongly be tempted by his Reaſon to ſuſpect, and muſt in many things ſeem abſolutely certain, that *Apoſtolical Tradition* cannot be known by the *Tradition* of the preſent *Church* of *Rome*, yea that many of her preſent *Traditions*, Doctrines and Practices, are evidently and unqueſtionably repugnant to the *Traditions*, Practices, and Doctrines of the *Apoſtles*, and the whole Church of *Chriſt*, for Six, Eight, Ten, Twelve or Fourteen *Centuries*.

§. 5. To add ſome farther Inſtances to theſe, I have already mentioned, *Eccleſia tenet de Beata Virgine quod ex ſpeciali Dei*
Seſſ. 6. can. 23. *privilegio in tota vita peccata omnia etiam venialia vitaverit*, *The Church of* Rome *now holds*, ſaith the *Trent* Council, *that the Bleſſed Virgin was, through her whole Life, free from venial Sin*; and yet ſuch is the Evidence of Truth to the contrary, that many *Doctors* of the *Roman Church* are even forced to confeſs, that this Determination is contrary to the *common Judgment*
In John ij. of the *Fathers*. *Maldonate* ſpeaks thus, *Among the Ancient Fathers I find very few who either do not openly ſay, or obſcurely ſignifie that the Bleſſed Virgin was guilty of ſome Fault or Error.* And though *ſome have endeavoured*, ſaith *Petavius*, *to mollifie the*
De Incar. l. 14. c. 1. ſect. 7. *Sayings of the Fathers, yet their endeavour is vain*; Nam adeo diſertam continent cujuſque modi delicti ſignificationem, ut aliorſum detorqueri ſe minime patiuntur, *For their Sayings do ſo expreſly import the ſignification of ſome guilt, that they cannot be wreſted to another ſence*; and that they had good reaſon to make

make theſe Confeſſions, will be apparent from theſe Citations following.

Our Lord, ſaith *Irenæus*, repellens ejus intempeſtivam feſtinationem, *repelling her unſeaſonable haſtineſs, ſaid to her, Woman, what have I to do with thee?* L. 3. c. 18. p. 277.

In the Third Century *Tertullian* expreſly charges her with incredulity, for he declares, That our Lord *Chriſt therefore denied his Mother and his Brethren, ſaying, Who is my Mother and my Brethren? becauſe his Brethren did not believe in him*, and becauſe *Mater non adhæſit illi, his Mother did not cleave unto him.* In this place, ſaith he, appears *incredulitas eorum, the unbelief of* them, that *when he was Preaching the Word of Life, and healing of Diſeaſes and Sins, his Relations ſtood without*, and were ſo far from harkening *to him, that they did rather interrupt, and call him from ſo good a Work*; and will *Apelles* ſay, That Chriſt unworthily uſed theſe words, *Ad percutiendam infidelitatem foris ſtantium? To ſmite the incredulity of them who ſtood without? Origen*, upon *Luke*, asks what that Sword was which *Simeon* foretold of, ſaying, it ſhould paſs through her Heart, and anſwers, that *it is manifeſtly written, That in the time of our Lord's Paſſion all the Apoſtles ſhould be ſcandalized, and*, ſaith he, *can we think that the Apoſtles being Scandalized*, Mater Domini a ſcandalo fuerit immunis, *the Mother of our Lord could be free from Scandal? If ſhe ſuffered no Scandal, Jeſus did not ſuffer*, pro peccatis ejus, *for her Sins*; but if *all ſinned and fell ſhort of the Glory of God, being juſtified freely by his Grace*, utique & Maria illo tempore ſcandalizata eſt, *then doubtleſs* Mary *alſo at that time was ſcandalized.* And this is that which *Simeon* here Propheſieth, ſaying, *Tuam ipſius animam pertranſibit infidelitatis gladius, & ambiguitatis mucrone ferieris, the Sword of Infidelity ſhall paſs through thy own Soul, and thou ſhalt be ſmitten with the Sword of doubtfulneſs.* L. de carne Chriſti cap. 7. Hom. 17. f. 102. b.

In the Fourth Century St. *Baſil* ſaith, That *Simeon* here propheſieth, περὶ αὐτῆς τ Μαρίας, *of* Mary *her ſelf, thus*, Γενήσεταί τις καὶ περὶ τ ψυχὴν τ σὴν σάλος, *There ſhall be ſome fluctuation even in thy Soul*, τις διάλογισις, *ſome doubting touching the Lord, this is the Sword*, "but after this Scandal which ſhall happen to *Mary* "and the *Diſciples* of our Lord, he preſently will miniſter a "Medicine and confirm their Hearts in the Faith of *Chriſt*. Moreover he makes this Scandal of the Bleſſed *Virgin* neceſ- Tom. 3. Ep. 317. p. 310, 311.

sary upon this account, That *Christ was to taste Death for all, to be the propitiation for the World, and to justifie all Men by his Blood.* St. *Hilary* declares, That *at the Day of Judgment that incessant Fire is to be endured in,* quo subeunda sunt gravia illa expiandæ a peccatis animæ supplicia, *in which are to be suffered those heavy Punishments designed for the expiating of the Soul from Sin*; and that then *the Sword shall go through the Soul of* Mary, *and if,* saith he, *even* Dei virgo illa in judicii severitatem ventura est, *that Virgin-Mother of God must come into the Severity of Judgment,* who dares wish to be judged by God.

In Psalm. 118.

In the Fifth Century St. *Chrysostom* informs us, That both our *Lord's Brethren, and his Mother,* ἀνθρώπινόν τι ἔπαθον, *laboured under some humane infirmity being desirous of vain Glory,* that she was *guilty of vain Glory,* that both She and his Brethren were guilty, φιλοτιμίας τῆς περιττῆς, *of an excessive Love of Honour,* and that *therefore our Lord blamed them*; and that because *they came to him as a meer Man, and out of vain Glory,* τὸ νόσημα ἐκβάλλει, *he casts out the Disease, not reproaching, but correcting them,* and that he gave her *a reproof very becoming him,* κἀκείνῃ λυσιτελοῦσαν, *and profitable to her.* In his Twenty first Homily on *St. John* he charges her with being guilty of *hindering the thing of God,* and *interrupting of her Son in Spiritual things*; *Consider* saith he, *what a thing it was for her, when the People stood about him, and were desirous to hear him, and his Instructions were propounded to them, for her to come to draw him from his Exhortations, to speak in private with him*; *and not so much as to vouchsafe to come in to him, therefore he saith, who is my Mother not dispising her that begat him, but doing her much profit, and not permitting her to think so meanly of him.*

In Matt. Hom. 27. p. 191. Ὁρᾷς γὰρ καὶ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐκείνων τὴν ἀπόνοιαν. Hom. 44. p. 287.

P. 639.

Διὰ τοῦτο ἔλεγε, τίς ἐστιν ἡ μήτηρ μου, ἐκ ὑβρίζων τὴν γεγεννηκυῖαν, ἀλλ' ὠφελῶν τὰ μέγιστα. Ibid.

Cyril of *Alexandria* saith, That the Passion of our Lord which happen'd so unexpectedly, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐσκανδάλισε, *did likely scandalize her, and put her somewhat besides her self into indecent Passions*; *For doubt not,* saith he, but she had some such reasonings within her self as these, I conceived him who is now laugh'd at on the Cross, *perhaps he was deceived in saying he was the true Son of God.* "He "saying I am the Life, how should he then be Crucified?

Tom 4. p. 1064, 1065, 1066. Vid. eundem orat. in occursum Domini, p. 391.

Μὴ γὰρ ἐνθυμήσεις ὅτι τοιούτους τινὰς εἰσεδέξατο λογισμούς, p. 1064.

How

"How was he taken in the Snares of his Murtherers? How is "it that he prevailed not againſt the Machinations of his "Perſecutors? Why doth not he who reſtored *Lazarus* to "Life, and filled all *Judæa* with his Miracles deſcend now "from the Croſs? 'Tis very probable that the Women kind, "being ignorant of the *Myſtery*, might fall into ſuch appre-"henſions as theſe were. We ſpeak not theſe things out of "vain Conjectures, as it may ſeem to ſome, but we are moved "to ſuſpect theſe things of the Mother of our Lord by what "is written, for that ſharp brunt of Paſſion, which caſt her "mind into abſurd Imaginations, is that which *Simeon* calls "a Sword. Nor, ſaith he, is it to be wondered, εἰ παρώλισθε, "*if a Woman ſhould thus ſlide*, at the apprehenſion of our Lords P. 1065.
"Paſſion, ſeeing St. *Peter*, who was preferred before the reſt "of the *Apoſtles*, was ſcandalized at it. And laſtly he de-clares, That "Chriſt did therefore commit her to the care "of the Evangeliſt St. *John*, *becauſe he ſaw that ſhe had fallen* P. 1066.
"*by ſcandal at his Paſſion*, and was filled with diſorder in her "Apprehenſions, that he might rightly declare unto her the "profoundneſs of the Myſtery.

The Author of the *Queſtions* of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* Qu. 73.
which paſſeth under the Name of *Auſtin*, ſaith, "That *Si-*"*meon* ſpake unto her thus, A Sword ſhall paſs through thy "own Soul, to ſignifie this to her, *that even ſhe*, in morte "Domini dubitaret, *ſhould doubt when ſhe ſaw the Death of* "*Chriſt*, *though ſhe ſhould be confirmed by his Reſurrection.*

Here therefore is a Tradition of the Church built upon the received Sence of *Scripture* for three whole *Centuries*, no *Father* contradicting in the leaſt what was ſo fully and perſpicuouſly delivered in thoſe *Ages*; and yet if we muſt credit the preſent *Church* of *Rome*, the contrary to this Tradition, and to this received Interpretation of thoſe *Scriptures*, on which they grounded this Tradition, muſt be an Article of Faith received throughout all *Ages* of the *Church*.

Again, the Decree of the *Apoſtles*, which commands the §. 6.
Gentiles to *abſtain from things ſtrangled*, *and from Blood*, was con- Act. 15.
ceived by the generality of *Chriſtians* for a Thouſand Years to be obliging to all *Chriſtians*.

Can. 63. The Canon of the *Apostles* saith, That *if any Bishop, Presbyter or Deacon, or any other of the Clergy,* φάγῃ κρέας ἐν αἵματι ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, *doth eat Flesh with the Life-Blood in it, or what is killed by a Beast, or dieth of it self, let him be deposed;* τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἀπεῖπεν; *for this the Law hath forbidden; if he be a Lay-man, let him be separated from Communion.* —

In the Second *Century* the Christians were accused of eating Infants, and Feasting upon humane Flesh and Blood; now to this Accusation the constant Answer of the *Christians* was that of *Blandina* in *Eusebius*, How should they eat such things, οἷς μηδὲ ἀλόγων ζώων αἷμα φαγεῖν ἔξον, *who do not think it lawful to eat the Blood of Beasts?* And *Clemens* of *Alexandria* declares, That God forbad things strangled or dying of themselves, ἐπεὶ γὰρ τούτων ψαύειν δέμις, *for it is not lawful to touch them*, and that it is not lawful for Men, ἅπτεσθαι αἵματος, *to touch Blood.*

Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 1. p. 159.

Pædag. l. 2. c. 1. p. 149.

L. 3. c. 3. p. 228.

In the Third *Century*, to the like Accusation of the *Heathens*, *Tertullian* returns this Answer, That *they might be ashamed to object to them the eating humane Blood*, qui nec Animalium quidem sanguinem in Epulis esculentis habemus, *who used not to eat the Blood of Beasts, least they should be defiled with any Blood received into their Bowels.* *Octavius* saith, We *Christians* are so far from eating humane Blood, *ut nec edulium pecorum sanguinem in cibis noverimus*, *that we eat not the Blood of Beasts*; we are forbid to eat things strangled, τοῦ αἵματος μὴ ἐκκεκριμένου, *The Blood being not separated from them*, saith *Origen*, *that we may not be fed with the Food of Dæmons*; and hence we learn the reason of the precept, περὶ τῆς ἀποχῆς τοῦ αἵματος, *concerning abstinence from Blood.*

Apol. c. 9.

P. 34.

Contra Celsum l. 8. p. 396, 397.

In the Fourth *Century* was held the *Council* of *Gangra* against the *Eustathians*, (some of whom held *cibos carnium tanquam illicitos repudiandos esse, that Flesh was to be refused as unlawful*) where they pronounce *Anathema* to any person who condemns those that eat Flesh, χωρὶς αἵματος καὶ εἰδωλολύτου, καὶ πνικτοῦ, *excepting only such as ate Blood, or things offered to Idols, or strangled*; from which Exception it is evident, that they held it fit to condemn them who did taste of Blood, or of things strangled. Now this *Canon* is in the Code of the Universal Church, and is one of them which were Confirmed in the *General Council* of *Chalcedon*, and afterwards by that in *Trullo*, and therefore was allowed by the whole Church of God. St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*

Can. 2.

Can. 1.

Can. 2.

rusalem instructs his *Catecumen*, That the *Apostles* and *James* the *Bishop* of *Jerusalem* had writ a *Catholick Epistle* to the *Gentiles*, to teach them *to abstain from things offered to Idols, things strangled, and from Blood*, and then he adds, That *they who licked up the Blood of Beasts, and spared not to eat things strangled, were like to wild Beasts and Dogs*; *these*, saith he, *are the*, Δόγματα, *Institutions touching Meats, which it behoves you to observe.* Catech. 4. p. 34. c. de cibis.

In the Fifth *Century* St. *Jerom* declares, That *according to the Letter, the Decree contained in the Fifteenth of the* Acts *obligeth every Christian not to eat the Flesh of any dead Sheep or Cattle*, quorum nequaquam sanguis effusus est, *whose Blood is not poured forth.* And *Chrysostom* on the place saith, *These Constitutions*, εἰ καὶ σωματικαὶ, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖαι φυλάττεσθαι, *though they concern the Body, yet are they necessary to be kept.* In Ezek. 45. p. 245.

In the Sixth *Century* the Second *Council* of *Orleans* declares, That *they who eat of that which is choaked by any Disease or Chance, or killed by the bitings of Beasts, shall be excluded from the Communion of the Church*, and *if any person, after this diligent Sanction, doth not observe these things*, reos se divinitatis pariter & fraternitatis judicio futuros esse cognoscant, *let them know they shall be guilty both in the Judgment of God, and of the Brotherhood.* A. D. 536. can. 20. Can. 2[illegible]

In the Seventh *Century* this was Decreed by the Sixth *General Council* held in *Trullo* in these words, Ἡ θεία ἡμῖν γραφὴ ἀπεῖπε λέγουσα ἀπέχεσθαι αἵματος καὶ πνικτοῦ, *The Holy Scripture hath commanded us to abstain from Blood, things strangled, and from Fornication*; *he therefore who attempts to eat the Blood of any Creature any way, if he be a Clerk, let him be deposed*; *if he be a Layman, let him be Excommunicated.* Can. 67.

In the *Penitential* of *Theodorus Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, we have this Rule prescribed, *Hast thou eaten that which died of it self, or was torn by Beasts, thou must do penance Forty Days*; *if thou hast eaten Blood, thou must do likewise.* Cap. 18, 19.

Now of this *Theodorus*, *Rabanus* doth inform us, That *he was fully instructed in the Customs both of the Eastern and the Western Churches*, and that *he could be ignorant of nothing which was then observed by the* Greeks *or* Romans, and therefore we may rationally conclude, that what he thus prescribed, was only that which was observed both in the *East* and *Western Churches.* Ep. ad Humbert. apud Regin. de discip. Eccl. l. 2 c. 200.

In

In the Eighth Century *Gregory* the Third, who was made *Pope A. D.* 731. puts this among his *penitential Canons*, That *he who hath eaten that which died of it ſelf, if he did this ignorantly, ſhall do Penance Twenty Days; if knowingly, Forty Days.* And *Bede* informs us, That he who comes to penance muſt be asked, *Whether he had eaten that which died of it ſelf, or was torn by Beaſts; and if ſo, he muſt do Penance Forty Days; and the like muſt be done by him who hath eaten Blood.* *Leo* the *Emperor* made a Law to puniſh, ἐθίσαντας εἰδωλοθύτων αἵματος φαγεῖν, *thoſe who did eat any kind of Blood.*

Can. pœnit. c. 30.

Can. de diverſis cauſis, c. 14.

Novel. 58.

Balſ. in Syn. Trull. can. 67.

In the Ninth Century *Regino* doth not only produce out of the *Penitentials* the ſame *Canons* againſt eating things ſtrangled and Blood, but adds moreover, that *admonendi ſunt fideles, ut nullus præſumat ſanguinem manducare, the Faithful are to be admoniſhed that none of them do preſume to eat Blood, for this was forbidden in the beginning, when firſt God gave Men liberty to eat Fleſh, and it is alſo forbidden in the* New Teſtament, *where things ſtrangled and Blood, are compared with Fornication and Idolatry, to teach us,* quantum piaculum ſit ſanguinem comedere, *what an heinous thing it is to eat Blood.*

De diſcipl. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 369, 373.

De diſcipl. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 374.

In the Eleventh Century *Humbertus* plainly ſhews that this was then eſteemed unlawful both in the *Eaſtern* and the *Weſtern Churches*; *For we,* ſaith he of the *Weſt, do not defend againſt you* Greeks, *the eating of things ſtrangled and Blood*, Antiquam enim conſuetudinem, ſeu traditionem Majorum retinentes, nos quoque hæc abominamur, *For retaining the ancient Cuſtom or Tradition of our Anceſtors, we alſo do abominate theſe things, impoſing grievous Penance upon them who do this without great peril of Life; and this we do eſpecially,* quia antiquas conſuetudines, & traditiones Majorum, quæ non ſunt contra fidem, leges Apoſtolicas arbitramur, *becauſe we judge the Ancient Cuſtoms and Traditions of our Anceſtors, which are not oppoſite to the Faith, to be Apoſtolical Laws.* And yet when *Tranſubſtantiation* was once fully eſtabliſhed in the *Weſt*, as it was in the *Twelfth* and the beginning of the *Thirteenth Centuries*, then they perceived they could no longer, with any truth, aſſert, as did the *Ancient Fathers*, that they did, *ab humano ſanguine cavere, abſtain from eating humane Blood*, but believing they did eat Blood with the Fleſh in the *Sacrament*, they gave all Men liberty to do it elſewhere. Whence *Balſamon* in the

Apud Baron. Tom. 11. p. 986.

Twelfth

Twelfth *Century* ſpeaks thus, Οἱ δὲ Λατῖνοι ἀδιαφόρως ἐσθίουσι τὰ πνικτὰ *The Latins do indifferently eat things ſtrangled*, and if in this inſtance that which in the Eleventh *Century* was by the *Weſtern Churches* held in abomination, and worthy of moſt grievous Penances, as being oppoſite both to the Laws of the *Apoſtles*, and the *Traditions* of the *Ancients*, might in the next Century be generally allowed and practiſed as a thing indifferent, why might not a like change happen in the ſame *Church* in a like ſpace of time, touching the Doctrine of the *corporeal* Preſence, or any other Article of *Chriſtian* Faith. In Can. 67. Concil. Truſl.

Thirdly, The *Ancient Church* unanimouſly and conſtantly declared it was a thing plainly repugnant to *Scripture*, and to true *Religion*, and proper unto *Hereticks*, to puniſh any man with death for his *Religion* or his *Hereſie*, and ſhe refuſed Communion with them that did ſo. And, §. 7.

1. They declared this practice oppoſite to our *Lord*'s precept, *Not to gather up the Tares by themſelves*, but *let them both grow together till the Harveſt. He introduceth his Servants, ſaying, Wilt thou that we pluck up the Tares, that he might tell them*, ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἀναιρεῖν αὐτούς, *that it was unlawful to cut them off. He forbids Wars and Blood, and Slaughters to be made*, οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ἀναιρεῖν Αἱρετικόν, *for it is not lawful to cut off the Heretick. Chriſt here forbids not to ſtop their Mouths, reſtrain, and hinder their boldneſs of Diſcourſe, diſſolve their Synods and Confederacies*, ἀλλ' ἀναιρεῖν, καὶ καταπαύειν, *but he forbids us to kill and cut them off. Truth it ſelf Anſwers to them*, ſaith St. *Auſtin*, non eſſe tales auferendos de hac vita, *that ſuch Men are not to be taken out of the World, leaſt whilſt Men endeavour to kill the bad, they alſo kill the good, or ſuch as perhaps would be ſuch.* Matth. xiij. 29, 30. In Locum. Quæſt. ex Mat. lib. un. cap. 12. Tom. 4 p. 366, 367.

2. They declared this practice was contrary to the true Religion, and to the Judgment of the *Doctors* of the *Catholick Church*. For *our Religion*, ſaith *Lactantius*, *is to be defended*, non occidendo, ſed moriendo; non ſævitiâ, ſed patientiâ, *not by killing others, but by dying for it; ſo good men do defend it, but wicked Men by Cruelty and Murther.* The *Synod* of *Alexandria* declares, That σφαγαὶ καὶ δεσμοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡμῶν ἀλλότρια, *Bands and Slaughters were things alien from their Church.* When *Creſconius* had objected to the *Orthodox* that they were inſtrumental to procure the Death of the Three *Donatiſts*, St. *Auſtin* anſwers, L. 5. c. 20. Apud Athanaſ. Tom. 1. p. 724. Contra Creſcon. l. 3. cap. 50.

swers, That *nullis tamen bonis, in Ecclesiâ Catholicâ, hoc placet, si usque ad mortem in quenquam, licet Hæreticum, sæviatur*; *No good Man in the Catholick Church allowed of the punishment of Hereticks with Death*; hæc omnia displicent nobis, *all these things displease us, we judge them not laudable but* damnable. And again, *They, who being blinded with this Error, endeavour before the time to separate the Tares*, ipsi potiùs a Christi unitate separantur, *are themselves rather separated from the unity of the Church.* He hath Four several Epistles writ to the *Magistrates* or *Ministers* of Justice on this Subject, in which he earnestly requests, *ne occidantur, that they might not be killed, that the Sword of Justice might not spill their Blood*; beseeching them *for the Name*, and *for the Mercy of Christ Jesus*, ut hoc nec faciant, nec fieri omnino permittant, *that they would neither do this thing, nor permit it to be done by others*; and telling them, *the Orthodox had rather die themselves, than bring them to their Judicatories to be killed.* And this he doth intreat with so great importunity, 1. Because of *the command of Christ which did oblige them to love their Enemies.* 2. Because it was *suitable to that meekness which Christianity required them to make known to all.* 3. Because it was *against their Conscience to allow of such proceedings against Hereticks.* 4. Because this harsh proceeding would *deterr the Catholicks from seeking the protection of the Magistrate against Hereticks.* 5. Because *the Person who inflicts, and the Church who permits these Punishments to be inflicted, would both have cause to fear the Judgment of God for this Cruelty*, quod enim tu facis, Ecclesia facit, propter quam facis, & cujus filius facis, *for what the Magistrate, who was a Son of the Church, did for her Sake, that the Church did.* And this he tells us was the Judgment of a whole *Council* of his Brethren.

De fide & oper. cap. 4.

Ep. 107, 158, 159, 160.

Ep. 127, 158, 160.

Ep. 127.

Ibib.

Ep. 158, 159.

Ep. 158, 160.

Ep. 127.

Ep. 160.

Ep. 50. p. 220.

3. This, say they, is alien from *Catholicks*, and proper unto *Hereticks* and *Heathens*. The *Synod* of *Alexandria* consisting of the *Bishops* of *Ægypt*, *Thebes*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*, lament the practice of the *Arians*, πᾶσα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐπιστολὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πρὸς θάνατον ὁρᾷ, καὶ φονεῦσιν ἐπιχείρουν, who in their *Epistle* to the *Emperors* stirred them up to *kill and inflict death* on *Athanasius* and others; For, say they, *we conceive the Conscience of you Christians, see that these things are not the works of the meanest Christians, much less of them who seem to be Bishops, and to teach others what is just. We must fight against them*, saith *Nazianzen*, *with Reasons, not with Arms*;

Apud Athanas. Apol. ad Imperat. p. 723.

Arms; τὸ γὰρ χεῖρας ἀνταίρειν παντελῶς ἔξω τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐλῆς, καὶ τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἡμᾶς ἀποειπεῖν; *for to lift up our Hands against them, is wholly contrary to our Profession, and must be left to them that hate us.* Orat. 3. pro pace, p. 220, 221.

4. When this was done by Instigation of any of the *Clergy*, the *Orthodox* not only did condemn it, but refused Communion with them that moved the *Magistrate* to do it. Thus when *Idacius* and *Ithacius*, two *Bishops*, moved *Maximus* the *Emperor* to this severity against the *Priscillians*, St. *Martin* not only reproved *Ithacius*, but intreated *Maximus*, ut sanguine infœlicium abstineret, *to abstain from their Blood*, and obtained a Promise from him, *nihil cruentum in reos constituendum, that nothing Bloody should be decreed against them*; though afterwards, saith *Sulpitius*, this was done, *pessimo exemplo, by a most vile Example*. The same *Sulpitius* informs us, That this good Man was piously sollicitous to preserve the *Hereticks* from Death; that for accomplishing this Work, having for a while consented to hold Communion with *Ithacius*, and his Party, he afterwards was troubled at it, and was by an *Angel* admonished that he had just Cause to be so, and that he should reassume his Constancy, *ne jam non periculum gloriæ, sed salutis incurreret, least he incurred the loss, not only of his Honour, but Salvation*; and that, *from that time he never would Communicate with the* Ithacian *Party*. [1] *Pope Syricius* also, and St. [2] *Ambrose* refused Communion with them; and the [3] *French Bishops* refused Communion with *Fœlix*, as being made a *Bishop* by them. [4] *Theognostus* also, and other *Bishops* of the *Catholick* Communion, did excommunicate *Ithacius*, and his Companions on this account, as *sanguinary, bloody and unworthy of the Priesthood*. And yet after so many [1] *Decrees* of *General Councils*, for the Extirpation of *Hereticks*, the calling in of the *Secular* Arm against them, and the animating of *Princes* and their Subjects, [2] to make War against them under the Banner of the *Cross*; after Examples of burning *Hereticks* by their Authority and Instigation, during their sitting, after so many Constitutions of [3] *Kings* and *Emperors*, confirmed by so many *Popes*, to *take them away by a damnable Death*; after so many *Inquisitions* set up for the

Sulpit. Hist. l. 2. §. 64.

Dial. 3. §. 15.

[1] Baron. ad A. 386. §. 27.
[2] Ep. 27.
[3] Concil. Taurin. cap. 5.

[4] Bin. Not. in Concil. Trevir. A. D. 386.

[1] Concil. Lat. 3um. cap. 27. 4tum. can. 3. Constan. Sess. 45. Senon. c. 2, 3.
[2] Concil. Lat. 3. c. 27. 4tum. Conc. Tom. 11. p. 149. Senon. Tom. 12. p. 368, 369. app. ad Con. Basil. apud Bin. Tom. 8. p. 200. p. 267.
[3] Concil. Tom. 11. p. 619, 621. p. 423. part. 2. p. 2101. Decretal. l. 5. Tit. 7. c. 13.

destruction

destruction of them; after so many Thousands of them burnt in *Roman Catholick* Dominions, by virtue of the Sentence past upon them in *Ecclesiastical Courts*; after so many great *Massacres* of them, by Men of that Communion, without any Censure past upon them by that *Church*, or any refusal of Communion with them upon that account; I say, after all this, surely it cannot be denied, but that the *Church* of *Rome* is of a contrary Opinion in this matter, to the *Ancient Church* of Christ; that she cannot, agreeably to her Decrees and Practice, say, That *'tis unlawful to cut off the Heretick*; that *it is a thing alien from the Church, and from the meanest Christian*; that *it is matter of Lamentation, that any one should stir up King or Emperor to do it*; that *Christ hath taught, that such Men ought not to be taken away by Death*; that *no good Catholicks allow it*; that *they judge it Damnable*; that *they who act thus against Hereticks are Disturbers of the Church's Peace, and separate themselves from her Unity*; that *they may expect their Judge should require the Lives of these Hereticks at their Hands*, and *should inflict his Judgments on them*; that *if the Church permitteth any of her Sons to do this, she is Guilty of the Fact*; or, that such Persons *who are Guilty of it, or Instrumental to it, are to be excluded from Catholick Communion*; that is, she cannot say that she is now of the avowed Judgment of the *Ancient Church* of *Christ* in this Affair.

§. 8. It were easie to give many other Instances in which the present practice of the *Church* of *Rome*, is plainly opposite to that of the *Church Catholick* of old. For,

It was the Custom of the *Ancient Church* to permit the People to carry home the *Eucharist* to their Houses, and reserve it there to be received, as they had occasion; this, saith St. *Basil*, was confirmed, *διὰ τὸ μακρὸν συνήθειαν, by Custom of a long continuance*, of which *Tertullian* and *Cyprian* are Witnesses. But now this surely would be esteemed a great *Prophanation* of the Holy *Mystery* by them, who now will not permit the *Laity* even to touch the *Sacrament* with their Hands.

Ep. 289. Ad Ux. l. 2. c. 5. de orat. c. 14. Cypr. de lapſ. p. 132.

Anciently, saith *Cassander*, *the Prayer used at the Consecration of the Eucharist was read out with a loud Voice, and so as that all the People might be able to hear it, and say Amen to it.* *Justinian's Novel* commands all *Christian Bishops*, subject to his *Empire*, so to read it, and that by virtue of an *Apostolical* command to do so:

In Liturg. c. 26.

Vid. *Treat. of Latin Serv.* c. 5. p. 75, 76.

ſo: Nor did any *Chriſtian*, that we read of in thoſe Ages, gainſay, oppoſe, or contradict either this *Edict*, or the reaſon of it; whereas now the *Church* of *Rome* commands, that the words of Conſecration ſhould be pronounced, *voce ſubmiſſa*, *with a low Voice*, and *Anathematizeth* all who condemn that Cuſtom. Concil. Trid. Seſſ. 22. can. 9.

3. The Fathers generally take notice of, and lay great ſtreſs upon the breaking of the Bread diſtributed to the People; *One Loaf was broken for all*, ſaith *Ignatius*: *The broken Bread is made the Euchariſt of the Body of Chriſt*, ſaith *Irenæus*. *Chriſt*, ſaith *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, *gives us an example firſt to give Thanks*, καὶ ὅτως κλᾶν τὸν ἄρτον, καὶ διαδίδναι, *and ſo to break the Bread, and to diſtribute it.* Frangimus in Sanctificationem noſtram, *We break it for our Sanctification*, ſaith *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*. *In the Euchariſt he ſuffers himſelf to be broken*, ſaith *Chryſoſtom*, *that he may fill all.* Ad diſtribuendum comminuitur, *It is broken in pieces that it may be diſtributed*, ſaith St. *Auſtin*. *The Fleſh of Chriſt*, in populi ſalutem partitur, *is divided for the Salvation of the People*, ſaith P. *Gregory*. *By taking a whole Loaf, and breaking it, and giving a part of it to his Diſciples, he ſignified without doubt*, quod nos in poſterum facturos edocuit, *that which he taught us to do afterwards*, ſaith the Sixteenth *Council* of *Toledo*. *The Action of the Maſs*, ſaith *Humbert*, *is not compleat without the breaking of the Bread, and the communication of it; for our Lord gave a perfect commemoration to his Diſciples*, pane fracto, & diſtributo, *by the Bread broken, and diſtributed: He bleſſed a whole Loaf, and diſtributed the broken particles of it to every one*, ſicut Sancta R. Eccleſia uſque nunc obſervat, *as the Holy Roman Church even now doth.* The Interpreter of the *Roman Order* ſaith, *Some of late times think it ſtrange this Order enjoins the Bread to be broken, as if they had not read that Chriſt brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, or that the Primitive Church continued in the Apoſtles Doctrine*, & in communicatione fractionis panis, *and in the Communication of broken Bread.* But though all the *Evangeliſts* take eſpecial notice of this Action, though St. *Luke*, according to many Commentators, thought it of ſo great moment, as to expreſs the whole *Euchariſt* by *breaking of Bread*, yet is this Action, though of our *Lord*'s own practice and Inſtitution, wholly

Εἷς ἄρτος τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐτεθρύφθη, Ep. ad Philad §. 4. Fractus panis fit Euchariſtia corporis Chriſti, *l.* 5. *c.* 2. Caten. in Matth. xxvi. 28.

Ep. Paſchal. 1. Hom. 24. in 1. ad Cor. p. 256.

Ep. 59. qu. 5.

Dial. l. 4. c. 58.

A.D. 693. c. 6. Apud Baron. Tom. 11. p. 1008. & contr. Græc., ibid. p. 971.

Apud. Caſſ. Lit. c. 29. p. 67.

laid aside by the *Roman Church*, which distributes whole Wafers, and not broken Bread.

§. 9. But to omit innumerable Instances of this nature, I shall conclude with that of the supposed Freedom of the *Blessed Virgin* from the guilt of *Original* Sin; for it was doubtless the Tradition of the *Universal Church* from the Second to the Fourteenth *Century*, that *Christ alone was conceived without Sin*, and consequently that the *Blessed Virgin* was not so conceived: For even *A. D.* 1368. it was determined by the *Council of Vaur*, That *Baptism was the Remedy appointed for Original Sin*, contra vulnus originale, sine quo, secundum sanctos, in filiis hominum *nemo unquam conceptus est* præter Christum, *without which, according to the Holy Fathers, no person besides Christ was ever conceived.* It were easie to prove this Assertion by plain Testimonies through every *Century* to this very Age; but the full and numerous Confessions of the *Romanists* and their own Writings, have rendered this Work needless. For when the Feast of her Immaculate Conception was first introduced at *Lyons*, St. *Bernard* thus confutes it, *This is a new Festival*, quam ritus Ecclesiæ nescit, non probat ratio, non commendat Antiqua Traditio, *which the Custom of the Church knoweth not, Reason doth not prove, and no Ancient Tradition doth commend.* *Johannes Poza* confesseth, That *Blandellus* and *Cajetan* have produced against it the general Sayings of *Irenæus*, *Origen*, St. *Cyprian*, *Theophilus Alexandrinus*, *G. Nazianzen*, *Nyssen*, and St. *Basil*, St. *Jerom*, and *Fulgentius*, and *in a manner all the Ancient Fathers, exempting Christ alone from*, and consequently concluding the *Virgin Mary* under *Original* Sin; which Argument must needs conclude, if the *Virgin Mary* be not *Christ*. *Cardinal Turrecremata* affirms, That *all the Doctors in a manner maintain the contrary to the Immaculate Conception*, and that he had gathered together *the Testimonies of One hundred to that Effect, noting the very places and words wherein they affirm it.* *Dominicus Bannes* saith, *It is the general Opinion of the Holy Fathers, that she was conceived in Sin.* *Becanus* acknowledgeth, That *the ancient School-men, who were before* Scotus, *held the Opinion of the Latin Fathers*, viz. *That the Blessed Virgin was conceived in Original Sin.* *Estius* saith, *It was the common, and almost unanimous Opinion of the Schools*; for *Thomas Bonaventure*,

Concil. Gallic. edit. Baluz. c. 1. p. 140.

Ep. 174.

Elucidar. Deipar. l. 4.

De Consecrat. dist. 4 firmissime, n. 11.

Part. 1. qu. 1. Art. 8. dub. 5.

L. de Incarn. Christi, cap. 28. qu. 1. n. 1.

ture, cæterique omnes hanc quæſtionis partem, ſine ambiguitate, amplectuntur, *and all the reſt held it without doubting.* In Sent. l. 3. diſt. 3. Sect. 3.

Canus declares, That *Sancti omnes qui in ejus rei mentionem incidere, uno ore aſſeverarunt B. Virginem in peccato originali conceptam, all the Holy Fathers, who had occaſion to ſpeak of this matter, do with one Voice aſſert, that the Bleſſed Virgin was conceived in Original Sin*; and then he cites them from the Fourth to the Thirteenth Century. Loc. com. l. 7. c. 1. p. 412.

Cajetan brings for it *Fifteen Fathers* in his Judgment *irrefragable*; others produce 200. *Blandellus* almoſt 300, ſaith *Salmeron*. Diſp. 51. in Epiſt. ad Rom.

Petavius begins this Diſpute with this Obſervation, that *Græci originalis fere criminis raram, nec diſertam mentionem ſcriptis ſuis attigerunt, the Greek Fathers ſcarce ever ſpeak plainly of Original Sin*; and therefore undertakes only to tell us the Judgment of the *Latin Fathers* in this matter, which he does by producing them from St. *Auſtin* to St. *Bernard*, that is, from the Fifth to the Twelfth *Century*, plainly aſſerting, That the *Virgin Mary* was conceived in *Original* Sin. Dogm. Theolog. Tom 4. part. 2. l. 14. cap. 2. Sect. 1. Sect. 2, — 7.

But, ſaith he, *quamvis antiquioribus opinio illa placuit, though this Opinion pleaſed the Ancients, yet afterwards moſt Chriſtians turned to the contrary Opinion, and by the tacit and pious Conſent of moſt, it ſo prevailed, as to break forth into a publick Profeſſion*; *ſo that a Holy-Day was, by ſolemn and publick Rite, appointed,* per totam Eccleſiam, *by the whole Church, for celebration of the Immaculate Conception of the Bleſſed Virgin,* viz. *the Eight of* December, *which* Sixtus *the Fourth confirmed by his Authority, and Apoſtolical Decree*, A. D. 1476, *in which*, univerſos Chriſti fideles invitat, ut omnipotenti Deo, de Immaculatæ Virginis mira Conceptione gratias, & laudes referant, *he invites all Chriſtians to give Thanks and Praiſes to Almighty God, for the Immaculate Virgin's wonderful Conception, appointing a Maſs, and proper Canonical Office for it, with the ſame Indulgences which* Urban *the Fourth had given to the Obſervers of the Feaſt of* Corpus Chriſti. Sect. 8.

He adds, That *he was the more enclined to this Opinion, becauſe it had,* communem conſenſum omnium fidelium, *the common conſent of all the Faithful, upon whoſe concurrent Judgment it behoves us, ſaith* Paulinus Nolanus, *to depend,* quia in omnem fidelem Spiritus Dei ſpirat, *becauſe the Spirit of God breaths upon all the Faithful.* Sect. 10.

And laſtly he concludes, That after this manner, *Credendus eſt Deus Chriſtianis integrum illum immaculatæ Virginis Conceptum revelaſſe, it is to be believed that God* Sect. 11.

God hath revealed to Christians, this pure Conception of the immaculate Virgin; that is, *he hath inspired into them the Knowledge, and given them* πληροφοριαν, *the full assurance of it, though it hath not yet passed into a Catholick Doctrine.* In which last words he speaks agreeably to the judgment of their *Doctors*; for though the *Council* of *Basil* expresly decreed, That *the Doctrine of the immaculate Conception* should be *held and embraced*, tanquam pia, & consona cultui Ecclesiastico, fidei Catholicæ, rectæ rationi, & sacræ Scripturæ; *as Pious, and consonant to Ecclesiastical Worship, the Catholick Faith, right Reason, and the Holy Scriptures*; though the University of *Paris*, as *Salmeron* informs us, admits none to their Degrees who do not take an Oath to defend it: Though the *Bull* of *Paul* the V. forbids any one *in publick Sermons, Lectures, Conclusions, and any publick Acts whatsoever, to affirm, that the Blessed Virgin was Conceived in Original Sin.* And the *Bull* of *Gregory* the XV. to assert it *in any private Conference, or Writing*; yet the *Bulls* of *Sixtus* the IV. and *Pius* the V. having given liberty to all Men to hold or maintain either part; the *Trent Council* hath decreed for the observation of the said *Constitution* made by *Sixtus.*

Sess. 36.

Apud Concil. Trid. p. 19.

Sess. 5.

§. 10. Hence then we learn,

1. That a Doctrine never heard of in precedent Ages, yea fully contradicted, and declared against by Eight whole *Centuries*, may become afterwards the Doctrine of all, or almost all the Faithful. For *Joannes Major* doth inform us, That *Richardus de Sancto Victore*, who flourished in the middle of the Twelfth *Century*, *was* omnium expresse primus (qui) Christiferam Virginem Originalis noxæ expertem tenuit, *expresly the first, who held the Virgin* Mary *free from Original Sin:* And in the Thirteenth Century, *Bonaventure* saith, That *almost all held the contrary.* But now, saith *Vasquez*, *not only the unskillful Vulgar, but the Doctors and Divines, and all Catholicks with one consent, fight for the immaculate Conception.* Now, saith *Petavius*, it hath obtained, *Consensum omnium fidelium, The consent of all the Faithful.* Now, saith *Waddingus*, it is manifest, that the oppugners of it do, *sentire aliter quam universa docet Ecclesia, differ from the Doctrine of the Universal Church.* Whence,

De gestis Scot. l. 3. c. 12.

In Sent. 3. dist. 3. p. 1. A. 1. q. 1.

In tertiam D. Th. dist. 117. p. 148.

P. 57.

2. It follows, that it is so far from being impossible, that it is actually certain, That what was never heard of, yea what was

was generally contradicted in the former Ages of the *Church*, may afterwards be owned by the *general* consent of learned, and unlearned *Romanists*; in spite of all the Treatises *of the perpetuity of the Faith*, and of the *lawful prejudices* against the *Calvinists*.

3. Hence it is evident, that the *Church* of *Rome* doth not in all things follow the Doctrine of the *Ancient Catholick Church*; for if so, then would not they have given liberty to all their Members to oppose a Doctrine generally Believed, and Taught in the whole *Catholick Church*, and more assuredly in the whole *Western Church*, for Eight whole *Centuries*.

4. Hence it appears, that all the Doctrines of the *Church* of *Rome* are not received by Tradition from *Father* to *Son*, since in this matter the *Sons* have generally entertained a Doctrine their *Fathers* either knew nothing of, or plainly contradicted; and that is now become *pious*, and *consonant to Ecclesiastical Worship*, which in St. *Bernard*'s time was, *præsumpta novitas*, *Mater temeritatis*, *soror superstitionis*, *filia levitatis*; *A bold Novelty*, *the Mother of Rashness*, *the Sister of Superstition*, *the Daughter of Levity*. Ep. 174.

5. Hence doth it follow, that even by the *Authority* of the heads of the *Universal Church*, men may be forbidden under pain of Damnation, to Assert the *Ancient Doctrine* of the *Church*, and may have liberty to contradict it. Yea, that in the judgment of a great *R. Council*, received by the *French* as *General*, and bearing that title in all Editions of the *Councils*, that may be *agreeable to the Catholick Faith*, *to Reason*, *and to Holy Scripture*, which is repugnant to the *Ancient Doctrine* of the *Church Catholick*, for Eight whole *Centuries*.

6. Hence is it manifest, that the *Trent Council* hath given liberty to all her Members to hold that which is opposite to an *universal*, constant, unopposed *Tradition* of the *Church* for many Ages; that is, that she hath left them at their liberty to hold the *Ancient* Faith, or hold the contrary.

7. Hence it appears, that in the *Church* of *Rome* Feasts may be instituted in which all men shall be exhorted to praise *God* for a thing which perhaps never was; and of the truth of which none of her Members can be certain, *certitudine fidei*; *with the certainty of Faith*, all of them being by this *Church* permitted to believe the contrary.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Fifthly, *We distinguish betwixt Traditions, which, though not written in Scripture, are left on Record in the Ecclesiastical writings of the first and purest Ages of the* Church, *and such as are so purely Oral Traditions, as that we find no footsteps of them in the Three first Centuries, much less any assurance they had then any general Reception; of the first kind is the Canon of Scripture of the* Old Testament *mentioned in our Sixth Article,* §. 1. *This is proved from the* Jews, §. 2. *From the Christians of the Second Century,* §. 3. *Of the Third Century,* §. 4. *From almost all the celebrated Writers of the Fourth Century,* §. 5. *Where also it is observed,* 1. *That these Fathers profess to deliver that Catalogue of them, which they had received from Tradition,* §. 6. *And that the Books which they rejected as Apocryphal were so reputed by the* Church, §. 7. *That the Catalogue they produced was that received not only by the* Jews *but Christians,* §. 8. *That they made it to prevent mistakes,* §. 9. *That they represent the Books contained in their Catalogue as the Fountain of Salvation, the rest as insufficient to confirm Articles of Faith,* §. 10. *The same Tradition still continued to the Sixteenth Century,* §. 11. *What the* Roman *Doctors must do if they would shew a like Tradition for any of their Tenets,* §. 12. *The unreasonableness of their pretences to Tradition in this Article,* Ibid. *The Attempts of Mr.* M. *and* J. L. *to prove their Canon from the* Council *of* Carthage; *the Testimony of St.* Austin, *the Decrees of Pope* Innocent *and* Gelasius *are Answered,* §. 13. *The Tradition touching the Books of the* New Testament, *where it is proved,* 1. *That the Four Evangelists, the* Acts, *the Thirteen* Epistles *of St.* Paul, *the First of* Peter *and of* John *were always owned as Canonical by all Orthodox Christians,* §. 14. 2. *That it cannot be necessary to Salvation to be assured that the Books formerly controverted belong to the Canon,* §. 15. 3. *That we cannot be assured of the true Canon of the* New Testament *from the Testimony of the* Latin Church, §. 16. 4. *That there is not the like necessity that the controverted Books should have been generally received from the beginning, as that all necessary Articles of Christian Faith and Manners, should be then generally received,* §. 17. *That we*

have

have cauſe ſufficient to own as Canonical the Books once controverted is proved, 1. *in the General,* §. 18. 2. *In Particular, touching the Apocalypſe,* §. 19. *And the Epiſtle to the* Hebrews, §. 20. *Touching the Epiſtle of St.* James, *the Second of* Peter, *the Second and Third of* John, *the Epiſtle of St.* Jude, §. 21. *No Orthodox Perſons doubted of them after the Fourth Century,* §. 22. *The Romaniſts cannot prove their Doctrines by any like Traditions, and in particular not by ſuch a Tradition as proves the Apocalypſe Canonical,* §. 23. *The Objection of Mr.* M. *Anſwered,* §. 24.

§. 1. Diſt. 5.

AGain, the word *Tradition* may be applied to ſignifie either ſuch things as are not written in the *Scripture*, though they are left on Record in the *Eccleſiaſtical* writings of the firſt and pureſt Ages, and from them handed down unto us in the writings of ſucceeding *Ages*; or elſe to ſignifie ſuch things as are ſaid only to be delivered *by word of Mouth*, but cannot by the *Records* of preceding Ages be proved to have been received as Doctrines generally maintained, or practices always obſerved in the *Church* of *Chriſt*; of the firſt ſort is the Tradition of the *Canon* of *Scripture*, of the *Apoſtles Symbol*, as a perfect Summary of Doctrines neceſſary to be believed, the Obſervation of the *Lord's* Day, the Superiority of *Biſhops* over *Preſbyters*, the Ordination of *Preſbyters* and *Deacons* by *Biſhops* only, and the like; we having full and pregnant evidence from the firſt *Records* of *Antiquity* unto this preſent time, of all theſe things, and whatſoever can be proved by a like Tradition touching a neceſſary *Article* of *Chriſtian* Faith, we are all ready to receive; but thoſe pretended *Traditions* of the *Roman Church*, which by no *Records* of *Antiquity* can be made appear to have been conſtantly received by the Church as *Apoſtolical* Traditions, we have juſt Reaſon to reject as being without Ground ſo ſtiled. For Inſtance,

Vocatur Doctrina non ſcripta, non ea quæ nuſquam ſcripta eſt, ſed quæ non eſt ſcripta a primo Autore. *Bellarm. de verbo Dei non ſcripto, l.* 4. *c.* 2.

Firſt, We receive the *Canon* of the *Scriptures* of the *Old Teſtament* mentioned in our *Sixth Article*, becauſe it is by written Tradition handed down unto us from the *Jews*, from *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, and from their *Succeſſors* in the *Church*, and we reject the *Canon* of the *Old Teſtament* impoſed upon

us by the Fourth *Session* of the *Trent Council*, partly because we find a clear Tradition both virtually by all who say the *Canon* of the *Old Testament* is only that we own, and expressly by those who say the others which we stile *Apocrypha*, belong not to the *Canon*. And,

§. 2. 1. We receive our *Canon* from the *Ancient Jews*, to whom were committed the Oracles of God; for their *Josephus* saith, L. 1. contra Apion, Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 10. Εἰσὶ παρ' ἡμῖν δύο μόνα περὶς τοῖς ἔθνεσι βιβλία, *We have only Twenty two Books which deserve belief among us*, and then he reckons them up as doth our *Article*, adding that the Books written from the time of *Artaxerxes* to their days, were, πίστεως οὐκ ὁμοίας, *not so worthy to be credited.*

Luk. xxiv. 27. From *Christ* and his *Apostles*; for the *Gospel* of St. *Luke* informs us, That *Christ* beginning from *Moses* expounded to two of his *Disciples* in *all the Scriptures the things concerning him*, and also, that all things concerning him were written in *the Law of* verſ. 44. Moses, *and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms*, that is, in those Books which by the *Jews* are stiled *Hagiographa*. The Apo-
2 Tim. iij. 15. stles in their *Epistles* teach, That *all Scripture is of Divine Inspiration*, and that *Timothy from a Child had known them*; and
2 Pet. i. 21. yet he doubtless only knew the *Canon* then received by the *Jews*; they add, That the whole *Scripture* was a *word of Prophecy*, the *Prophecy* of *Men moved by the Holy Ghost*. Now *Josephus* doth inform us, That *after the Days of* Artaxerxes *the* Jews *had no certain Succession of Prophets*, and it is confessed by many *Romanists*, That *from* Malachy *to* John *they had no Prophets.*

Μὴ γένεσθαι τῶν τῆς προφητείας ἀκριβῆ διαδοχὴν, Apud Euseb. l. 3. c. 10.

Genebrard. Chron. ad An. 3640. Jansen. ad cap. 48. Eccluſ.

§. 3. In the Second Century *Onesimus* requesteth of *Melito*, *Bishop* of *Sardis*, a *perfect Catalogue of the Books of the* Old Testament; whereupon this *Bishop*, being to take a Journey into the *East*, went to the place where those things were done and preached, and *learning thence the exact number of them*, he sent their Names to *Onesimus*, numbring them just as our *Sixth Article* doth. And of this *Catalogue Eusebius* saith, That it contained *all the Books of the* Old Testament *which the Church owned*,

Τῶν τῆς παλαιῶν βιβλίων ἀκρίβειαν, Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 4. cap. 26. Πόσα τε ἀριθμὸν, Ibid.

Καὶ ἀκριβῶς μαθὼν τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία ὑποτάξας ἔπεμψά σοι ὧν ὄντα τὰ ὀνόματα, &c. ibid.

owned, and that *he thought it necessary to preserve this Catalogue of them in writing to Posterity.* Here then we find upon the first enquiry, after the Death of the *Apostles*, a *Catalogue* exactly formed from the *East*, and from *Jerusalem*, agreeing with the Judgment of the whole *Church* of God, and as exactly with the judgment of the *Church* of *England.*

Τῶν ὁμολογουμένων τῆ παλαιᾶς διαθήκης γεγραφῶν ποιεῖται κατάλογον ὃν κὴ ἀναγκαῖον ἐνταῦθα καταλέξαι ἡγούμεθα. Ibid.

§. 4.

In the Third *Century Origen* informs us, That *we must not be ignorant, that the Canonical Books of the* Old Testament *are Twenty two*, according to the number of the *Jewish* Letters; and then he reckons them exactly as we do, adding, That *as these Letters are an Introduction to knowledge, and divine Wisdom; so these Twenty two Books, are an Introduction to the Wisdom of God; this*, saith he, *is the Tradition of the* Jews.

Οὐκ ἀγνοητέον δ' εἶναι τὰς ἐνδιαθήκους βίβλους ὡς ἑβδομήκοντα δύο κὴ εἴκοσι, In Psal. 1. Ed. Huet. T. 1. p. 40, 41.

§. 5.

The Tradition of the *Church* in the Fourth Century unanimously concurrs with the Article of the *Church* of *England* in all the *Catalogues* then given of the Books of the *Old Testament.*

Eusebius of *Cæsarea*, the *Metropolis* of *Palestine*, who not only hath preserved the *Catalogues* of *Melito* and *Origen*, but also doth approve them, and saith, *They were the Books of the* Old Testament *received by the consent of all*, and of which he thought necessary to preserve the *Catalogue* in writing to posterity, elsewhere saith, That he is not able exactly to reckon the Governors of the Tribe of *Judah* that ruled the *Jewish* Nation after *Zorobabel*, τῆς μηδὲ φέρεσθαι θείαν βίβλον ἐξ ἐκείνου, κὴ μέχει τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος χρόνων, *because that from his time, to that of our Saviour's, there was no divine Book written.*

L. 4. c. 6.

Demonst. Evang. l. 8. c. 2. p. 368.

Athanasius in his *Festival Epistle* gives the same Catalogue which we receive, and having finished it he saith, Ἄχει τύπων τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης ἴσασι, *In these are comprehended the Books of the* Old Testament. The same *Archbishop* of *Alexandria* in his Book, stiled, a *Synopsis* of the *Holy Scriptures*, tells us the number of the Books of the *Old Testament are Twenty two*, and he there reckons them up according to our *Article.*

Ad Ruffinum, Tom. 2. p. 39.

Ibid. p. 58.

St. *Cyril Bishop* of *Jerusalem* speaks to his *Catechumen*, thus, *Know thou studiously*, παρὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, *from the Church, the Books of the* Old Testament; *read the divine Scriptures, the Twenty*

two Books of the Old Testament, *interpreted by the Seventy Interpreters,* τὰ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁμολογούμενα, *and by all confessed to be divine. Meditate upon these Twenty two Books of the* Old Testament, *and be careful to remember them, as I name them*; and then he reckons them up exactly as we do.

Catech. 4. cap. περὶ τῆς θείων γραφῶν, p. 36, 37.

Epiphanius Bishop of *Salamine* in the Island of *Cyprus*, in his Book of *Weights and Measures*, doth in like manner inform us, That *the number,* τῶν ἐνδιαθέτων βίβλων, *of the Canonical Books of the* Old Testament *is Twenty two*; and then he reckons them up, as our *Article* doth.

Tom. 2. p. 161, 162.

Cap. 3.

St. *Basil Bishop* of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, in his *Philocalia*, puts this Question, Διὰ τί κβ τὰ θεόπνευστα βιβλία; *Why are the divine Books Twenty two?* and answers it as *Origen* had done before him.

Concil. Oxon. Tom. 2. part. 1. p. 179.

Gregory Nazianzen in his Treatise upon this very subject of the true genuine Books of *Scripture*, declares, That *the Historical Books of the* Old Testament *are Twelve*, and *the Metrical are Five*, and *the Prophetical Five*; and then he names them all according to our Article.

Apud Balsamon, p. 1083.

Amphilochius in his *Canonical Epistle* to *Seleucus* gives us the same account of them, with this only difference, that the Book of *Esther* is said to be not so generally received for *Canonical* as the rest.

St. *Jerom* in several places of his works is so clearly for us, that our *Article* is founded on his Judgment; who often tells us, That *the Canonical Books of the* Old Testament *are Twenty two, or, if you will reckon* Ruth *and the* Lamentations, *as distinct Books, they are Four and twenty.* In his Preface to the *Book* of *Kings*, in his *Epistle* to *Paulinus*, to *Læta*, and in divers places of his other works, he is expressly of the same Judgment.

Tom. 3. f. 6. a. Ibid. f. 3 a. T. 1. f. 41. a.

Apud Hieron. Tom. 4. f. 51.

Ruffinus having numbered the Books of the *Old Testament* as we do, adds, That *in these Books the Fathers did comprize the number of the Books of the* Old Testament.

Prolog. Expla. in Psalmos.

St. *Hilary* saith, That *the number of the Books of the* Old Testament *are Twenty two, according to the number of the* Hebrew *Letters*; and having reckoned them up as we do, saith, *These compleat the number of the Twenty two Books.*

Can. 59.

The *Council* of *Laodicea* Decrees, That *only the Canonical Books shall be read in the Church*; and then this *Council* reckons up the *Canonical Books* as we do, leaving out of their account those

those which we call *Apocryphal*. Now this *Canon* being received into the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ universalis*, or *the Code of the Canons received by the whole Church*, it must have the force of an *Oecumenical Synod*, and give us the concurring judgment of the whole Church of God on our side. And, yet for farther confirmation of this matter, let these few things be noted.

§. 6. *First*, That these *Fathers* generally say, they deliver these *Catalogues as they received them by Tradition*, and *as they were delivered to them by the Fathers*, and as *they were received by the* whole Church of Christ. * *Athanasius* in his *Paschal Epistle* speaks thus, *Because some dare to mix Apocryphal Books with the divine Scriptures, of which we are fully assured from the Tradition of them to the Fathers, by them who were Eye-witnesses, and Ministers of the Word. It seemed good to me, being exhorted to it by the Orthodox Brethren, and having learnt them from the beginning, in order to declare which are the Canonical Books delivered as such by Tradition, and believed to be of divine Inspiration.* St. *Hilary* saith, That they were thus computed, *secundum Traditiones veterum, according to the Traditions of the Ancients.* These, saith St. *Cyril*, are the Books you learn, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, *from the Church*, and which *we read publickly in the Church. The Apostles and the ancient Bishops, and Governors of the Church who delivered these*, as the Canonical Books, *were much wiser than you; thou therefore being a Son of the Church, do not transgress her Laws, or go beyond her Rules. What are the Volumes of the* Old *and the* New Testament, *which, according to the Tradition of the Ancients, are believed to be inspired by the Holy Ghost, and* delivered to the Churches of Christ. *It seems convenient*, saith Ruffinus, *here evidently to declare, as we have received them from the* Monuments of the Fathers; and having reckoned up the Books of the *Old Testament*, proceeding to the Books of the *New Testament*, he adds, *These are the Books which the Fathers comprized in the Canon, these things are delivered to us by the Fathers.*

* Καθὼς παρέδοσαν τοῖς παλαιοῖς οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου.

Prolog. Expla. in Psalmos.

Πολὺ σε φρονιμώτεροι ἦσαν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ Ἀρχαῖοι Ἐπίσκοποι οἱ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας προεστῶτες οἱ ταῦτας παραδόντες. Catech. 4. p 37.

Quæ secundum majorum Traditionem Ecclesiis Christi tradita.

Hæc nobis a patribus tradita sunt. *Apud Hieron. Tom.* 4. *f.* 51. a.

Note,

§. 7. Note, *Secondly*, That of the Books which we reject, and call *Apocryphal*, they alſo teach that as ſuch they were rejected by the *Church*, that though the *Church* permitted them to be read, yet did ſhe not receive them into the *Catalogue* of the *Holy Scriptures*, or uſe them to confirm any Article of *Chriſtian* Faith, and that they ſpake of them as Books without the *Canon*. Thus *Athanaſius* in his *Paſchal Epiſtle*, ſaith, That πλείονος ἀκριβείας ἕνεκα, *for more exactneſs ſake, I add this neceſſary advertiſement*, ὡς ἐσὶ καὶ ἕτερα Βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν ἃ κανονιζόμενα μέν, *That beſides theſe Books* of the Old and New Teſtament, now mentioned as divine Scripture, *there be other Books which are not put into the Canon, which are yet appointed by the Fathers to be read to thoſe who firſt come to be Catechized in the way of Piety*, to wit, *The Wiſdom of* Solomon, *the Wiſdom of* Syrach, *and* Eſther, *and* Judith, *and* Tobias, *and the Book called the Doctrine of the Apoſtles and Paſtor, theſe are read, and not to be deſpiſed, the others are put into the Canon.* The very ſame words he repeats in his Compendium of the *Holy Scripture*; where alſo afterwards he reckons *the Four Books of Macchabees*, and *the Hiſtory of Suſanna* among the Books contradicted; *Baruch* and *the additions to Daniel* among the ἀπόκρυφα, or the *Apocryphal Books of the Old Teſtament*. St. *Cyril* having cited the *Canon* we receive, as that which was delivered to the Church by the *Apoſtles*, and *ancient Governors* of the Church, adds, Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔξω κείσθω ἐν δευτέρῳ, *Let all the reſt which are extro-canonical, be placed in a ſecond Order*. *Gregory Nazianzen*, having given an account of Twenty two Books of the *Old Teſtament*, ſaith, *You have them all*, ἔπειτα τούτων ἐκτὸς ἂν ἐν γνησίοις, and that, *all beſides them are not Genuine*. After his *Catalogue* delivered from the Tradition of the Fathers, *Ruffinus* ſaith, *You muſt know that there be other Books which are not* Canonical, *but called by our Anceſtors* Eccleſiaſtical, *as the Wiſdom of* Solomon, *the Wiſdom of the Son of* Syrach, Tobit, Judith, *and the Books of* Macchabees, *which they were willing to have read in the Church, but not to have produced to confirm Doctrines of Faith; the reſt they called Apocryphal, and would not have read in the Church.* Theſe things are delivered to us by the Fathers. St. *Jerom* ſaith, he made his *Catalogue*, ut ſcire valeamus quicquid extra hos eſt inter Apocrypha eſſe ponendum,

Apud Balſam. p. 921.

Tom 2. p. 58, 59.

Catech. 4. p. 38.

Ubi Supra.

Sunt alii libri non Canonici, ſed Eccleſiaſtici a majoribus appellati.—Quæ omnia legi quidem in Eccleſia voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad authoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. *Apud Hieron. Tom. 4. f. 51.*

Præfat. in librum Regum. Tom 3. f. 6.

dum, *that we might know that all besides these Twenty two are to be deemed Apocryphal.* He adds, That *the Books which are not received by the* Hebrews, *are to be rejected by us Christians*; and that *the Church indeed Reads them, but receives them not into the Canons.* Præf. in Esdr. & Neh. ibid. f. 7, 8.

Note, *Thirdly*, That they declare not only that these are the Books received into the *Canon* by the *Jews*, but by the *Christians* also; that they are, πᾶσα γεγραπ ἡμῶν χειστιανῶν, *the entire Scripture of us Christians*, saith Athanasius. *All the Books delivered by the Apostles, and ancient Governors of the Church, and by the Church to others*, saith St. *Cyril.* *All the Books delivered to the Church of Christ*, saith *Ruffinus.* That as for others, which we stile *Apocryphal*, Ecclesia nescit Apocrypha, *the Church owns them not*: Ecclesia inter Canonicas Scripturas non recipit, *The Church receives them not among the Canonical Scriptures*, saith St. *Jerom.* §. 8. Synops. Tom. 2. p. 55. Ubi Supra. Tom. 3. f. 7. a. f. 9. a.

Note, *Fourthly*, That they declare that they made this Enumeration of these Books, διὰ τ ἀνάγκην, καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον τ ἐκκλησίας, *out of necessity to prevent mistakes in this Matter, and for the good of the Church, and that Men might know out of what Fountains they were to draw the Waters of Life.* Having made mention of the *Hereticks*, saith *Athanasius*, *as of Dead persons, and of our selves*, ὡς ἐχόντων πρὸς σωτηρίαν τὰς θείας γραφὰς, *as having the Holy Scriptures for Life, and because I fear least some harmless Men, through their Simplicity and Ignorance, may be deceived by the subtile Craftiness of Men, and being deceived,* τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ τῶν ἀληθινῶν βιβλίων, *by the ambiguity of* the word *true Books*, (which signifies either only such as are read in the Church, or such as also are put into the Canon) *may begin to be conversant in others; therefore I intreat you to bear with me, if, by way of remembrance, I write of those things which you know already, because of the necessity of so doing, and the Benefit of it to the Church.* *Amphilochius* and *Nazianzen* say, *It behoves the Christian to learn this, that,* ἐν ἅπασα βίβλῳ ἀσφαλὴς, *every Book is not safe, which has the venerable Name of Scripture; for some are False and Adulterate, some of a middle Nature, and some Canonical; and therefore,* say they, *will we number every one of the inspired Books,* ὡς ἂν εὐκρινῶς μάθῃς, *that you may clearly* §. 9. Apud Balsam. p. 920, 921. Ubi Supra.

learn

Ad inſtructionem eorum qui prima ſibi Eccleſiæ ac fidei Elementa ſuſcipiunt, ut ſciant ex quibus ſibi fontibus verbi dei haurienda ſint pocula. *Apud Hieron. Tom.* 4. f. 51.

Ut ſcire valeamus quicquid extra hos eſt inter Apocrypha eſſe ponendum. *Tom.* 3. f 6. a.

learn which they are. Theſe, ſaith *Ruffinus, are the Traditions of the Fathers touching the Canonical Books; thoſe are the Books which are read in the Church, though not Canonical, nor ſufficient to confirm any Doctrine of Faith, and the other are Apocryphal Scriptures, which ſhe would not have read, and theſe things I thought fit in this place to ſignifie for the inſtruction of thoſe who receive the firſt Rudiments of Faith, that they may know out of what Fountains they muſt receive the word of God. This Catalogue I have made,* ſaith Jerom, *that you may be able to know that the reſt are Apocryphal.*

§. 10. Note, *Fifthly,* That they repreſent theſe as the Fountains of Salvation, which are diligently to be read and ſtudied by all, and as for the reſt, ſome of them ſay, that though they were read in the Church, not for confirmation of Faith, but inſtruction of Manners; yet private Perſons ſhould not read them. Thus *Athanaſius* having given us the *Proteſtants Canon,* both of the *Old* and *New Teſtament,* he adds, *Theſe are the Fountains of Salvation, ſo that he who thirſteth, let him be ſatiated*

Apud Balſam. P. 922. *with the Oracles contained in them;* ἐν τούτοις μόνοις τὸ τῆ εὐσεβείας διδασκαλεῖον εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, μηδεὶς τούτοις ἐπιβαλλέτω, μηδὲ τούτων ἀφαιρείσθω τι; *in* theſe alone *is contained the Doctrine of Godlineſs, let no Man add any thing to them, nor take any thing from them; of theſe our Lord ſpake when he ſaid to the* Phariſees, *You erre, not knowing the Scriptures, and when he exhorted the* Jews *to ſearch*

P. 36, 37. *the Scriptures. Learn of the Church,* ſaith *Cyril* to his *Catechumen, which are the Books of the* Old *and the* New Teſtament, *and read none of the Apocrypha, for why ſhouldſt thou trouble thy ſelf,* περὶ τὰ ἀμφιβαλλόμενα, *about controverted Books, who knoweſt not thoſe which are by all acknowledged; read theſe Twenty two Books of the* Old Teſtament, *ſtudy them only,* περὶ ὧν τὰ ἀπόκρυφα μηδὲν ἔχε κοινὸν, *and have nothing to do with the Apocrypha;* and having given us the ſame Catalogue of the Books of the *New Teſtament,* excepting only the *Revelations,* he ſaith, *Whatſoever is not read in the Church do not thou read.*

St. *Jerom* in his Epiſtle to *Paulinus,* having reckoned up the Books of the *Old* and the *New Teſtament,* as we do (ſaving that he ſaith, *The Epiſtle to the* Hebrews *is by many not reckoned as St.* Paul's)

St. Paul's,) saith, *I intreat thee, dear Brother, to be conversant among these, to meditate of them,* nihil aliud nosse, nihil quærere, *to know, to enquire after nothing else.* In his Epistle to *Læta*, touching the Education of her Daughter, he gives this Admonition: *let her shun all Apocryphal Books, and if at any time she will read them, not for the truth of Doctrine, but for Reverence of the Signs, let her know they are not their Books whose Titles they bear, that there be many ill things in them, that it requireth great Wisdom to seek Gold among Dirt.* Tom. 3. f. 3. b. Caveat omnia Apocrypha, &c. *Tom.* 1. f. 21.

§. 11. Thus have we in one *Century Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* the *Metropolis* of *Palæstine*, *Cyril Bishop* of *Jerusalem*, *Amphilochius Bishop* of *Iconium* the *Metropolis* of *Lycaonia*, *Nazianzen* and St. *Basil* in *Cappadocia*, *Athanasius Patriarch* of *Alexandria*, *Ruffinus* Priest of *Aquileia* in *Italy*, *Hilary* of *Poictiers* in *France*, *Jerom*, who lived in *Rome*, *France*, *Dalmatia*, *Syria*, *Palæstine*, who travelled into *Cyprus*, *Ægypt*, *Alexandria*, conversed with all the learned Persons of his Age; and lastly the *Council* of *Laodicea*, received generally through the *Christian* World, deposing their plain Testimonies for the *Canon* of the *Old Testament* received by *Protestants*, and as unanimously condemning that of the *Trent Council*, since owned by the *Church* of *Rome*. And confident I am that the greatest searchers into *Ecclesiastical Antiquity* cannot produce one *Council*, nor one Testimony of any *Father* throughout these Four *Centuries*, who purposely treating of, or declaring the exact number of the *Canonical* Books of the *Old Testament*, doth not either expressly exclude, or at least omit all, or most of all those Books which we stile *Apocryphal*, and which by the *New Canon* made at *Trent*, are pronounced *Canonical*, and that with an *Anathema* to every *Christian* who, *pro sacris & Canonicis non susceperit, receives them not as Sacred and Canonical.* And if all this be not sufficient, whosoever will peruse *Doctor Cousin*'s *Canon* of *Scripture*, will find the same Tradition still continued to future Ages. Sess. 4.

And that the number of the Books of the *Old Testament* were either expressly or equivalently declared to be those, and those only which we receive. For Century the Fifth, St. *Chrysostom* lays it down as a thing *confessed by all*, that all the divine Books of the *Old* Καὶ τέτο πάντες ἂν ἡμῶν συνομολογήσαιεν. Hom. 4. in Gen. p. 20.

Testament were from the beginning *writ in the Hebrew Tongue.*

In Cant. Cantic. p. 985, 1077. *Theodoret* twice mentions the sacred and saving Scriptures of the *Old Testament*, without addition of one of the *Apocryphal*:

Cous. p. 132. The number of them is declared to be Twenty two. Century

P. 142. the Sixth, by *Anastasius*; in the Seventh Century by *Isidore*;

P. 145. in the Eighth Century by *Damasus*; in the Ninth Century by

P. 151, 152. *Nicephorus* and *Agobardus*; in the Eleventh Century by *Gisel-*

P. 154. *bertus*; in the Twelfth Century by *Hugo de Sancto Victore*,

P. 158, 159, 161, 163. *Richardus de Sancto Victore*, by *Petrus Comestor*, *John Beleth*,

P. 166. and by *John* of *Salisbury*; in the Thirteenth Century by the

P. 174, 178. *Ordinary Gloss*; in the Fourteenth Century by *Nicephorus*, *Ca-*

P. 179, 188, 192, 197. *listus*, and *Joannes Armachanus*; in the Fifteenth Century by *Thomas Waldensis*, *Dionysius Carthusianus*, and *Erasmus*.

Prol. Gal. in libr. Regum, Tom. 3. f. 6. a. Others, numbring *Ruth* and *Lamentations* as Two Books, distinct from *Judges* and *Jeremy*, say, That the *Canonical Books of the* Old Testament *are Twenty four*, which say they, from St. *Jerom*, St. *John* in his Revelations introduceth under the

Dr. Cous. p. 131, 133. Name of the *Twenty four Elders*: so in the Sixth Century *Pri-*

P. 147. *masius* and *Leontius*; in the Eighth Century *Venerable Bede*; in

P. 152. the Ninth Century *Ambrosius Ausbertus*; in the Twelfth Cen-

P. 164, 178, 196. tury *Peter Abbot* of *Celle*; in the Fifteenth Century *Thomas Anglicus*; and in the Sixteenth *Frances Georgius*. Now manifest it is, even from the very number here assigned of Twenty two or Twenty four *Canonical* Books, that all these *Authors* must exclude those Books we call *Apocrypha* from the *Canon*, and it is still more evident from their own Words, in which they expressly say, *These are the Books received, the Books put*

P. 133. *into the Canon by the Church; the Books received by the Church,*

P. 151. *and Canonized. The whole Canon which the Church receives,*

P. 157, 194. *and which was handed down unto them by the Authority of the*

P. 197. *Ancients.*

Ibid. p. 151. And of those which we stile *Apocryphal* they say, *These are the Books which are contradicted*, and *not received by the Church.*

P. 152, 162, 177. *The Books of the* Old Testament *which are not received by the Church*; *The Books which are read indeed*, sed non scribuntur,

P. 158, 159, 163, 169, 175 non habentur in Canone, sed leguntur, ut scripta patrum, *as are the Writings of the Fathers, but are not put into the Canon*; non reputantur in Canone, *are not reputed to belong unto it. The Books which the Church reads, and permits for Devotion, and the instruction of Manners, but thinks not their Authority sufficient,*

ad

ad confirmandam Ecclesiasticorum dogmatum Authoritatem, *to confirm the Authority of Ecclesiastical Doctrines. The Books which are not to be received* ad confirmandum aliquid in fide, *to confirm any Article of Faith. The Contents of which she obligeth no man to believe, nor doth she judge him guilty of disobedience or infidelity who receives them not. Concerning which the Church receives the Testimony of St.* Jerom, *as most Sacred,* who did undoubtedly exclude them from the *Canon. To whom,* say they, *the Church Catholick is much indebted upon this account,* and *to whose sence the sayings both of Councils and Fathers are to be reduced: Books with whose Authority no Man was pressed: Books,* Lastly, *which were not genuine,* but νόθα, ἀπόκρυφα, *Spurious, and Apocryphal, which the Christian Church doth not receive,* pari Authoritate, *or* pari veneratione, *with the like Authority or Veneration with which she doth receive the Holy Scriptures.*

P. 166, 173, 176, 191, 193. P. 189, 190. P. 194. P. 199. P. 202. P. 174, 188. P. 166, 201.

§. 12. Now hence the *Doctors* of the *Church* of *Rome* may learn what it is they are to do, if they would prove any of their Doctrines to have descended to them by a like Tradition with that of the *Canonical Books* of the *Old Testament, viz.* they must prove they were owned in the *New Testament,* were delivered as Traditions by the *Apostles,* and all the *Ancient Bishops,* and *Governors* of *the Church:* They must produce expres's Testimonies of *Christian Writers* in all Ages asserting, That the *Church* received such a Doctrine, and that they in delivering of it *followed the Tradition of the Church,* and *their Fore-Fathers*; and saying, That the contrary Doctrine was not received by the *Church.* They must shew, That, even from the first Ages of the *Church, Christians* were solicitous to enquire what were the *Apostolical* Traditions not left in writing to the *Church*, that upon this enquiry they found that these Traditions were of such a certain number, neither more, nor less; that they thought it necessary to preserve them by writing *Catalogues* of all such Traditions, as were received, or owned as such by *Christians.* That this Catalogue of *Traditions* was delivered to them by the *Primitive Fathers,* as they had been received by the whole *Church,* and that they had received them *from Eye-witnesses,* and *Ministers of the Word.* That they took care to leave this *Catalogue* of *Traditions,* because some persons dared to mix *Apocryphal* Traditions with Divine, and that they made it out of

necessity to prevent mistakes in this matter, and for the Instruction of those who received the first *Rudiments* of the Faith, that they might know out of what Fountains to draw the Waters of *Tradition*. They must produce from the first Four *Centuries* Testimonies of this nature, from Fathers living in most places where there were any *Christians*, and Testimonies uncontrouled throughout those *Centuries*.

And seeing one of these *Traditions*, *viz.* that which concerneth the *Canonical Books* of the *Old Testament*, is expresly contrary to a *Tradition* delivered, and handed down to us with all these circumstances, they must prove, that in this matter *Tradition* hath plainly delivered *Contradictions*, throughout Four whole *Centuries*, which being done, we cannot chuse but think her Testimony is *Infallible*.

Hence also we may see what an unparallell'd confidence they shew, when in their Disputations the *Romanists* are bold to say, and lay the stress of their whole certainty of Faith upon this *Proposition*, That *they hold the same Doctrine to day which was delivered yesterday, and so up to the time of our Saviour*; seeing it is as clear as the Sun, that the Books of the *Old Testament*, which they now hold for *Sacred* and *Canonical*, were for Fifteen whole *Centuries* together, declared not to belong unto the *Canon*, but excluded from it by the *Church*.

§. 13. And this will be still more apparent by considering what the *Authors* of the *Question of Questions*, and of The *Papist Misrepresented, and Represented* say, touching this matter. Mr. *M.* Sect. 19. n. 6. p. 410. saith, That *when it was grown doubtful in the Church, whether such and such Books were part of the Canon of Scripture, the Tradition which recommended these Books was examined in the Third Council of* Carthage, *and there all the Books of the R. Canon were found to be recommended to the Church by a true, and Authentical Tradition, and therefore we embrace them as the Word of God.*

Sect. 3. n. 12. p. 84, 85, 86. And again, *As yet the Church of Christ had not defined which Books were God's true word, which not; wherefore then it was free to doubt of such Books as were not admitted by such a Tradition of the Church as was evidently so universal, that it was clearly sufficient to ground an infallible belief; but in the days of St.* Austin *the Third Council of* Carthage, *A.* 397. *examined how sufficient the Tradition of the Church was which recommended these Books for Scripture,*

Scripture, about which there was so much doubt and contrariety of Opinion; and they found all the Books contained in our Canon (of which you account so many Apocryphal) to have been recommended by a Tradition sufficient to ground Faith upon. For on this ground they proceeded in defining all the Books in our Canon to be Canonical. Pope Innocent *the First, A. D.* 402. *St.* Austin, *P.* Gelasius *A. D.* 492. *confirm the same Canon, and the Sixth General Council celebrated* A. D. 680. *confirms the Council of* Carthage, *and the true Canon is again set forth in the Council of* Florence A. 1438. *And after these Declarations of the Council of* Carthage *and Pope* Innocent, *no one pertinaciously dissented from the Canon, but such as Protestants themselves confess to be Hereticks.*

J. L. adds, That *Gregory Nazianzen acknowledged them Canonical, and St.* Ambrose, Lib. de Jacob & vitâ beatâ, *and that since the Churches Declaration no Catholick ever doubted of them.*

Now for Answer to these things, let it be noted,

First, That whereas they are pleased to say, that it was *till the time of the Third Council of* Carthage, that is, till the Fifth Century, doubtful, and undetermined in the Church, whether these Books were *Canonical* or not, because *the Church had not then declared them so*; they by just consequence must grant that the *Apostles*, and all the *Ancient Bishops* of the *Church* for Four *Centuries*, knew nothing of the *Roman Canon*, for had they known the Books contested to be *Canonical*, we cannot doubt but they would have delivered them to the *Church* as such, as well as those which we receive, and which, saith *Eusebius*, *were received by the consent of all.* We therefore Lib. 4. c. 26. are contented to be no wiser than they were, and rather chuse to hearken to that advice of *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, *Read the Twenty two Books of the* Old Testament, *and have nothing to do with the Apocrypha*; Πολὺ γὰρ σε φρονιμώτερει ἦσαν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ Ἀρχαῖοι ἐπίσκοποι; *For the Apostles and ancient Bishops, the Rulers of the Church, who delivered these Twenty two Books* as the Canon, *were wiser* than those that came after them; we therefore being *Sons of the Church*, in compliance with his advice, will not, παραβαίνειν τὰς ὅρους, *break over the bounds which they have set us*, especially considering they so expressly have informed us, that they delivered this *Catalogue* of the Twenty two *Canonical* Books of the *Old Testament*, *as they received them from Tradition*

dition, Obs. 1. That they made this Enumeration of them *to prevent mistakes in this matter, for the good of the Church*, and *that Men might know out of what Fountains to draw the Water of Life*, and might clearly learn which were *Canonical*, *Obs.* 4. And as the Canon received, and owned not only by the *Jewish*, but the *Christian* Church, *Obs.* 3.

Secondly, The falshood of these bold Assertions hath been shewed sufficiently in what hath been discoursed upon this subject; for had the *Authority* of the Books we stile *Apocryphal* been undetermined, had the true *Canon* of the Books of the *Old Testament* been doubtful in the *Church* till the Fifth *Century*; why did *Athanasius* think it *necessary to advertise Christians, that the Books which we reject were not Canonical?* St. *Cyril*, That they *were out of the Canon: Nazianzen*, That they *were not Genuine: Ruffinus*, That *our Ancestors held them not Canonical, not sufficient to confirm Doctrines of Faith*: St. *Jerom*, That *the Church deemed them Apocryphal*, and *received them not into the Canon*: Why do they add, that these things we *delivered to them by the Fathers*, and by them recorded, πλείονος ἀκριβείας ἕνεκα, *for more exactness sake, and to prevent mistakes?* Had the *Canon* of the Books of the *Old Testament* been till then doubtful, and undetermined in the Church, why was the *Canon* produced by *Melito Bishop* of *Sardis*, judged so exact a *Canon* of the Books of the *Old Testament*? why do the *Fathers* of the four first *Centuries*, with one accord, declare, that the number of the *Canonical* Books of the *Old Testament*, if *Ruth* were added to *Judges*, and the *Lamentations* to
Can. 59. *Jeremiah*, were but *Twenty two*, if reckoned separately, *Twenty four*? why is it that the *Council* of *Laodicea* having said, that *Christians* in the Church ought to read, μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τ παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης, *only the Canonical Books of the* Old *and the* New Testament, reckons up the *Cononical Books* of the *Old Testament* as we do, excluding all that we call *Apocrypha*, as ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, *books not contained in the Canon.*

Moreover, this *Canon* was received into the *Code* of *Canons* of the *Universal Church* both by the *East* and *West*, the *Canons*
Can. 1. of this *Council* were confirmed by the fourth *General Council* of
Can. 2. *Chalcedon*, by the Sixth *General Council* of *Trullo*, by the *Im-*
Novel. 131. *perial* Law of the *Emperor Justinian*, and so must give us the Sence and Definition of the whole *Church* touching this matter.

Thirdly, If

Thirdly, If that may be doubtful and undetermined in the *Church*, which is ſo poſitively aſſerted, ſo expreſly and frequently declared in a matter of Fact, as this hath been for the firſt Four *Centuries*, then I hope we may be permitted to pronounce all thoſe *New Articles* which the *Church* of *Rome* hath added to the *Creed*, doubtful and undetermined in the firſt Four *Centuries*, at leaſt, till they can give us better proof that they were then received, than hath been here produced for this *Canon*, and then I think they will be no great Gainers by this falſe Aſſertion. And, ſure I am, they cannot here pretend *Tradition* handed down from *Father* to Son, from all the *Chriſtians* of one Age to all the *Chriſtians* of the next, unleſs it be aſſerted, that all thoſe *Fathers*, and this whole *Council* ſpake theſe things in a flat oppoſition to what they had been taught by their *Fore-fathers* touching the *Canonical* Books of the *Old Teſtament*, ſo that this inſtance is a full confutation of that idle Dream.

Fourthly, Whereas theſe *Authors* have produced ſome few Teſtimonies from the Fifth *Century* in favour of their *Canon*: Let it be noted, firſt, That *J. L.* hath been told already, that neither *Gregory* nor St. *Ambroſe* have any thing pertinent to his purpoſe in the places cited, and this he by his ſilence ſeemeth to confeſs. As for the pretended Definition of *Pope Innocent* the Firſt; (made, ſaith *J. L. A. D.* 370. though he was only made *Biſhop* of *Rome A. D.* 402.) *Biſhop Couſins* hath proved it to be Spurious, as he hath alſo fully proved the pretended Decree of the *Council* of *Florence* to be. And another *Biſhop* of our Church, of unqueſtionable Credit among all learned Men, hath proved beyond all poſſibility of Contradiction, that the *Decree* aſcribed to *Gelaſius*, is alſo Spurious; ſo that we have nothing left to conſider but the judgment of St. *Auſtin*, the *Council* of *Carthage*, and the pretended confirmation of it. Now to theſe I ſay,

Anſw. p. 82, 83.

Cap. 11. p. 22. *Schol. Hiſt.* p. 118, 180, 188.

Biſhop Pearſon Vindiciæ Epiſt. Ignat. part. 1. c. 4. a p. 44. ad p. 54.

Fifthly, That were theſe Teſtimonies exactly for the *Canon* of the *Church* of *Rome*, yet here is neither a Decree of any *General Council*, nor a Decree received into the *Code* of *Canons* by the *Univerſal Church*, as was the contrary *Decree* of the *Council* of *Laodicea*; nor were the men that made it likely to judge better what were the Books of the *Old Teſtament* received as *Canonical*, than all the Writers now produced for our *Canon*;

Canon; they whom we have produced, as our Witneſſes, being either men who lived upon, or near the place where the *Canon* of the *Old Teſtament* was publiſhed and known, or travelled many of them thither, and one of them on purpoſe to learn exactly the number of thoſe Books: And ſurely it is too ridiculous to imagine that it ſhould in the Fifth *Century* be better known in *Africa* what Books of the *Old Teſtament* were *Canonical* than at *Jeruſalem*, *Cæſarea*, *Alexandria*, or any of the *Eaſtern Churches*. Moreover, This *Canon* of the *Council* of *Carthage* in the *Roman Code*, lately ſet forth by *Paſchaſius Queſnel*, hath only *Tobit* and *Judith*, and two Books of *Eſdras* of all the *Apocryphal* Books now Canonized at *Rome*, nor in
Can. 299. the Collection of *Creſconius*, an *African Biſhop*, is there any mention of the Books of *Macchabees* or *Baruch*, nor in the Edition of it by *Balſamon*, ſo that this cannot be a proof that the *Trent Canon* was received then. And laſtly, 'tis true they ſtile the Books there mentioned *Canonical*, but this may only be in that large Sence in which thoſe Books were ſometimes called ſo which were read in the *Church*, though they were not ſufficient to confirm matters of Faith, as may be argued from the Reaſon which they give us, why they ſtiled them *Canonical*, *viz.* Ἐφ' ὅσον παρὰ τῶν Πατέρων ταῦτα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγνωσέα παρελάβομεν, *Becauſe we have from the Fathers received theſe Books to be read in the Church*; and from the Gloſs of *Balſamon* upon it, who to know what Books were *Canonical* in the ſtrict Sence, ſends us to the Council of *Laodicea*, *Athanaſius*, *Nazianzen*, and *Amphilochius*, who all declared againſt the *Apocrypha*, and to the laſt *Canon* of the *Apoſtles* which leaves out moſt of them.

Περὶ τῶν πίνα δεῖ ἀναγινώσκεσθαι Βιβλία ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ζήτει τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων Κανόνα πε· τ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ συνόδε κανόνα ξ. τὰ ἐμμελέα Γρηγορίε, κ τὰ κανονικὰ Ἀθανασίε, κ τὸ Ἀμφιλοχίε. Balſam. in can. 27. Concil. Carthag.

And whereas it is added, that the *Canons* of the *Council* of *Carthage* were eſtabliſhed in the Sixth *General Council* held in *Trullo*; let it be noted,

Firſt, That at other times the *Romaniſts* will by no means
Can. 36. admit this *Council*, becauſe it equals the *Biſhop* of *Conſtantinople*
Can. 13. with him of *Rome*, forbids Prieſts to be ſeparated from their
Can. 55. Wives, condemns the received Cuſtoms of the Church of *Rome*, and preſcribes contrary Laws to her; but now, becauſe they hope their Forlorn Cauſe may have ſome ſmall advantage,

advantage by it, they give it the Title of a *General Council.* Note,

2. That this *Synod* in the same *Canon* in which it confirms the *Council* of *Carthage*, confirms also the *Canons* of the *Council* of *Laodicea*, together with the *Canonical Epistles* of *Athanasius*, *Nazianzen* and *Amphilochius*, which number the *Canonical* Books of the *Old Testament* as we do, rejecting the rest with us as *Apocryphal*; when therefore the *Fathers* in the *Synod* confirm the *Canons* of the *Council* of *Carthage*, they must either contradict themselves by contradicting the *Council* of *Laodicea*, and these *Canonical Epistles* now mentioned, and by them equally confirmed, or else they must believe that this *Canon* of the *Council* of *Carthage*, did not declare these controverted Books to be properly *Canonical*, or divine Scripture, but only in that larger sence, in which that Name was given to Ecclesiastical Books, thought worthy to be read in the *Church.*

Ἐπισφραγίζομεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἱεροὺς κανόνας, — ὅτε ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τῆς Φρυγίας, — ὅτε ἐν Καρθαγένῃ τρηγορείῳ τῶν Θεολόγων, Ἀθανασίου, Ἀμφιλοχίου τοῦ Ἰκονίου. Can. 2.

Fifthly, Whereas Mr. *M.* and *J. L.* farther assert, That *after these Books were declared Canonical by Pope* Innocent, *and the Council of* Carthage, *all cited these Books as Scripture, none pertinaciously dissented from this Decree, no Catholick ever doubted of them*; we are bound to thank them for their kindness to us in these words, in which they plainly have renounced their Title to almost all the best *Writers* of the *Christian* World, who, as the Reverend Dr. *Cousins* hath demonstrated through every *Century*, till the very Year of the Session of the *Trent Council*, not only doubted of, but plainly did reject these Books as *uncanonical* in the strict acceptation of the Word, declaring that they read and cited them indeed as Books containing good instruction, but not as properly *Canonical*, or as sufficient to confirm any Article of *Christian* Faith.

Lastly, The Testimony of St. *Austin* in his Book of *Christian Doctrine*, is so inconsistent with his other works, and so fully answered by the Reverend Dr. *Cousins*, that it is needless to say any thing distinctly to it. Can. 7.

To proceed therefore to the Books of the *New Testament*, observe, §. 14.

Ἃ γὲ ἀναντίῤῥητα ἔστιν ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῷ θεῷ, Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 3. c. 25. l. 6. c. 25.

First, That the four *Gospels*, the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, the Thirteen Epistles of St. *Paul*, the First Epistle of *St. Peter*, and the First of St. *John*, were always, ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις, *confessed* by all true *Christians* to be sacred Books of the *New Testament*, and their Authority was never questioned by any person of the whole *Church* of *God*. Now sure we have unquestionable certainty of such Books as have been handed down to us by the Tradition of all Ages of the *Church*, inserted into all her *Catalogues*, cited by all her Writers as *Books* of a *Divine Authority*, and of which never any doubt was made by any Member of the *Church* of *God*.

§. 15. *Secondly*, Observe, That it cannot be necessary to Salvation to have an absolute assurance of those Books of the *New Testament*, which have been formerly Controverted by whole *Churches*, as well as private *Doctors* of the Church; for either these Churches had sufficient certainty, that the Books which they rejected were *Canonical*, or they had not; if they had, how could they be true *Churches* who rejected part of their Rule of Faith, when known to be so? If they had not, it seems not necessary that we at present should be certain of them; for why may not we go to Heaven without this assurance, as well as they of former Ages?

§. 16. *Thirdly*, There can be no assurance of the true *Canon* of the Books of the *New Testament* from the Testimony of the *Romish* or the *Latin Church* in any Age, because she in some *Ages* hath rejected from the *Canon* that *Epistle* to the *Hebrews*, which she now receives. It was rejected in the Third Century by *Cajus Presbyter* of *Rome*; by *Tertullian* in the same Century, who also in his Book, *de pudicitia*, insinuates, that it was not received as *Canonical* by some other *Churches*. *Origen* in his Epistle to *Africanus* having cited a passage from the Eleventh Chapter of this *Epistle*, adds, That *it is probable, some being pressed with it, may*, συνχρήσασθαι τῷ βεβλήμασι τῶν ἀθετούντων τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὡς ὐ Παύλου γεγραμμένην, *embrace the Sentence of them who reject this Epistle, as being not writ by* Paul. Now who they were, who in this Century did upon this account reject it, we learn more plainly from the Writers of the following Century.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 20. Cap. 20. Pag. 232.

For

For *Eusebius* informs us, that, εἰς δεύτερον παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τοὺν ἀνομάζεσθαι τὸν Ἀποστόλου τυγχάνειν, *even in his time some of the Romans did reject it, as being none of the Apostles.* Upon which place *Valesius* notes, That it was the Custom of *Eusebius* to call all the *Latins*, *Romans*, and observes, that *Ruffinus* thus Interprets this very passage, *Scio apud* Latinos *de ea quæ ad Hebræos inscribitur haberi dubitationem, I know that the* Latins *doubt of the Epistle to the* Hebrews. The same *Eusebius* informs us, that others did reject it with the *Roman Church*. St. *Jerom* frequently affirms, That *eam Latina consuetudo non recipit*, the *Latin Church* did not receive it among the *Canonical Scriptures*. Here then we see that they rejected for *Two Centuries*, what afterwards they did unanimously receive as part of the *Canon* of the *New Testament*; and so her Judgment alone can give us no assurance of the Books of the *New Testament*, because through two whole Centuries she actually erred in her Judgment of them. Hence also I inferr, that the *Church* of *Christ* knew of no Obligation laid upon her, *in a division of Church Rulers, touching any matter, to adhere to the Pope and Church of* Rome, and those which sided with them. For in this very Case *Origen* in the Third Century offers to demonstrate against her, that this was truly the *Epistle* of St. *Paul*, And *Jerom* bluntly says, *Although the Latins do reject it, yet do I receive it,* (with the *Greeks*) nequaquam hujus temporis consuetudinem, sed veterum Scriptorum authoritatem sequens, *not following the Custom of this time,* (among the *Latins*) *but the Authority of ancient Writers.*

Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 20.

L. 3. c. 3.

Ep. ad Dard. Ep. Tom. 3. f. 24. a.

Exhort. ad Martyr. p. 232.

Tom. 3. f. 24.

Fourthly, I add, That there is not the like necessity that any of these controverted Books should be received from the beginning by all *Christians* as *Canonical*, as that the necessary *Articles* of *Christian* Faith and Manners, should be received by all Christians. For, 1. The necessary Articles of Christian Faith, and Rules of Christian Life were preached universally to all; and so there was no time when any Christian could be ignorant of them without his own fault, but the *Epistles* controverted were only sent to private Christians, as the Second and Third *Epistles* of St. *John*; or to the Churches of the *Jews*, and therefore might with reason for some time be doubted of by other Churches of the *Gentiles*, this being not a weakening, but confirmation of

§. 17.

our Faith, that the first Christians were so careful to see sufficient Evidence before they would receive even the least *Epistle* into the *Canon* of the *Scripture*. 2. No *Christian Church* could need to be told by any other what were the necessary *Articles* of Christian Faith, or Rules of Life, since they must always know the Christian Faith, and be obliged to practise the Rules of Christian Piety, and must be taught them by their *Church Guides*; but 'tis not thus with reference to these *Epistles*, for being writ to a particular Society of *Christians*, it was sufficient that this *Society* could shew, as saith *Tertullian*, Authenticas literas eorum, *the Authentick Letters of those Apostles*, which indited them, and could testifie to those who doubted, as St. *Austin* saith, *quod ab ipsis Epistolas accipere meruerunt*, *that they received these Epistles from them*, and read, and owned them as their genuine Works; when-ever this was done, they, who before did question them, must have sufficient ground to own them as parts of the true *Canon*, and till they had this Evidence, they reasonably might continue to doubt of them. 3. It is evident from the second Observation, that the assured knowledge that these *Epistles* are *Canonical*, cannot be necessary to Salvation, the necessary Doctrines of Christian Faith being according to the general *Tradition* of the whole Church of *Christ*, comprised in the *Apostles Creed*, and all the necessary Rules of Christian Piety, being according to the same Tradition, fully comprised in the Four *Evangelists*; whereas the actual knowledge of all necessary Articles of Christian Faith, and Rules of Christian Conversation, must be always necessary, there being no possibility of knowing, or of doing acceptably the Will of God without them. It will not therefore follow, because such matters of Fact may for a time be doubtful in the Church, matters of Faith may be so, that because Churches may be *Orthodox* and reject some part of the *Canon* for a Season, they may be *Orthodox*, though they reject some necessary Article of *Christian* Faith. The *Romanist* I hope will not admit of these Conclusions. The *Greek Church* might reject the *Apocalypse*, and yet be *Orthodox*, *ergo*, she might reject the *Trinity*, and yet be *Orthodox*. The *Latin Churches* for a Season might reject the *Epistle* to the *Hebrews* without blame, *ergo*, they might reject the *Resurrection* of the Body without blame. The whole *Church* did not formerly receive those Books into

De præscript. c. 36.

De Doctrin. Christian. l. 2. c. 8.

Chap. 7. §. 4, 5, 6, &c.

Ibid. §. 2, 3.

into the *Canon* of the *New Testament*, she now receives; *Ergo* the whole *Church* did not formerly embrace those *Articles* of Faith which now she holds; and yet all these conclusions are as good as those the *Roman Doctors* usually make for receiving all the *Articles* of Faith imposed, at present, by the *Church* of *Rome*, as the Conditions of Communion, upon her Testimony that they are such; because we do receive the *Canon* of the *New Testament*, from the Tradition of the *Church*.

Fifthly, We shall see cause sufficient to embrace as certain, and unquestionable, that *Canon* of the *New Testament* we now receive, notwithstanding any doubts some of the *Ancients* had, touching some lesser portions of it, if we consider, §. 18.

1. That most of the *Fathers* of the Fourth *Century*, who give us *Catalogues* of the *Scripture Canon*, and they especially who tell us, they, in making of it, followed the suffrage of the *Church*, and *the Tradition of the Fathers*, do accord in giving of that very *Catalogue* we now receive, and owning all those *Catholick Epistles* which were sometime controverted; thus, for instance, *Athanasius* reckoneth the Books of the *New Testament* as we do, numbering, as appertaining to the *Canon*, *Fourteen Epistles of St.* Paul, *Seven Catholick Epistles*, and the *Apocalypse*; and saying, *These are the Fountains of Salvation, let no man add unto them, or take from them.* And yet he doth profess to reckon them *as they delivered them who were Eye-witnesses, and Ministers of the Word, and as they by Tradition came down to him.* In his *Synopsis* he undertakes to reckon up τὰ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης ὡρισμένα καὶ κεκανονισμένα βιβλία, *the Canonical Books of the New Testament, defined to be such.* And amongst these he reckons *the Seven Catholick Epistles of the Apostles, comprised in one Volume, which he calls the Sixth Volume of the New Testament, Fourteen Epistles of St.* Paul, *comprised in the Seventh Volume*, and in the *Eighth* the *Revelation of St.* John, of which he testifieth, that it is δεικθεῖσα ὡς ἐκείνου, καὶ ἐγκριθεῖσα τοῖς παλαι ἁγίοις, καὶ θεοφορήτοις Πατέρων, *shewed and judged to be his by the Ancient, and holy Fathers led by the Spirit of God:* And then concludes, *These are the Canonical Books of the New Testament,* καὶ τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν οἱονεὶ ἀκροθίνια ἢ ἄγκυραι, καὶ ἑρείσματα, *or as it were the first fruits, Anchors and Supports of our Faith.* St. *Cyril* is another who professeth to write his *Catalogue* from the *Church*, and to hand

Apud Balsamon, p. 922.

Pag. 59.

Pag. 60.

Pag. 61.

hand down the *Canonical* Books as she received them from the *Apostles, the Ancient Bishops, and Governors of the Church*; and he among the *Canonical* Books of the *New Testament* reckons the *Seven Catholick Epistles*, and *Fourteen Epistles of St.* Paul, leaving out only the *Apocalypse*. The *Council* of *Laodicea* reckons them exactly as St. *Cyril* doth, leaving out with him the *Apocalypse*; not that they question its Authority, but because they reckon up only the Books, ἃ δεῖ ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ἐν ἐκκλησίαις, *which ought to be read in the Churches*; among which the *Apocalypse* was not, because it is so very *Mystical*; and accordingly the *Council* concludes their *Canon* thus, παρὰ τῶν Πατέρων ταῦτα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγνωστέα παρελάβομεν, *These Books we have received from the Fathers to be read in the Church*; and yet they do command, that nothing should be read there but *Canonical Scripture*. *Ruffinus* declares, he reckoned the Volumes of the *New Testament* as they were delivered to the *Church* of *Christ*, & secundum majorum Traditionem, *and according to the Tradition of the Ancients*; and then he accounts *Fourteen Epistles of St.* Paul, *Seven Catholick Epistles*, and *the Apocalypse*; saying, Hæc sunt quæ patres intra Canonem concluserunt; *These are the Books which the Fathers put into the Canon.* The *Council* of *Carthage* undertaking to reckon up the *Canonical* Books of the *New Testament* enumerates *Fourteen Epistles of St.* Paul, *Two of* Peter, *Three of* John, *One of* James, *and One of* Jude, and *the Apocalypse of St.* John, as received from the *Fathers*. St. *Jerom* reckons the *Canonical* Books of the *New Testament* after the same manner, only saying, That *the Epistle to the* Hebrews *was by most shut out of the number of the Epistles written by St.* Paul; (that is, some in his time conceived St. *Barnabas*, others St. *Clemens*, either did interpret it from the *Hebrew*, or write it either from the Mouth, or from the Notions of St. *Paul*;) but then he adds, That *the whole Greek Church, and some of the Latins did receive it*; That all the *Eastern Churches*, *and all the Churches which used the Greek Tongue, did* Anciently *own it as the Epistle of St.* Paul; *and that he also owned both that and the* Apocalypse, *not respecting the Custom of his present Age, but following the Authority of the Ancient Writers, who cited Testimonies from both, not as sometimes they are wont to do, from Apocryphal Books, but as from Canonical Scripture.* And good reason had he to say,

Cyril. Catech. 4. p. 38.

Concil. Laod. Can. 60.

Apud Hieron. Tom. 4 f. 51.

Can. 27.

Ep. Tom. 3. f. 13.

1. That

1. That he received the *Apocalypse* on the *Authority* of the *Ancients*, when *Eusebius* expresly declares, That a judgment might easily be passed of it, ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων μαρτυρίας, *from the Testimony of the Ancients*: *Athanasius*, that it was *determined, and demonstrated to be his by the Ancient and Holy Fathers, led by the Spirit of God.* And indeed, it is cited in the First Century by *Clemens Romanus*, as a *Prophetical* Writing. In the Second Century by *Justin Martyr*, as a Book writ by *John, one of Christ's Twelve Apostles.* By *Irenæus*, in the same Century, as *the Revelation of* John *the Disciple of the Lord, the Revelation of St.* John; and he declares it was written by him, *pene sub nostro sæculo, almost in our Age, at the end of the Reign of* Domitian. It is mentioned in the Third Century as holy *Scripture*, and a *Prophetick Vision* by *Clemens* of *Alexandria*; as *the Revelation of that* John *who lay in the bosom of our Lord*, by *Origen*; it is mentioned by *Tertullian*, as *the Prophecy, the Revelation, the Vision of the Apostle* John, in above Twenty places; by St. *Cyprian*, as *that Revelation in which we hear our Saviour's Voice*, and *in which he speaks to us.* *Eusebius* informs us, That *Melito, Bishop of* Sardis, *writ upon the Revelation of St.* John; that *Theophilus, Bishop* of *Antioch* owned it, and *cited from it many Testimonies.* Now both these flourished in the middle of the Second *Century:* That *Hippolitus*, the Disciple of *Irenæus* did the same: And that *Dionysius Bishop* of *Alexandria* professed, That *he durst not reject it by reason of the multitude of Christians who had a veneration for it*, and that he owned it, ἀγίου μέν τινος εἶναι νοῦ καὶ θεοπνεύστου, *to be the work of an holy Man, inspired of God.* And judge now whether he had not sufficient ground to say, *this matter might be decided by the Testimonies of the Ancients.*

§. 19. Lib. 3. c. 24. Synop. p. 60. Ep. ad C. §. 34. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 308. Pag. 373, 477, 128, 347, 376, 480, 486, 500, 503. Lib. 5. c. 30. p. 485. Pag. 201. 528. Tom. 5. in Joh. Hom. 7. in Jos. Pag. 269, 270, 411, 510, &c. De opere & Elem p. 202. de bono pat. p. 219. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. 24. Ibid. c. 26. Lib. 5. c. 18. p. 186. Lib. 7. c. 25.

That this Book was refused by *Marcion* the *Heretick*, we learn from *Tertullian*; that it was rejected by the *Alogians* and *Theodosian Hereticks*, we learn from *Epiphanius* and St. *Austin*; and that when some *Orthodox Christians* began to dislike the Doctrine of the *Millennium*, they began also to dispute, some the Author of this Book, ascribing it to another *John, Presbyter* at *Ephesus*; and others the Authority of it, because they could not answer the Testimony produced from the *Twentieth Chapter*, in favour of the *Saints Reign on Earth a Thousand Years.* But then their Arguments against it are only taken from some vain, and weak Imaginations of their own Brains, as, *v. g.*

Contra Marcion. l. 4. c. 5. Hær. 51, 54. Hær. 30.

That

That St. *John here names himſelf*, which in his *Goſpel* and *Epiſtles* he never doth; by which Argument we muſt reject either the *Lamentations*, or the Book of *Jeremy*. 2. Becauſe he doth not uſe the ſame Expreſſions here, as he did there, that is, in a *Prophetick Stile* as in a *Doctrinal*, on which account *Eccleſiaſtes* and the *Canticles* cannot be writ by the ſame *Author*. And, 3. Becauſe he writes here better *Greek* than elſewhere, which if ſo, may be, becauſe he writes not to the *Jews*, but to the *Aſiaticks*; or after he had more converſed with them who ſpake that Language in its Purity. As for thoſe who aſcribe this *Revelation* to an unknown *Presbyter* whoſe Name was *John*, rather than to that *Apoſtle* who converſed ſo long among theſe *Churches*, they may be eaſily confuted from this peculiar deſcription of that *John* who was the Author of this Book, he being *that* John *who was baniſhed into the Iſle of* Patmos *for the Word of God, and the Teſtimony of the Truth*, and *who bare record of the Word of God, and the Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt*, and *of all things which he ſaw*, which are peculiar to this *Apoſtle* of our *Lord*.

Rev. i. 9.

Verſ 2.

§. 20. 2. St. *Jerom* alſo had good reaſon to own the *Epiſtle* to the *Hebrews* to be written, or at the leaſt compoſed, or indited by St. *Paul* on the *Authority* of the *Ancient* Writers. Seeing, as *Origen* informs us, the *ancient Chriſtians did not raſhly, when they delivered it as the Epiſtle of St. Paul*; and as *Euſebius* ſaith, *Saint Paul's* Fourteen Epiſtles were, φανέρωλοι καὶ σαφεῖς, *known, and manifeſt to the whole Chriſtian World*. We find it very often cited by *Clemens Romanus* the Companion, and co-worker of St. *Paul*, in his *Epiſtle* to the *Church* of *Corinth*, in which, as *Euſebius* and St. *Jerome Note*, he hath put many notions which are in that *Epiſtle*, and *uſed many Expreſſions word for word taken thence*. In the Second *Century* it is cited by *Irenæus* as a Book written *by the Spirit of God*, and in the cloſe of that *Century*, or the beginning of the next, it is Six times cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, under the Name of the *Apoſtle Paul*, or of *Divine Scripture*. *Origen* ſaith, That *the Apoſtle* Paul *writ Fourteen Epiſtles*; he cites it as the *Epiſtle* of St. *Paul* in his Third and Seventh Book againſt *Celſus*, in his *Philocalia*, in his *Dialogue*, againſt *Marcian*, in his *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, in his *Epiſtle* to *Africanus* he undertakes to demonſtrate, that it was his

Apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. c. 25.

Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3.

Sect. 12, 17, 36, 43.

L. 3 c. 38.

Catalo. Script. verbo Paulus.

Pag. 247, 439.

Pag. 53, 362, 384, 514, 515, 645.

Lib. 3. p. 143.

Lib. 7. p. 351.

Philocal. p 10, 17.

Dial. contra Marc. p. 114.

Ep. ad Afric. p 232.

his againſt ſuch as doubted of it; and in his *Fifth Tome* upon *John*, he declares, That *the things contained in it are admirable, and no whit inferior to thoſe which were confeſſedly writ by the Apoſtles*, and that *whatſoever Church received it as ſuch, was upon that account to be commended.* That this is the *Epiſtle* of St. *Paul* was in the Fourth *Century* denyed by the *Arians*, becauſe they were not able to reſiſt the Conviction it affords in the First Chapter of our *Lord's Divinity.* On which account *Theodoret* ſpeaks thus, *They ought at leaſt to revere the length of time in which the Children of the Church have read this Epiſtle in the Churches*; for from the time that the *Churches* of God have enjoyed the writings of the *Apoſtles*, they have reaped the Benefit of this *Epiſtle* to the *Hebrews*; or if this be not ſufficient to perſwade them, they ſhould hearken to *Euſebius* of whom they boaſt, as of the *Patron* of their Doctrines, for he confeſſed this was St. *Paul's Epiſtle*; καὶ τὰς παλαίας ἅπαντας ταύτῃ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔφησιν ἐχωκέναι τὴν δόξαν, *and he declared that all the Ancients had the ſame Opinion of it.*

Vid. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. c. 25.

Prœm. in Hebr. Ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὰς τῷ χρόνῳ γῆρας αἰδεῖσθαι τὸ μῆκος· ἐξ οὗ γὰρ τῶν Ἀποστολικῶν γραμμάτων αἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ μετέλαχον ἐκκλησίαι ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑβραίους ὠφελίαν καρποῦνται.

Proem. in Ep. ad Hebr.

That they of *Rome*, and other *Latins* did for a while reject this *Epiſtle*, will not much weaken this *Tradition*, if we conſider, 1. That this *Epiſtle* was not writ to them, but to the *Hebrews*, who, as we are informed by *Euſebius*, *Embraced it with delight.* 2. That it was rejected by them, not that they had any thing to ſay againſt it, but becauſe they could not anſwer the *Arguments* which the *Novatian Schiſmaticks* among them produced from the Sixth and Tenth Chapter of this *Epiſtle*, againſt receiving *lapſed Penitents* into the *Church*; whence, as *Philaſtrius* informs us, they rejected it, as thinking it was depraved by the *Hereticks*; or, 3. Becauſe it wants his Name, which he concealed ſaith *Jerom*, διὰ τὸν φθόνον, becauſe his Name would render it leſs acceptable to the *Hebrew* Converts who were offended at his Doctrine of the Exemption of the *Gentile* Converts from *Circumciſion*, and the Obſervation of the Law, ſaith *Theodoret*, ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἀλλ' ὁ οὐκ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πεπιστευκότων Ἀπόστολος ἐπεχειροτονήθη, *becauſe he was made an Apoſtle, not of the Circumciſion, but of the Gentiles.* 4. Becauſe it differs in ſtile from the reſt of his *Epiſtles*, as indeed it ought

Ὧν μάλιστα ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χάρισιν. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25.

Hær. 88.

Catal. Script. Eccl. verbo Paulus.

Proem. in Ep. ad Hebr.

ought to do, being writ to the *Hebrews*, accustomed to the *Hellenistick* Stile; but of this the *Ancients* give this double reason, That it was writ by St. *Paul* in *Hebrew*, translated by others into *Greek*; or because St. *Clemens*, *Barnabas*, or St. *Luke* did, *sententias Pauli proprio ornare sermone, write down the the Sentences of* Paul *in their own Words*, saith *Jerom*, and gave φράσιν, καὶ σύνθεσιν, *the Phrase, and the Contexture*, saith *Origen*, to to the things spoken by St. *Paul*.

Ibid.
Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 25.

§. 21. The Second and Third *Epistles* of Saint *John*, and that of *Jude* are so short, that it is needless to insist upon it; that the Second Epistle of Saint *John* is cited by *Irenæus* and *Clemens Alexandrinus* in the Second; by *Tertullian*, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, and the *Council* of *Carthage* in the Third *Century*, and the *Epistle* of *Jude* under his Name by *Tertullian*.

L. 1. c. 13. p. 94. Strom. 2. De carne Christi, c. 24. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6 c. 24.
Apud Cypr. p. 242. De cultu fœminar. p. 151.

Concerning the *Epistle* of *St. James*, the Second *Epistle* of *Peter*, and the *Epistle* of *St. Jude*, let it be noted in the general that *Eusebus* informs us, they were, ὑπὸ πλείστους τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν γιγνωσκόμενα, *know to most of the Ancients*. That they are all expresly owned by *Origen* in his Seventh *Homily* upon *Joshua*. Of the *Epistle* of *Jude* in particular *St. Jerom* saith, That though it was rejected for a while, because it cited a passage from the *Apocryphal* Book of *Enoch*, tamen authoritatem vetustate jam, & usu meruit, & inter sanctas Scripturas computatur, *it deserved Authority from its Antiquity, and constant use in the Church, and is reckoned among the holy Scriptures*. The *Catholick Epistle* of *James* is cited by *Clemens Romanus* four several times, by *Ignatius* in his Genuine Epistle to the *Ephesians*, by *Origen* in his *Thirteenth Homily* upon *Genesis*. *Eusebius* saith, It was *known to most*; *and publickly read in most Christian Churches*. *Saint Jerom*, that in process of time it obtained Authority. *Estius* notes, That they who before doubted of it, in the Fourth *Century* embraced the Opinion of them who received it, and that from thence, *no Church, no Eccleſiastical Writer is found who ever doubted of it, but on the contrary, all the Catalogues of the Books of Holy Scripture published by General or Provincial Councils, Roman Bishops, or other Orthodox Writers, number it among Canonical Scriptures*, quæ probatio

Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 25.
Petrus duabus Epistolarum suarum personat tubis, Jacobus quoque & Judas, f. 156.
Catal. Script. Eccl. verbo Judas.
Sect. 10, 12, 17, 30. Sess. 5.
Lib. 3. c. 25.
Lib. 2. c. 22.
Præfat. in Epist. Jacobi.

batio ad certam fidem faciendam cuique Catholico sufficere debet, *which proof must give sufficient certainty of it to any Catholick.*

The Second Epistle of St. *Peter*, is cited by *Origen* against *Marcian* under the Name of *Peter*. *Firmilion* saith, That both *Paul* and *Peter*, in suis Epistolis Hæreticos execrati sunt, & ut eos evitemus, monuerunt, *in their Epistles condemned Heretick*s, *and admonished us to avoid them*, which is done by Saint *Peter* only in this *Epistle*. *Eusebius* saith, That it was *commemorated by many*; and that they who did not reckon it *Canonical*, yet held it very useful; on which account, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσπουδάσθη γεγραφῶν, *it was much studied with other Scriptures*. The same *Eusebius* informs us, That his First *Epistle was* always owned by all *Christians*, and thence we may have full assurance of the Truth of this *Epistle*; for there are not, saith the *Reverend Doctor Hammond*, greater Evidences of any *Epistles* being written by the acknowledged Author of it, than these, The Title of *Simon Peter*, *an Apostle of Jesus Christ*. The *Voice which came from Heaven* (saying, *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased*) *we heard when we* (*Peter*, and *John*, and *James*) *were with him in the Holy Mount*; *this second Epistle beloved I write unto you*, ——*that you may be mindful* —— *of the Commandments of us the Apostles of the Lord and Saviour*. All which are certain Demonstrations, That *Simon Peter*, *the Apostle of our Lord*, *who was with him in* Mount-Tabor, *and there heard the Voice forementioned*, and who writ *the First Epistle* to the Twelve Tribes dispersed, writ this also.

Pag. 58. Apud Cypr. Ep. 75. p. 220. Lib. 3. c. 3. Cap. 1. v. 1. verſ. 17, 18. Cap. 3. v. 1, 2.

Note, *Lastly*, That after the Fourth *Century*, there appears not the least intimation that any of these Books were any longer doubted of by any *Orthodox* Professor of the *Christian* Faith, they being all received, and reckoned as *Canonical*, by the *Councils* and *Fathers* who mentioned the *Canon* of the *New Testament*. §. 22.

Now from these premisses there is just ground to make this Inference, and Conclusion, That seeing most of the *Catalogues* of the Fourth *Century* given by *Councils* or by *Fathers*, and all the *Catalogues* of the Fifth *Century*, unquestionably assure us, that what was once controverted by some few, was afterwards unanimously received by all the *Church* of God, we are sufficiently

ently assured of the true *Canon* of the Books of the *New Testament*. The evidence now produced, even of these controverted *Books*; being sufficient both in the judgment of all *Catholicks*, and of all *Christians*, who on these grounds alone receive them as such, to assure us, that they are *Canonical Scripture*; for by what reason can any Man evince that ought to be rejected from the *Canon*, which always was received as *Canonical* by the greatest part of the *Church Catholick*, and being accurately enquired into by those who once were Doubters, found such an uncontroulled reception through the whole *Church* diffused, as stifled, through all future Ages, the least appearance of a doubt?

§. 23. Hence then the *Roman Doctors* may discern what it is they have to do, if they do undertake to shew us such a *Tradition* for those *Roman Doctrines* we reject, as hath been shew'd for the Controverted Books of the *New Testament*. And,

1. It must be owned by them, that it cannot be necessary to Salvation to believe, or have an absolute assurance that these are true, and *Apostolical Traditions*; and therefore, *Hæc est fides extra quam salus esse non potest*; *This is the Catholick Faith, without which there is no Salvation*, must be excluded from the *Roman Creed*.

2. It must be also owned, that the pretented *Traditions* of the present *R. Church* were for some *Centuries* controverted, and rejected by whole *Churches*, *Orthodox* and *Apostolical*, and which were as such owned, and embraced by all *Christians*; and that some of them were, or at least might have been, for the first Four *Centuries*, disowned by the *Church* of *Rome*, as was one of these controverted Books; and consequently it must be owned, that she could not then be received as *Mater & Magistra omnium Ecclesiarum*; *the Mother, and Mistress of all Churches*.

3. It must be proved, that there was the same necessity that these controverted Books should be known, and received from the beginning by all *Christians*, as that the necessary *Traditions*, and *Articles* of *Christian* Faith should be so.

4. It must be proved, that these *Traditions* were always owned, and mentioned as *Divine*, and *Apostolical Traditions*, by many *Orthodox Churches* and *Fathers*; and even when controverted,

troverted, were, παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν γινωσκόμενα, *acknowledged by moſt of the Church Guides.* To inſtance in the *Apocalypſe*, which Mr. *M.* on all occaſions ſingles out as a Book whoſe *Authenticalneſs* cannot be better proved, than their *Traditions*, let him ſhew us any ſuch Teſtimonies from the Firſt, Second and Third *Centuries*, for the pretended *Traditions* of the *Church* of *Rome*, as we have ſhewed for the *Apocalypſe*; any one that ſaith of them as *Denys* of *Alexandria* doth of the *Apocalypſe*, That *he durſt not reject it by reaſon of the multitude of Chriſtians who had a veneration for it*; let him produce the plain Teſtimonies of the *Fathers*, that the Truth of theſe *Traditions* may be decided by the *Teſtimonies of the Ancients*; that they owned them as *Apoſtolical* by virtue of their *Teſtimony*; that the *Ancient* and *Holy Fathers*, *led by the Spirit of God*, *gave Teſtimony to them*; and that they were the Traditions of *holy Men inſpired by God*: All theſe things have been ſaid of the *Apocalypſe* in the Four firſt *Centuries*; and when Mr. *M.* can produce any thing of the like nature, evidence and ſtrength for any one of his Traditions, we will own it as *Divine* and *Apoſtolical.*

Here then we ſee the greateſt and the plaineſt difference betwixt the *Traditions* we receive and own, and thoſe pretended *Traditions* of the *Church* of *Rome*, which we reject. For,

1. The Traditions we receive are Traditions handed down in writing to us, throughout all Ages of the *Church* unto this preſent time; the *Traditions* we reject are only *preſumptive Traditions*, ſuch as the *Church* of *Rome* preſumes to be ſo, but yet they have no Footſteps in the *Ancient Records* of the *Church* of *Chriſt*, which is a demonſtration that they falſly do preſume they are *Traditions*; for as we could have no juſt reaſon to believe thoſe which we own to be *Traditions*, did we not find them thus handed down to us in theſe Writings; ſo can we have no reaſon to receive the pretended *Traditions* of the *Church* of *Rome*, becauſe they are not handed down unto us in this manner.

But ſaith Mr. *M. Before we can know true Books, and true Copies of Books from falſe, we muſt firſt know true Tradition from falſe, that we aſſuredly may ſay, theſe are the true Books of Scripture,* §. 24. P. 407, 408.

pture, theſe are the true Copies of thoſe Books, becauſe true Tradition commends them for ſuch; theſe be falſe Books, or falſe Copies of true Books, becauſe the Tradition which commends theſe is falſe; tell me the means by which infallibly the true Tradition in this point may be known from the falſe, and that very means I will aſſign in other points to know true Tradition from falſe.

Reſp. This Objection I retort thus, before we can know true *Tradition* from falſe, we muſt know true Faith from falſe; for true *Tradition* is only the *Tradition* of the *Faithful*, that is, of thoſe who do entirely believe all the neceſſary *Articles* of *Chriſtian* Faith, and if I muſt firſt know this Faith, before I can know *true Tradition*, I cannot need *Tradition* to inſtruct me in the *Chriſtian* Faith. Again, tell me the means by which I may know *true Faith* antecedently to *Tradition*, and the very ſame means will I aſſign to know the Faith of *Proteſtants* without it.

2. This Argument in the Mouth of an unbelieving *Jew* that lived in the Days of *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles* pleads as ſtrongly for the *vain Traditions* of the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, and the whole *Jewiſh Nation*, rejected by our *Lord* and his *Apoſtles*; as for the pretended *Traditions* of the *Church* of *Rome*, *v. g.* you ſend us to *Moſes* and the *Prophets* to learn the *true Meſſiah*, and from theſe *Scriptures* you attempt to prove your *Jeſus* is the *Meſſiah* promiſed to the *Jews*, but *before you can know whether the Books you cite be the true Books of* Moſes *and the Prophets, and the Copies you have of them be true Copies, you muſt know true Tradition from falſe; tell me then the means by which infallibly the true Tradition in this Point may be known from the falſe, and that very means will I aſſign to prove the Traditions of the Jewiſh Church, rejected by your Lord, and his Apoſtles to be true.* Whatſoever Anſwer Mr. *M.* can return to this Objection, will be as applicable to his own.

3. To this demand I anſwer, That where the *Tradition* deriveth from the *Fountain* of *Tradition*, and can be proved by written Teſtimonies to have done ſo: And, 2*ly*. that where it is a *Tradition* not of a matter of *Fact*, but *Faith*, and paſſeth down without controul, and contradiction of any that were then and after owned by other *Churches* as true *Chriſtian* Brethren. And, 3*ly*. where it can be proved irrational and abſurd, that the *Tradition* could have ſo long and generally obtained

obtained without juſt ground of being owned as ſuch, there the *Tradition* ought to be embraced as true.

When therefore Mr. *M.* hath proved the pretended *Traditions* of the *Church* of *Rome* to have theſe Three Characters of *true Tradition*, we ſhall have equal reaſon to admire his Parts, as we have now to wonder at his *Confidence*; but they who can believe *Impoſſibilities*, may be allowed to undertake them.

CHAP. IV.

Sixthly, *We diſtinguiſh betwixt Traditions touching purely Doctrinals, or divine Revelations, touching Articles of Faith and Matters of Practice; in the firſt, the Fathers have been ſubject to miſtake in Doctrines not Fundamental, as appears,* 1. *From the Doctrine of the* Mellennium *delivered in the Second and Third Centuries, as a Tradition received from Chriſt and his Apoſtles,* §. 1. *As a thing of which they were certain,* Ibid. 2. *As a Doctrine proved from variety of Scriptures, both of the* Old *and* New Teſtament, *which could, ſay they, receive no other ſence,* §. 2. 3. *As a Doctrine denied only by Hereticks, or ſuch as were deceived by them,* §. 3. *It was embraced by the greateſt number of Chriſtians and Church Guides, delivering it not as Doctors only but Teſtators,* §. 4. *Hence the uncertainty of ſuch Traditions is demonſtrated, and the falſhood of the pretended Tradition for Invocation of Saints,* §. 5. 2ly. *A like miſtake is proved from the general Doctrine of the Fathers of the four firſt Centuries that the Day of Judgment was nigh at hand,* §. 6. *And that the time of Antichriſts coming was at hand,* §. 7. *That the World ſhould end after Six thouſand Years, that is, according to their computation, Five hundred Years after our Saviour's* Advent, §. 8. *The Inferences hence,* Ibid. *In matters of practice we diſtinguiſh,* Seventhly, *betwixt ſuch as have been generally received without conteſt in the pureſt Ages of the Church, and ſuch as have been conteſted and diſowned by Orthodox Churches or Members of the Church; and that we cannot depend with certainty on the latter is proved,* 1. *From the Conteſt betwixt P.* Victor *and the* Aſiaticks, *touching the Eaſter Feſtival, in which*

which it is observed, 1. *That the greatest part of the Christian World, consented in judgment with* Victor *and his Synod,* §. 9. 2. *That they who with him kept this Feast on the Lord's Day, pleaded an Apostolical Tradition for that Practice,* §. 10. 3. *That they who kept it with the* Jews *pleaded the same Tradition, and with greater Evidence,* §. 11. 4. *That when the Pope endeavoured by terrifying Letters to affright them from their practice, all the* Asiaticks *and Neighbouring Provinces refused to hearken to him, and condemned him for it,* §. 12. 5. *That hereupon* Victor *attempted to Excommunicate them, and commanded others to have no Communion with them,* §. 13. 6. *That notwithstanding this injunction, all the other Churches held Communion with them, and sharply reprehended* Victor *as a disturber of the Church's Peace,* §. 14. *Inferences hence shewing the Falshood of the Fundamental Rule of the Guide of Controversies, and the uncertainty of Tradition,* §. 15. *Which is farther proved from the Contest betwixt* P. Stephen *and St.* Cyprian, *and the* Asiaticks, *touching the Baptizing of Hereticks; where 'tis observed,* 1. *That the Opinion of* Stephen *was for the Baptizing of no Hereticks, no not those who were not Baptized in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; that of St.* Cyprian *for the Baptizing of all Hereticks and Schismaticks,* §. 16. 2. *That Pope* Stephen *proceeded to an Excommunication of his Brethren upon this account, and a refusal of Communion with them, and so did Pope* Xystus *and* Dionysius *after him; whereas they of* Africa *judged no Man who differed from them,* §. 17. 3. *Observe, that the Opinion of the* Africans *and other Eastern Churches was asserted by many Christian Doctors, Churches and Councils, and was of long continuance after this dispute,* §. 18. 4. *Observe, that as Pope* Stephen *pretended to Apostolical and Original Tradition for his Opinion, so did the contrary Party for their Opinion,* §. 19. 5. *That the* Africans *passed a severe Judgment on the Assertors of the contrary Opinion, though they refused not Communion with them,* §. 20. 6. *That neither* Stephen's *Opinion nor Saint* Cyprian's *prevailed, but the Church went a middle Way betwixt both,* §. 21. *Inferences,* 1. *Hence it appears, that the Doctors of the* Western *Churches are no good Judges of the Practices of the East,* §. 22. 2. *That in Matters of this obscurity the Custom of each Church, is to be followed without breach of Peace,* §. 23. 3. *That in those A-*

ges

ges, they knew nothing of the Pope's Supremacy, or the Rule of the Guide of Controversies, §. 24. 4. *That they belived what passed for Apostolical Tradition in the* Church *of* Rome *might be no such thing*, §. 25. *And*, Lastly, *That even in those early times Tradition Apostolical must falsly be pretended by great and many Churches*, §. 26.

Furthermore we distinguish betwixt Traditions touching Points purely Doctrinal, or Divine Revelations which concern matters of meer Belief, as the Doctrine of the *Millennium*, of the time of the Day of Judgment, of *Antichrist*, and what did hinder his Appearance, and the like, and Traditions touching points of *Practice*, such as were the Observation of the *Lord*'s Day, the *Superiority* of *Bishops* over *Presbyters*, the Ordination of *Presbyters* and *Deacons* by *Bishops*, *&c.* Touching the first kind we say, That it is no sufficient evidence that they were Doctrines received from the *Apostles*, that they have been asserted by after-Ages to be such, it being evident both from *Church History*, and the Confessions both of *Protestants* and *Papists*, that in these matters the *Fathers* have been subject to mistakes in Doctrines not belonging to the Fundamentals of the *Christian* Faith; but touching matters of Practice we say, That we are ready to receive all such *Traditions* as have that Evidence, that they were generally practised from the first and purest Ages of the *Church*, which we are able to produce for observation of *the first Day of the Week*, the *Superiority of Bishops over Presbyters*, the *Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons by Bishops*, and the like. To give some Instances of the first kind. Dist. 6th.

First, The Doctrine of the *Millennium*, or the Reign of Saints on Earth a Thousand Years, is now rejected by all *Roman Catholicks*, and by the greatest part of *Protestants*, and yet it passed amongst the best of *Christians* for Two hundred and Fifty Years for a Tradition *Apostolical*, and as such is delivered by many *Fathers* of the Second and Third Century, who speak of it as the Tradition of our *Lord* and his *Apostles*, and of all the *Ancients* that lived before them, who tell us the very words in which it was delivered, the *Scriptures* which were then so Interpreted, and say, that it was held by all §. 1.

Christians that were, κατὰ πάντα ὀρθογνώμονες, *exactly Orthodox.*

And, 1. this is delivered by the *Fathers* of the Second and Third Centuries as a Tradition received from the Mouth of *Christ* and his *Apostles.* *Eusebius* confesseth, That *Papias* declared it to be the Doctrine of our *Saviour* handed down to him by *unwritten Tradition.* Now of this *Papias*, *Irenæus* saith, That he was an Hearer of St. *John*, the *Author* of the *Revelations.* He himself professeth, that he only followed, τοῖς τἀληθῆ διδάσκουσιν, *them who taught the Truth*, and who related, τὰς ἐντολὰς παρὰ Κυρίου δεδομένας, *the Commands given by Christ himself, and coming from the Truth it self.* That he received, τὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀποστόλων λόγους παρὰ τῆς αὐτοῖς παρηκολουθηκότων, *the words of the Apostles from those who followed them*, or conversed with them, and only writ the things *he had well learned, and well remembered.* *Eusebius* moreover adds, That his Relation, touching the Tradition of the *Millennium*, prevailed, τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν πλείστοις ὅσοις τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, *with most of the Clergy that lived after him to entertain it.* *Justin Martyr* speaking of the same Doctrine, premiseth, That *he chose not to follow the Doctrines of Men, but of God, and the Doctrines delivered by him*; and then he adds, That *there was a Man among them named* John, *one of Christ's Twelve Apostles, who in his Revelations had foretold that the Faithful should reign with Christ a Thousand Years in* Jerusalem, *and that our Lord Christ said the same thing.* *Irenæus* adds, That *the Seniors who saw St.* John, *the Disciple of the Lord, remembred how they had heard him say, that he had heard our Lord Christ teach this Doctrine*; and then he doth repeat the very words in which *Christ* taught thus, and tells us that he had them also *from* Papias *the Friend of* Polycarp, adding, That *this, according to the Seniors the Disciples of the Apostles, is the Ordinance and the appointment concerning those that shall be saved,* and that *our Lord taught this when he promised to drink New Wine with his Disciples in the Kingdom of God*; and St. *Paul* when he said, That *the Creature should be freed from the Bondage of Corruption, into the liberty of the Sons of God. As for the Kingdom promised*

Ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγεγράφασι. L. 3. c. 39.

Lib. 5. c. 33. Euseb. H. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 39.

Ὅσα παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον, καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα. Ibid.

Ἀνήρ τις ὢν ὄνομα Ἰωάννης εἷς τῶν Ἀποστόλων τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένη αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη προεῖπεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοῦτο τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ προσδιατάξασθαι προεφήτευσε, Dial. cum Tryph. p. 308.

Lib. 5. cap. 33.

Presbyteri meminerunt qui Joannem Discipulum Domini viderunt, audisse se ab illo quemadmodum de temporibus illis docebat Dominus, *Ibid.*

Cap. 36.

Hanc esse ad ordinationem & dispositionem eorum qui salvuntur dicunt Presbyteri Apostolorum Discipuli, *ibid.*

Hanc & Ezechiel novit, & Apostolus Joannes vidit, & qui apud fidem nostram est novæ Prophetiæ sermo testatur. *Adv. Marcion. l.* 3. *c.* 24.

to us after the Resurrection for a Thousand Years, Ezechiel *knew it*, saith Tertullian, *the Apostle* John *saw it, and the new Word of Prophecy, which we believe, gives Testimony of it.* And if *Gelasius Cyzicenus* may be credited, this was the Doctrine delivered by the *Nicene Council* in these words, *We expect new Heavens and new Earth, according to the Scriptures, at the Appearance of the Kingdom of our Great God and Saviour Jesus Christ; and then, as* Daniel *saith, the Saints of the most High shall receive a Kingdom, and the Earth shall be pure and holy, which* David *by the Eye of Faith foreseeing, saith, I believe to see the Goodness of the Lord in the Land of the Living*; and the *Son of* David, *Blessed are the Meek, for they shall inherit the Earth. These things we have established from the Ecclesiastical Constitutions, most diligently framed by the Holy Fathers.*

Καὶ παραλήψονται τότε τὴν βασιλείαν οἱ ἅγιοι ὑψίστου καὶ ἔσται ἡ γῆ καθαρὰ ἁγία γῆ ζώντων, &c. Hist. Concil. Nic. l. 2. c. 30.

Ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς παραδεδομένων τοῖς ἁγίοις ἡμῶν παλαιοῖν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν διατυπώσεων — συνεταξάμην. Ibid.

Ἐπισάμενα χίλια ἔτη ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ.

2. They speak of this, not as a probable Opinion, but as a thing which they were certainly assured of. *We know*, saith *Justin Martyr*, *the Resurrection of the Flesh, and the Thousand Years in* Jerusalem. *The Benediction doth without contradiction belong to the times of the Kingdom*, saith *Irenæus*. And again, *These promises do most manifestly signifie the Banquet of the Creature, which God hath promised to give them in the Kingdom of the just.* And a third time, *These and other things are without Controversie spoken as things which are to happen in the Resurrection of the Just.*

Dial. cum Tryph. p. 307.

Predicta benedictio sine contradictione ad tempora regni pertinet. *Lib.* 5. *c.* 33. Manifestissime, *cap.* 34.

Sine Controversia dicta sunt, *c.* 35.

§. 2.

3. They confidently cite, as plain Assertors of this Doctrine, the *Prophets* of the *Old Testament*, and the Sayings of our *Lord* and his *Apostles* in the New. *This Thousand Years*, saith *Justin Martyr*, *the Prophets*, Esaias *and* Ezekiel, *and others do confess.* Esaias *manifestly declares*, saith *Irenæus*, that there shall be such joy in the Resurrection of the Just; *Ezekiel* saith the same thing, and so doth *Daniel. The Testimony of the Prophets touching this matter are so many*, saith *Lactantius*, *that it would be infinite to collect them.* That our *Lord* referred to it when he promised that the meek should inherit the Earth, is the Assertion of *Irenæus*, and the forementioned Testimony of

Οἱ Προφῆται Ἰεζεχιὴλ καὶ Ἡσαίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὁμολογοῦσιν, p. 307. Lib. 5. c. 34. Lib 7. c. 26.

Propter hoc beatus dicebat miles, *l.* 5. *c.* 32.

the *Nicene Council*; and alſo when he ſaid *Thou ſhalt be recompenſed at the Reſurrection of the Juſt*, ſaith the ſame *Irenæus*; and when he promiſed to them who left *Lands*, *Houſes*, *Parents*, *Brethren*, and *Children for his ſake*, *That they ſhould have an hundred fold now in this life*; ſo *Irenæus* and St. *Cyprian*, when he ſaid to his *Diſciples*, *I will not henceforth drink of the Fruit of the Vine, till I drink it new, with you in my Father's Kingdom.* When to that Queſtion of St. *Peter*'s, *We have left all and followed thee, what ſhall we have?* he anſwers, ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, *In the new, and Second State*, the Reſurrection of the Juſt, *when the Son of Man ſitteth on the Throne of his Glory; you alſo ſhall ſit upon Twelve Thrones judging the Twelve Tribes of* Iſrael: And when, having corrected their miſtakes about this matter, he adds, *Ye are they who have continued with me in my Temptation, and I appoint to you a Kingdom, as my Father hath appointed to me; that you may eat and drink at my Table in my Kingdom:* this, ſaith *Juſtin Martyr*, is the μυſήριον τ πάλιν γενέσεως ἡμῶν, *The Myſtery of our Regeneration.*

Cap. 33.

Lib. 5. c. 33.

Ibid.

Ex occaſione hujus ſententiæ quidam introducunt mille annos poſt reſurrectionem. *Hieron. in Matth.* 19. 28.

Pag. 312.

They cite to the ſame purpoſe that teſtimony of St. *Paul*, ſaying, That *the creature ſhall be delivered from the bondage of Corruption into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God*; which Liberty is in the next Verſe ſtiled ἀπολύτρωσις τ σώματ©, *the Redemption of the Body*, from that Death to which it was ſubject through the diſobedience of *Adam*; and with which will be alſo a Redemption of the creature from that Curſe which the Earth ſuffered for his ſake. They cite, to the ſame purpoſe that paſſage of St. *Peter*, who ſaith, *One day is with the Lord as a thouſand years; and a thouſand years as one day*; and *this we know*, ſaith *Juſtin M. that theſe words do relate to the Millennium.* Again when *Eſaias* ſaith, We look *for new Heavens, and new Earth*; hemeans, ſaith *Juſtin M.* the Promiſe of the *Millennium.* Theſe things, ſaith *Irenæus*, are *without controverſie, ſpoken of the Reſurrection*, in quâ regnabunt juſti in terrâ; *in which the Juſt ſhall reign on Earth.*

Rom. 8. 21.

Iren. l. 5. 32, 34.

Συνήχαμεν δὲ τὸ εἰρημένον ἡμέρα τῷ Κυρίε, &c. εἰς τῦτο συνάγει. p. 308.

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Lib. 5. c. 35.

Laſtly, As for the Author of the *Revelations*, they all with one conſent declare he ſpeaks expreſly of it; and indeed he ſeems to do it ſo expreſly, that when in the Third *Century* ſome *Chriſtians* began to diſlike this Opinion, they began alſo to queſtion the *Authority* of this Book which never was before doubted of by any *Chriſtian.*

Fourthly,

Fourthly, Obſerve, that theſe *Fathers* do expreſly teach, That this Doctrine of the *Millennium* was denied chiefly by *Hereticks* and ſuch as were deceived by them; thus *Irenæus* in the Preface of his Diſcourſe upon this Subject ſaith, he found it neceſſary to ſpeak of it, *Becauſe ſome Mens Opinions were perverted by the Speeches of the Hereticks, and they underſtood not the appointment of God, and the Myſtery of the Reſurrection of the Juſt, and of the Kingdom.* And again, he ſaith, That *ſome of thoſe who are thought to have believed aright do go beyond the order of the promotion of the Juſt, and know not the methods of their training up, or being exerciſed to incorruption, having in themſelves Heretical ſences* (of this matter.) *For the Hereticks deſpiſing the formation of God,* (*i. e.* the Body framed by him) *and not receiving the Salvation of their Fleſh,* (or not believing that it ſhall be ſaved) *ſay, That as ſoon as they are dead they tranſcend the Heavens, and the Maker of them, and go to that Mother or Father which they have feigned to themſelves; they therefore who reject, as much as in them lies, all Reſurrection of the Fleſh, what wonder is it if they know not the order of the Reſurrection*; which order, with the method by which we are exerciſed to incorruption, and the enjoyment of God he afterwards declares to be this, That *our firſt Reſurrection is* principium incorruptelæ per quod Regnum qui digni fuerint aſſueſcunt capere deum, *the beginning of incorruption, by living in which Kingdom they who are worthy ſo to do, by little and little do accuſtom themſelves to enjoy God. And that the Juſt Man thus raiſed* verè præmeditabitur incorruptelam, & augebitur, & vigebit in Regni temporibus, ut fiat capax Gloriæ Patris; *ſhall truly exerciſe, or fit himſelf for incorruptibility, and increaſe, and flouriſh in the times of that Kingdom, that he may be made capable of the Glory of the Father.* And a third time, That *Man being renewed,* & vigente ad incorruptelam, ut non poſſit jam veteraſcere; *and making ſuch progreſs to incorruption, that he cannot now wax Old*; tunc qui digni fuerint cœlorum converſatione illuc tranſibunt, id eſt, in Cœlos; *then they who are worthy ſhall aſcend to Heaven.*

§. 3.

Quoniam transferuntur quorundam ſententiæ ab Hæreticis ſermonibus. *Lib.* 5. *c.* 32.

Hæretici enim deſpicientes pſalmationem Dei, & non ſuſcipientes ſalutem carnis ſuæ. *Lib.* 5. *c.* 31.

Cap. 32.

Cap. 35.

Cap. 36.

Juſtin M. being asked by *Trypho*, whether he believed *That* Jeruſalem *ſhould be rebuilt, and the Chriſtians ſhould be gathered together there with Chriſt, and the Patriarchs and Prophets?* Anſwers

Pag. 306.

swers thus, ὡμολόγησά σοι καὶ πρόλεγον, *I have before confessed unto thee that I and many others are of this judgment*; adding that he therefore embraced this Doctrine, *Because he chose not to follow Men or their Doctrines, but God*; and telling *Trypho*, That if the *Jews* had met with any *who did not confess this, but blasphemed the God of* Abraham, Isaac *and* Jacob, *he was not to esteem them Christians though they were* λεγόμενοι Χριστιανοὶ, *called Christians:* Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ εἰσὶ πάνυ γνώμονες καὶ πάντα Χριστιανοὶ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι πιστεύομεν καὶ χίλια ἔτη ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, &c. *For I, and all Christians that are entirely Orthodox do know there will be a Resurrection of the Flesh, and a thousand Years in* Jerusalem, *built, adorn'd and enlarged, as the Prophets* Ezekiel, Esaias, *and others have confessed.* Now by comparing of these words with what before was spoken by him of the *Gnosticks*, and the following branches of that *Heresie* the *Marcionites*, the *Valentinians*, *Basilidians* and *Saturnilians*, p. 253. it will be evident that *Justin M.* speaks here especially of them. For,

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Pag. 307.

1. There you will find him saying of those *Hereticks*, *That they taught Men to Blaspheme the God of* Abraham, Isaac *and* Jacob. And here, That *some of them who did not own the Millennium were Men who dared to Blaspheme the God of* Abraham, Isaac *and* Jacob.

2. There you will find them expresly stiled the *Marcionites*, *Valentinians*, *Basilidians* and *Saturnilians*: Here you will find them generally described by this character, That λέγουσιν μὴ εἶναι τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, *they say there is no Resurrection of the Dead*; *but that as soon as they die,* τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, *their Souls were received into Heaven*, as *Irenæus* before noted of those deniers of the *Millennium*, and as is certainly true of all the *Hereticks* here mentioned; for the *Marcionites* denied the *Resurrection of the Flesh*, and held, That *the Soul only should be saved. Basilides* denied *The Resurrection of the Flesh.* The *Saturnilians* said, That *there would be no Resurrection of the Flesh*; *because the Body would not be saved.* The *Valentinians* denied the Resurrection of the Flesh, saying, That *our Souls only, not our Bodies were redeemed by Christ.* Moreover he promises to write a Book against these Deniers of the *Millennium*, which what it should be, except his Book against *Heresie* in general, or against *Marcion* in particular, I would gladly know.

Danæus in Aug. de Hæres. c. 22. f. 100. b.

Dan. *ibid.* c. 4. f. 60. b.

Ibid. cap. 11. f. 79. a.

3. There

3. There he declares, that true Christians did ἐν οὐδενὶ κοινωνεῖν, *in nothing Communicate with these Men*, as knowing they were *Atheists*, (*i. e.* wicked) ungodly and unjust; and here he forbids *Trypho*, ὑπολαμβάνειν αὐτὸς Χριστιανὸς, *to account them Christians*; saying, they no more deserved that Name, than *the Sadducees*, and other *Hereticks* amongst the *Israelites* deserved the Name of *Jews*. Now let it be considered,

§. 4.

1. That this Doctrine was owned in the first *Ages* of the *Church*, by the greatest number of the *Christian Clergy*, as is confessed by *Eusebius*, that by the confession of St. *Jerom*, *Multi Ecclesiasticorum virorum, & Martyrum, ista dixerunt*; *Many Ecclesiastical Men, and Martyrs had asserted it* before his time; and that even in his days it was the Doctrine, *quam nostrorum plurima sequitur multitudo*; *which a great multitude of Christians followed*; that it was received not only in the *Eastern* parts of the *Church* by *Papias*, *Justin*, *Irenæus*, *Nepos*, *Apollinaris*, *Methodius*, but also in the West and South by *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Victorinus*, *Lactantius* and *Severus*, and, if we may credit *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, by the *first Nicene Council*.

Τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν. H. Eccl. l. 3 c. 39. In Jer. 19. Proem. in lib. 18. Com. in Esa.

2. That these Men taught this Doctrine, not as *Doctors* only, but as *Witnesses* of the *Tradition* which they had received from *Christ* and his *Apostles*, and which was taught them *by the Elders the Disciples of Christ*, which pass among the *Romanists* for *Authentick* marks of *Apostolical Tradition*.

3. That they pretend to ground it upon numerous and manifest Testimonies both of the *Old* and *New Testament*, and speak of them as *Texts* which could admit no other meaning, and which they *knew* to have this meaning; and then let any *Romanist* shew any thing of a like nature for any *Article* pretended by the *Church* of *Rome* to be derived from *Tradition* to them.

§. 5.

Now if the *Scriptures* thus Interpreted for these Two *Centuries* with so much confidence and assurance; if a *Tradition* of this early date, delivered by Men of such great *Reputation*, from the *Disciples* of our *Lord*, and from the *Seniors* of the *Church*, may yet be *Scriptures* falsly Interpreted, *Traditions* falsly said to be received from the *Apostles*, or the *Rulers* of the

the *Church*; and they who thus Interpreted them might be looked upon as *Judaizing*, as Men *whose God was their Belly*, as Men who *loved their Belly, and their Lusts*, and as *Ridiculous*; which *Epithetes* St. *Jerom* freely doth bestow upon the *Assertors* of the *Millennary* Doctrine, how much more reason must we have to doubt of those Interpretations of *Scripture*, and those *Traditions* which are now represented as *true Traditions* and *true Interpretations* of the *Scripture* by the *Roman Church*. If that which once passed for the Doctrine of *all Christians that were Orthodox*, may pass in after Ages for *Heresie*, as saith *Baronius*; the Doctrine of the *Millennium* was pronounced by *Damasus*, and as St. *Jerom* seems in his invective stile to call it; and that which *Heretick*s then chiefly held, must be now held of all who would not be accounted *Heretick*s; sure what is *Orthodox* in one Age, may become *Heresie* in the succeeding Ages, or else the *Church* of *Rome* can be no certain judge either of what is *Orthodox* or *Heretical*. Sure they may be ashamed to ask us any more how Errors could come into their *Church*, and no beginning of them known, till they can tell us the beginning of this Error. And lastly, if the *Fathers* of the purest *Ages* could be so easily cozened by *Papias*, a *Man of no Judgment* in this Matter, as some of them assert, why might they not be cheated by such half witted Men in Twenty other Matters, why not by Twenty other Men of as weak Parts? And what assurance can we have of any other thing in which *Tradition* is pretended on the account of *Testimonies* less *Primitive*, less plain, less numerous than these were? If they who had matters at Second-hand from the *Apostles* could be thus mistaken in a *Tradition* on which they founded their future Hopes and Expectations, must they not much more be subject to like mistakes, in matters of meer Speculation and Opinion?

Semijudæi. Hier. in Esa. 60. f. 100. b. Præfat. in lib. 18. f. 107. Ridiculi γελιασαὶ in cap. 66. v. 22.

A.D. 373. n. 14. Vitanda est istiusmodi explanatio, imo Hæresis. In Jer. 19. f. 137. b.

Moreover, hence we have a demonstration of the Falshood of the pretended *Tradition* of the *Church* of *Rome*, touching the *Invocation of Saints*; for that, according to the *Trent Council*, depends upon this Supposition; That as to their Souls they are at present, *una cum Christo regnantes, & æterna felicitate in Cœlo fruentes, now reigning with Christ, and enjoying eternal felicity in Heaven*, and so admitted already to the *Beatifick Vision*;

Sess. 25.

whereas

whereas both *Justin Martyr* and *Irenæus* assert, this Doctrine was proper to the formentioned *Hereticks*; they were the Men who said, *that when Men died,* τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν ὑπερανὸν, that, simulatque mortui fuerint dicunt se supergredi cœlos, & ire ad eum qui ab ipsis affingitur patrem, *their Souls went directly to Heaven, and passed above the material Heavens to the Father.* Pag. 307. Iren. l. 5. c. 31. These *Fathers* also add, That men were first to reign with *Christ* on Earth, and so *to accustom and fit themselves to reign with Him in Heaven, to receive first their Bodies,* & sic venire in conspectum Dei, *and so to be admitted into the Presence of God*; and that this was the Doctrine of most of the *Ancients*, is confirmed by their own Writers; how therefore could they have any received Tradition, that the Saints were to be invoked, as reigning now with *Christ*, and being admitted into Heaven, and enjoying the *Vision* of *God*?

Tertullian, Origen, Ambrose, Clem. Romanus, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Oecumenius, Theophylact, *St.* Bernard, Stapleton, *Defens. Eccl. Author. lib. 1. c. 2.* Lactantius, Victorinus, Prudentius, Aretas, Euthymius, Fr. Pegna. *direct. inquis. part. 2. c. 21.*

§. 6.

Moreover, it was the Doctrine of the four *Ages* next to the *Apostles*, or of the four first *Centures*, *that the Day of Judgment was near at Hand*, and that the World should only last till the destruction of the *Roman Empire.* Thus *Hermas* to that Question, Whether *the consummation of all things were at hand?* Answers, That *the end should be when the Tower was Built and perfected*, sed & cito consummabitur, *and that this would quickly be.* In proximo est Adventus Domini, *The coming of our Lord draws nigh*, saith *Tertullian*; upon which place *De la Cerde* notes, That *all the Fathers spake thus of the Day of Judgment. We pray*, saith the same *Tertullian*, *for the Emperors, and for the State*, i. e. continuance *of the Empire*, because we know *the conflagration of the World, which is now imminent, and the close of it which threatneth the worst of Evils, is retarded by the continuance of the Roman Empire.* And again, we pray *for the Emperor*, pro statu sæculi, pro rerum queite, pro mora finis, *for the continuance of the Age, for the quiet posture of Affairs, and the delay of the end of the World*; which shews they thought it was then near. And a third time, *We wish well to the Roman Empire, for while the World continueth it shall stand.* St. *Cyprian* tells Pope *Cornelius*, That *Christi cito approquinquabit adventus*, *Christs coming would soon draw nigh.* In his *Epistle to Cæcilius* he

Lib. 1. vis. 3. §. 8.

De Spectac. c. 30.

Vim maximam vniversō orbi imminentem. Apol. c. 32.

Cap. 39.

Ad Scap. c. 2.

Ep. 57. Ed. Ox.

Ep. 63. p. 157.

Quoniam in fine atque consummatione mundi Antichristi tempus infestum appropinquare nunc cœpit. *Præfat. de Exhort. Martyr.*

he declares, that *secundus ejus adventus nobis appropinquat, his second coming to us was near:* and in his Book of Exhortation to *Martyrdom*, he gives this account of his Writing, *viz.* That he did it *because now in the end of the World the time of Antichrist began to approach*, and Fortunatus, *had desired him to write something to strengthen the Brethren.*

§. 7. It also was the general Opinion of the *Church*, that *Antichrist* was to come at the close of the *World*; and it was also generally believed, that *Antichrist* was at hand. *Tertullian* declares, *Antichristum jam instare*, that *Antichrist was even then ready to appear. Judas* a Christian Writer, That he was to come in the time of the *Emperor Severus*: St. *Cyprian* saith, That he was *now appearing*, that his *Advent was at hand*, that *Christians ought to know*, and certainly believe and hold, that the Day of Trouble mentioned *Matthew* the 24th. *began to fall upon their Heads*, that *the end of the World, and the time of Antichrist drew near.*

De fuga in persecut. c. 12.

Οὓς καὶ ἤδη θρυλλομένην τὴν Ἀντιχείστου παρουσίαν ἤδη τότε πλησιάζειν ᾤετο. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6 c. 7.

Ep. 59. p. 139.

Ep 58. p. 120.

Scire debetis, & pro certo credere & tenere, occasum sæculi, atque Antichristi tempus appropinquasse. *Ibid.*

§. 8. It also was the general Opinion of the *Fathers* that our *Lord* was born in the Year of the World 5500, and that the World should end, or be renewed in the Year 6000. That our Lord was Born in the Year 5500, or 5508, or 5509, as the *Greeks* commonly compute, you may learn from *Hippolytus*, who as *Photius* notes, placed the coming of *Antichrist*, Πενταχοσίοις ἔτεσι ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, *Five hundred Years after Christ*, because then the *Six thousand* years from the Creation of the World being expired, the World would end. The *Fathers* who were of this Opinion were very many, and * *magni nominis*, of great repute, say *Petavius* and *Sixtus Senensis*, *l.* 5. *Annot.* 190.

Apud Phot. Cod. 202. p. 525.

* Petav. in Epiph. Hær. 66. n. 50.

Feuardentius in Iren. l. 5. c. 28.

And they pretended to derive this from *plain Texts of Scripture*, such, as *When the fulness of time was come, In the last Days he spake to us by his Son, On whom the ends of the Ages are come, Now is the last hour*; which, saith St. *Jerom*, *if you divide the*

Δι' ἐναργῶν κατασκευῶν Pseudo Just. q. 71.

Ambros. in Gal. 4. 4. Oecum. in 1 Joh. 2. 18. Hier. in Mich. 4. Epiph. Hær. 66. §. 50.

whole

whole Six thousand Years of the worlds duration into Twelve parts, according to the Twelve hours of the Day, must be the last Five hundred Years of them.

It also was a Doctrine almost generally received among the most *Ancient Fathers* that the World should end, or be renewed after 6000 years. This *Barnabas* expresly teacheth in his *Epistle*, saying, *Attend my Children what he saith*, that expression, *he finished in Six Days, signifies this, That God will finish all things in Six thousand Years; for, that a Day with him is a Thousands Years, he himself testifieth, saying, A Day shall be as a Thousand Years. Wherefore Children, in Six days, that is, in Six thousand years, shall all things be Consummated. In as many Days as the World was made, in so many Thousand Years it is consummated; for if, as the* Prophecy *saith, the Day of the Lord is as a Thousand Years; and in six Days were all things made which were made, it is manifest, that the consummation of them will be the Six thousandth Year:* so *Irenæus*. His Scholar *Hyppolitus* in the fore-cited passage saith the same thing. *Eustathius* in his *Hexaemeron*, and the *Author* of the *Question* and *Answers*, passing under the Name of *Justin Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Hilary* and *Jerom* are all of the same mind; and hence *Lactantius* took the confidence to say in his time, *It could not be above Two hundred Years before the World would have an end.* St. *Cyprian*, That Sex millia annorum jam fere complentur, *the Six thousand Years are almost compleated.* And St. *Jerom*, when he heard of the taking of *Rome* by *Alaricus* the *Goth*, crys out, *Qui tenebat de medio fit, & non intelligimus Antichristum appropinquare? He who hinder'd is taken out of the way, and do we not consider that Antichrist is at hand?* And this Opinion, as it is well noted by the Learned Mr. *Dodwell*, they collected from the *Prophetick writings*, and from the *Phrase of the last Days*, so frequent in the *Scripture*, and from those Expressions which mention our *Lord*'s coming to destroy *Jerusalem* as at hand. And yet we have already lived long enough to see the falseness of this Doctrine, and so to be convinced that in these matters the *Church Guides* were not Infallible *Interpreters* of *Scripture*, nor *Authentick* derivers of *Tradition* down to future Ages. And which is in this matter more observable, the *Apostle* plainly had foretold them *what it was that hindered* this appearance of the Man of

Ἐν τοῖς ἓξ ἀχὶ χιλίοις ἔτεσι συντελεσθήσεται τὰ πάντα. Sect. 15.

Quotquot enim diebus hic factus est mundus tot & millenis annis consummatur: si enim dies Domini quasi mille anni, &c. *lib.* 5. *c.* 28.

Vide Sixt. Senen. Bibl. Sanctæ l. 5. annot. 190.

Lib. 7. c. 25.

De Exhort. Mart. p. 168.

Ep. ad Geruntium de Monogamia, *Tom.* 1 *f.* 33 b.

Disert. de Mart fortitud. §. 21. 24.

2 Thes. ij. 6.

Sin, and yet 'tis manifest, that they retained not what he told them: Nor hath the *Church* of future *Ages* been able to inform us; nor can our pretenders to *Infallibility* tell us, with any certainty, what was the hindrance which St. *Paul* there meant, and his *Thessalonians* then knew; for that they did know it we are sure, because it is written, But what it was none of them knew, because it was unwriten. The *Church*, that *infallible Oracle*, and excellent keeper of *Tradition*, hath lost this and many more *Traditions*; that is, discourses of our *Lord* and his *Apostles* by word of mouth, because they were not written. And therefore blessed be the goodness of that God, who, seeing what an unfaithful keeper of *Traditions* the *Church* was, took order that what his wisdom saw necessary for us to know and practise, should be written.

Τὸ κατέχον οἴδατε. V. 6.

Dist. 7.

2. In matters of *Practice*, we distinguish betwixt such practices as have been generally received, and owned without contest from the first, and purest Ages of the *Church*, as the Observation of the *Lord*'s Day, the *Ordination* of *Presbyters* by *Bishops*, and such as have been matter of long contest, and in which the *Tradition* pleaded by some, hath been as evidently disowned by others as good Members of the *Church* as they; and that we have no sufficient Reason to depend much on such pretences to *Tradition* will appear from the dispute betwixt *Pope Victor* and the *Asiatick Bishops*, about the observation of the *Easter Festival*; of which let it be Noted,

§. 9. *First*, That *Pope Victor* and the *R. Church* kept the *Easter Festival* on the *Lord*'s Day only; whereas the *Asiaticks*, and some few *Churches* with them, did celebrate that *Festival* on the Fourteenth Day of *March*, on whatsoever Day of the Week that happend; whence sometimes it fell out that some *Christians* were Feasting, and rejoicing when others were observing their *Lent* Fast. For this cause *Synods* met in divers places, and particularly a *R. Synod* which decreed with *Victor*, That *all with one consent should keep the* Easter *Festival on the Lord's Day*. And consonant to this was the Practice and Judgment of many other *Churches*; for that this Festival should be by them observed on the same day, was determined

Σύνοδοι ἢ καὶ συνκροτήσεις ἐπισκόπων ὅπη τὸ αὐτὸ ἐγίνοντο πάντες τε μιᾷ γνώμῃ δι' ἐπιστολῶν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν δόγμα διετυποῦντο ὡς ἂν μηδ'

termined by St. *Irenæus*, who presided in *France*; by *Theophilus*, *Bishop* of *Cæsarea*; by *Narcissus*, *Bishop* of *Jerusalem*, and the *Priests* subject to them; by the *Bishops* of *Pontus*, in a *Synod* where *Palma* presided, and by the *Churches* of the *Province* of *Osdroena*. And the same, saith *Eusebius*, was *the Eunanimous determination of most other Bishops and Churches of the Christian World.* And though the *Asiatick Churches* kept this Feast upon the Fourteenth Day of *March*; yet was the contrary practice observed, saith the same *Eusebius*, ἀνὰ τὴν λοίπην ἅπασαν οἰκουμένην, *through the whole World beside.* So that 'tis evident the much *major* part of the *Church* concurred in practice with the *Pope*, and judged it reasonable and expedient to observe this Festival *upon the Lord's Day only.* And of this their determination, they sent Letters to all the *Churches* round about, and consequently to all the *Asiatick Churches.*

ἐν ἄλλῃ πότε τὴν κυριακὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελοῖτο τῷ Κυρίῳ μυστήριον.

Καὶ πλείστων ὅσων ἄλλων οἱ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν καὶ κρίσιν ἐξενηνεγμένοι τὴν αὐτὴν τεθειν[κ]υῖαν ἦσαν, καὶ τόπων μὴν ἦν ὅρος εἰς ὃ διεσημαίνοντο. Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 23.

Secondly, Observe, That, according to *Eusebius*, they who kept this Feast upon the *Lord*'s Day did it ἐξ ἀποστολικῆς παραδόσεως, *from a Tradition Apostolical.* And the *Bishops* of *Palestine* spake much of the *Tradition touching the Paschal Feast descending down unto them by succession from the Apostles.* The *Constitutions* stiled *Apostolical* command all *Christians* to take especial care that they observe the *Paschal Feast only on the Lord's Day*, and forbid them to celebrate it any longer with the *Jews.* And the Fifth and Sixty second of those *Canons* which pass under the same stile, forbid all *Bishops*, *Priests* or *Deacons* under the penalty of deposition *to celebrate the Paschal Feast before the vernal Equinox, or to Feast with the* Jews. §. 10.

Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 23.

Περὶ τῆς καταληφθείσης εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀπ' Ἀποστόλων περὶ τοῦ πάσχα παραδόσεως πλείστα διειλήφοτες. Ibid. c. 25.

Ἐν Κυριακῇ μόνῃ. Lib. 5. c. 17. p. 258.

Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ ἁγίαν τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέραν πρὸ τοῦ ἐαρινοῦ ἰσημερίας μετὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐπιτελέσει καθαιρείσθω.

Thirdly, Observe, That notwithstanding these Assertions, the Evidence that they who did observe this *Festival* when the *Jews* celebrated their *Paschal* Feast followed the Practice and *Tradition* of the *Apostles*, seems more strong and cogent. For even *Eusebius* confesseth, that they who celebrated this Festival §. 11.

Lib. 5. cap. 24.

Ὁ Φίλιππος — καὶ Ἰωάννης — ἔτοι πάντες ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης τοῦ Πάσχα κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Ibid.

Festival with the *Jews*, told the very names of the Apostles from whom they received this Tradition, and of their Successors, who handed down this practice to them, declaring that it was thus celebrated before them by *Philip, and* John *the Apostles of our Lord, by* Polycarp *Bishop of* Smyrna, Thraseas *Bishop of* Eumenia, *by* Papirius, Melito *and* Sagaris, *and by seven Bishops, Predecessors to* Polycrates, *who all observed it as they did.* All these who in the first or second *Centuries* did very laudably perform the office of a *Bishop*, and who had, many of them, extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Ghost, ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης τοῦ Πάσχα, *kept the Paschal Feast*, saith Polycrates, *upon the Fourteenth Day, according to the Gospel, in nothing varying from what they had received.* Moreover *Irenæus* adds, That *Polycarp* who conversed with the *Apostle John* and the other *Apostles*, always observed the same Rite. Since therefore he was, saith *Eusebius*, τοῦ Ἀποστόλων ὁμιλητὴς, *a Man familiar with the Apostles*, and made Bishop of *Smyrna by the Servants and Eye-witnesses of our Lord*; it is more than probable that he derived this Custom from St. *John*, and from those *Eye-witnesses of Christ*, from whom he received his Office. *Epiphanius* not only doth informs us, That all *Christians* did celebrate the *Paschal* Feast with the *Jews* whilst the *Bishops* of *Jerusalem* were of the *Circumcision*, that is, for One hundred and thirty Years, but also saith, That, ἐχρῆν τότε — τὴν πᾶσαν τὴν κόσμον τούτοις συνέπεσθαι, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἑορτάζειν, *the whole world ought then to follow their Example, and celebrate the Feast with them*; and, to this Effect, he often cites a *Canon* of the Apostles, requiring them to keep it when their Brethren of the *Circumcision* did so.

Μετὰ Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Ἀποστόλων ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα. Ibid. p. 193.

Eccl. Hist. l. 3. c. 36.

Πρὸς τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ ὑπηρέτων τοῦ Κυρίου. Ibid.

Hær. 70. §. 9.

§. 12.

Οὐ πεύσομαι ὅτι τοῖς καταπλησσομένοις. Euseb. ibid. c. 24. p. 192.

Fourthly, Observe, That *Pope Victor* writ a Letter to *Polycrates Bishop* of *Ephesus* upon this Subject, desiring him to call a *Synod* of the *Asiatick Bishops*, and endeavouring in it *to terrifie them by his Threats*, to a compliance with his Custom, and the determination of his *Roman Synods*.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, Observe, That *Polycrates* having received this Letter, writes back to *Victor* and the *Church* of *Rome* after this manner, That they had a contrary Tradition from which they never did nor would recede, that *he was not at all moved with their Threats, as knowing it was better to obey God than Man*; that *he had, according to their desire called together his fellow Bishops, and found them* all, ὁμοδοξοῦντες, *of the same mind with him*, and all consenting to his Letter.

Τὸ πάλαι πρότερον αὐτοῖς παραδοθὲν διαφυλάξαι ἔθος χρῆναι δυσχεραίνοντες. Ibid. pag. 191.

Συνεδέξαντο τῇ ὑποσολῇ. p. 192.

Whence note, That all the *Asiatick Bishops* and *Churches*, and the *neighbouring Provinces*, did judge the *Pope* and *Church* of *Rome* guilty of doing themselves, and of imposing upon others, that which was contrary to *Apostolical Tradition*, and to that *Obedience* they owed to God, and do not only refuse compliance with their Determinations and Customs, but also add, That *they regard not what they threaten*. They therefore then knew nothing of the *Pope*'s *Superiority* over them, or his *Supremacy* over the whole *Church*, or of any Obligation lying on them, to comply with the *Constitutions* of that *Church*; nor did they think it such a dreadful thing, as is now imagined, to be separated from their Communion. Yea since they do so stiffly refuse compliance with that Determination of the *Pope*, in which he had the suffrage and concurrence of most other *Churches*, it is demonstratively evident that they knew nothing of *R. H.*'s feigned Rule of *Universal Church Practice*, That *in Judges subordinate dissenting, all Christians must adhere to the Superior, in those of the same Order and Dignity, to the major part*, for this Rule, had they known it, must have convinced or confounded them.

Τῆς Ασίας πάσης ἅμα τοῖς ὁμόροις ἐκκλησίαις. Ibid.

Disc. 2. c. 3. §. 23.

Sixthly, Observe, That *Pope Victor* having received this Letter from the *Asiatick Churches*, and the *Neighbouring Provinces*, *he tried*, saith Eusebius, *to separate them from the common Unity, and writ invective Letters against them to other Churches, declaring that all the Brethren of those Churches were by him wholly separated from Communion*, or Men not at all to be Communicated with; and, κελεύοντος, *commanding them to have no fellowship with them*. He tried to do this by these means, saith

§. 13.

Ἀθρόως τε Ασίας πάσης — παροικίας ἀποτέμνεν· ὡς ἑτεροδοξούσας πρόσταται, καὶ σκληρύνει γε διὰ γραμμάτων ἀκοινωνήτους ἄρδην πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε ἀναπηρύττων ἀδελφούς. Ibid. Καὶ δὴ Βίκτωρ πολλοὺς τῆς Ασίας καὶ τῆς Ανατολῆς ὑποσκόπους καθεῖλεν. Hieron. in verbo *Victor*.

Eusebius;

Eusebius; he therefore did not think it in his power to separate them from the common Unity without the consent of other *Churches*, nor was his act esteemed then sufficient for this work.

Seventhly, Observe, That *Victor* in this angry mood doth not attempt to Excommunicate them ὡς παρήκοοι, *as men disobedient* to the commands of his Holiness, or the decisions of the *Church* of *Rome*; but only ὡς ἑτεροδοξοῦντες, as Men of *Heterodox Opinions*; on which account it did belong to any *Church*, as well as that of *Rome*, to move for their exclusion from Communion: *Pope Victor* therefore was not then acquainted with that *Arcanum* of the *Romish See*, that she had power over all other *Churches*, and that whosoever did not comply with the injunctions of his *Holiness*, deserved the censure of Excommunication for his disobedience, nor did the *Churches* of those times believe any such matter. For,

§. 14. *Eighthly*, When *Victor* sent his *invective Letters* to other *Churches*, exhorting, or requiring them to renounce Communion with these *Asiaticks*, ἀντιπαρακελεύονται, *they return him a contrary Exhortation*, with equal vehemence requesting him *to mind the things which did belong unto the Peace, the Unity, and Love which ought to be preserved among Brethren.* They therefore clearly do insinuate, that he did not mind the Peace, and Unity of the *Church*, *i. e.* he was *Schismatical* in that Action, and could they then conceive he was the Head, and his *Church* the *principle* of *Unity*. They also writ back Letters in which they did πληκτικώτερον καθάπτεσθαι, *sharply reprehend him* upon this account; they therefore did not think themselves, and others obliged to submit to the decisions of the *Pope*, and his *Council*, unless perhaps they thought themselves obliged by their Example to do things opposite unto the Peace and Union of the *Church* of *Christ*, and to that Charity which was to be preserved among *Christian Brethren.* St. *Jerom* not only Notes, that *the other Bishops did not consent to* Victor's *Excommunication*; but commends *Polycrates as a Brave Stout Man* in this affair.

Τὰ τῆ εἰρήνης, καὶ τῆ πρὸς τὸν πλησίον ἑνώσεως καὶ ἀγάπης φρονεῖν. Ibid.

Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 24.

In qua sententia his qui discrepabunt ab illis Victori non dederunt manus. *Ibid.* Hæc posui ut ingenium & Authoritatem viri demonstrarem. *In verbo* Polycrates.

Ninthly,

Ninthly, Observe, That *Irenæus* in his Letter, writ to *Victor*, *in the name of all the Brethren under his jurisdiction in* France, that he should not reject whole *Churches* of God, observing their *Ancient Tradition*, saith *Eusebius*; their *Apostolical Tradition*, saith *Nicephorus*. In pursuance of which design he minds the *Pope*, that *long before* there were, and still continued other differences in the *Church*, *touching the observation of the* Lent *Fast*; *and that notwithstanding*, *they who thus differed*, *all preserved Peace*, *and were at present all in Peace one with the other*. He adds, That *his predecessors in the See of* Rome, *who observed the Feast as he did*, οὐδὲν ἐλάττον εἰρήνευον, *nevertheless kept Peace with them who observed the Feast after the manner of the Asiaticks*, and never cast out any from the *Church* who practised as they did; particularly that *Polycarp coming to* Rome *in the time of* Anicetus, acted like *Polycrates*, and would not be perswaded to comply with the custom of the *Church* of *Rome* in this particular, *yet they communicated*, *and Received the Sacrament together*, *departed in Peace*, *without contention about this matter*; *and both of them preserved peace with all the Churches which differed from them in this observation*. From all which it is evident, that *Irenæus* charged *Victor* as φιλεριστὴς, *a lover of Contention*, a breaker of the *Church*'s Peace, one who denied Communion with, and did attempt the rejection of the *Asiatick Churches* without cause; and therefore must necessarily judge him to be the *Schismatick*, and so he could not possibly conceive, that by *Victor*'s Excommunication the *Asiaticks* could be separated from the common Union; but rather that the *Pope*, and his *Church* (if they concurred with him in the second Letter, as in the first they did, and as it was the custom of those times to do) must be the *Schismaticks*. And therefore whereas *Pope Victor* writ Letters to engage all *Churches* to break off Communion with the *Asiaticks*, *Irenæus* writes Letters, of the same import with this to *Victor*, to the *Bishops of most other Churches to engage them to preserve Peace*, *and Communion with the Asiaticks*. So opposite is he in all things to the proceedings of the *Pope* and *Church* of *Rome*; and yet in all this, he is commended as a Man who in this matter acted πρεπόντως, *fittingly*,

Ἐκ προσώπου ὧν ἡγεῖτο τῆς Γαλλίαν ἀδελφῶν. Ibid. Τὸ πάλαι πρότερον αὐτοῖς παραδοθὲν τὸ ἔθος. Lib. 5. c. 24.

Niceph. l. 4. c. 37.

Eusebius Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 24. p. 193.

Καὶ διαφορᾶς ὑπαρχούσας ἄρχουσιν ἐκκλησιῶν, τὰ κατάλληλα δι' ὅπισθόλων φωνὴ τῶν κανονικῶν ζητημάτων ὠμίλει. Ibid. p. 193, 194.

as a true *Irenæus* or *Peacemaker*, that is, as one who answered his name by his endeavour to preserve the *Church*'s Peace, which *Victor* laboured to disturb. And 'tis observable, that all the *Churches* of God complied with the Desire of *Irenæus*; for though they differed, saith *Socrates*, about this Feast, τῆ κοινωνίας μὴν ἀδιαμῶς ἐχωρίζοντο, *yet did they not separate from Communion one with another*, on that account. Now the Inferences which naturally flow from this Relation in favour of the *Protestants*, against the Doctrine of the *Pope*'s *Supremacy*, the necessity of Union to, and Communion with the *Church* of *Rome*, and other Articles of like nature, I shall not farther insist upon, only hence note.

Eccl Hist. l. 1. c. 8.

§. 15. *First*, The falseness of the *Rule* forementioned, which is the Ground and Foundation of the *Guide* of *Controversies*; for here we find the *Pope* deciding of a Controversie, *E Cathedra*, and with his *Roman Synod*; we also find that *most other Bishops* and *Churches* of the *Christian* World, τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔφερον, *pass the same Judgment of the Controversie* with the *Pope* and his *Roman Council*; and yet by no means will they allow that they who were of another Judgment, and acted contrary to their determination, should be molested for it, or treated otherwise than *Christian Brethren*, 'tis therefore impossible they should have held, that all *Christians* were obliged either to adhere, in any matter of dissent, to the decision of the *major* part, or to the decision of the *Pope* and *Church* of *Rome*, for then they must have held the *Asiaticks*, and others who agreed with them to be *Schismaticks*, and to deserve exclusion from the Communion of the *Church*, for acting in opposition to her Great and only Rule of Peace and Unity; yea, it is impossible that should have always been, as he pretends, an *universal Rule* of *Church Practice*, according to which so many *Churches* do refuse to practise, and yet are by their fellow *Christians* owned as *Brethren*, and persons not to be molested upon that account.

Secondly, Hence note, How difficult a thing it is to know, even in a matter of the constant practice of all *Christians* in the Second *Century*, what the Tradition of the *Apostles* was;

a Tradition being pretended on one ſide to derive from *Peter* and to be *Apoſtolical*, and yet all the *Churches* of *Aſia*, *Syria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Cilicia*, ſaith *Athanaſius*; of *Antioch*, ſaith *Chryſoſtom*, having a contrary *Tradition* which, ſay they, derived from *Philip* and St. *John*, and ſo undoubtedly was Apoſtolical, and *Canons* as from theſe Apoſtles being produced on both ſides; if then they were ſo divided about *Tradition* when the *Apoſtles* was ſcarce cold in their Graves, and that in matters of their daily practice; what aſſurance can we have of any *Traditions* conteſted in this preſent Age? If a Cuſtom might then ariſe, and be delivered to Poſterity with great variety in the *Lent Faſt*, ſo that ſome *Chriſtians* thought they were to keep it but *One day*, *ſome Two*, *ſome more*, *ſome Forty*, and all this *through the negligence of the then preſent Rulers of the Church*, how may the practice of the whole Church of *Rome* now vary from what it was in the beginning? Or why ſhould that be judged impoſſible with them, which by their own confeſſion hath actually happened for this laſt Seven hundred Years to the whole *Eaſtern Church*? Or what certainty can be had of conteſted *Traditions* ſubject to ſuch variety and change in a ſhort time, and in a matter of continual practice, when we are diſtant from the Fountain of them One thouſand ſix hundred Years?

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας καὶ Κιλικίας, καὶ Μεσοποταμίας ἐκώλυον πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ μετὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίων ἐποίουν τὸ Πάσχα. De Syn. Arim. p. 872. Ep. ad Pag. 933. Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔτως ἐπιδιόμεν πρότερον. Chryſ. Tom. 6. Hom. 28. p. 379. l. 33.

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὅιονται μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν ἀυτὺς νηστεύειν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας, &c. Iren. apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 24. p. 192, 193.

A Second Inſtance of like nature is that of the diſpute betwixt *Pope Stephen* and St. *Cyprian*, touching the *Rebaptizing* of thoſe Perſons who only were Baptized by *Hereticks*, as will be evident from theſe enſuing Obſervations, *viz.*

Firſt, That the Opinion of *Pope Stephen* was profeſſedly this, *That whatſoever Hereticks did take upon them to Baptize, the Perſons ſo Baptized were to be admitted into Church Communion without farther Baptiſm*; ſo his Opinion is propounded in his own words by *Cyprian*, *viz.* That *from whatſoever Hereſie a Perſon did return into the Church, he was to be admitted only by impoſition of Hands*, and not by *Baptiſm*. *Euſebius* in- §. 16.

Si quis a quacunque N. B. Hæreſi venerit ad nos manus illi imponantur ad pœnitentiam. *Ep.* 74. *p.* 211.

forms us, that the Controversie which arose betwixt them was this, *Whether they who returned from any kind of Heresie were to be purged by Baptism, or only by imposition of Hands with Prayer.* St. *Cyprian* adds, That he declared the Baptism of *Valentinus*, *Marcion* and *Apelles* to be valid, and *beget Sons to God*, although it was the Baptism of Men who did Blaspheme the *Father* and the Son, which certainly they did, for they asserted, That *there were two Gods*, and that *the God of* Israel *was an evil God*, and not the *Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*; and they denied the truth of our *Saviour*'s Manhood, and the *Resurrection of the Flesh.*

Εἰ δέοι τὰς ἐξ ὁίας δ' ἂν αἱρέσεως ὑπισρέφονλας διὰ λέτρε καθαίρειν. Eccl. Hist. l. 7. c. 2.

De Marcionis Baptismo, item Valentini, & Apelletis, contendit filios deo nasci. *Ep.* 74. *p.* 214. 73. *p.* 199, 200.

August de Hær. c. 11, 22, 23. vide Danæum. *Ibid.*

Secondly, Observe, That the Opinion of St. *Cyprian*, and those who in *Africa* and elsewhere adhered to him, was this, That *all Persons, who only were Baptized by Hereticks, were to be admitted into the Church by Baptism.* St *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage* thought, saith *Eusebius*, that *being first purged from their Error, they ought to be admitted,* ἀδ' ἄλλως ἢ διὰ λέτρε, *no otherwise than by Baptism.* Not only the *Cataphrygæ*, saith *Firmilian*, but, cæteri quique Hæretici, *all other Hereticks whatsoever are deprived of the Power of Baptism.* In the *Council* of *Carthage* consisting of *Eighty five Bishops* assembled out of *Africa*, *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, *Novatus a Thamugade defines* according to the Testimony of the *Scriptures*, and the Decree of our *Collegs* of Blessed Memory, That *all Schismaticks and Hereticks, who are converted to the Church, should be Baptized. Januarius a Lambese* saith, *According to the Authority of the Holy Scriptures I decree*, Hæreticos omnes Baptizandos, *that all Hereticks shall be Baptized*, and so admitted into the *Church*. The *Council* of *Iconium* decreed, That *all Baptism was to be rejected that was celebrated out of the Church.* That of *Synnada*, That no *Baptism was to be found amongst Hereticks which were out of the Church*, and that therefore returning to the Church, they ought to be Baptized in it.

Dicimus omnes omnino Hæreticos & Schismaticos, &c. *Ep.* 69. *p.* 180.

Hist. Eccl. lib. 7. cap. 3. Apud Cypr. Ep. 75. pag. 221.

Omnes Schismaticos & Hæreticos qui ad Ecclesiam conversi sunt Baptizari. *Apud Cypr. p.* 231.

Repudiandum esse omne omnino Baptisma quod sit extra Ecclesiam constitutum. *Firm. apud Cypr. Ep.* 75. *pag.* 226.

Apud Hæreticos nullum Baptisma reperiri.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Observe, That *Pope Stephen*, in prosecution of this Quarrel or Dispute, proceeded to a Separation of himself from, and a refusal of Communion with his *Brethren*, both in the *Southern* and the *Eastern Churches*, who declared for the Baptism of *Hereticks* returning to the Bosom of the *Church*. §. 17.

Pope Stephen, saith *Dionysius* to *Pope Xystus*, writ to me, as you do, and for the same Cause, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις κοινονήσων, *as one who would not communicate with Helin, Firmilian*, or any of the *Bishops* of *Cilicia, Cappadocia, Galatia*, or of the *Neighbouring Regions, because they Rebaptized Hereticks*. *In many other Provinces*, saith Firmilian, *many things do vary, but yet for these things they do not depart from the Peace and Unity, which yet Pope* Stephen *hath been bold to do, breaking that Peace which all his Ancestors have preserved with you in mutual Love and Honour*. And turning his Discourse to him he speaks thus, *How great Sin hast thou heaped upon thy self*, quando te à tot gregibus scidisti, *by cutting off thy self from so many Flocks? Deceive not thy self, for thou hast cut thy self off from them, he being indeed the Schismatick who makes himself an Apostate from the Communion of Ecclesiastical Unity, and whilst thou thinkest thy self able to separate all from thee, thou only hast separated thy self from all.* St. *Cyprian* saith, That he had passed his Judgment *for the Excommunication of the Priests of God*, who kept the Truth of Christ, and the Unity of the Church. St. *Austin* also doth affirm, That *Pope* Stephen *judged they should be Excommunicated who endeavoured to pull down the Ancient Custom of receiving Hereticks without Baptism.*

Apud Eusebium Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 5.

Rumpens adversus vos pacem, *Ep.* 75. *apud Cypr.* p. 228.

Siquidem ille est vere Schismaticus qui se a Communione Ecclesiasticæ unitatis Apostatum fecerit. *Ibid.*

Sacerdotes Dei abstinendos putat.

Ep. 74. Pag. 214.

Stephanus non solum non rebaptizabat Hæreticos, verum etiam hoc facientes Excommunicandos fore decernebat. *Libr. de Baptismo contra Petil. cap.* 14. *pag.* 504.

Fourthly, Observe, That after the Death of *Stephen*, Pope *Xystus*, his immediate Successor, asserted the same Doctrine, and was as vehement as he for the Exclusion of all those from Church Communion who did oppose it. For *Xystus* with *Philemon* and *Dionysius* two *Roman Presbyters*, wrote Letters to *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, declaring, That they would not communicate with them, who held that *Hereticks* were to be admitted into the *Church* by *Baptism*. This will appear from the Letter of *Dionysius* to *Pope Xystus*, where having told him, That

Apud Euseb. *Ibid.*

that his Predeceſſor *Pope Stephen* had written to him, that he would not Communicate with them for this very reaſon; he adds, That he had written formerly both to *Philemon* and *Dionyſius* of *Rome*, *who were before of the ſame judgment with Pope* Stephen, as they were now of the ſame mind with *Xyſtus*, and *who writ to him about the ſame things.* Whence it is evident, that *Xyſtus* the ſucceeding *Pope*, *Philemon* and *Dionyſius*, *Presbyters* of *Rome*, perſiſted in this Reſolution not to Communicate with thoſe who held, That *Hereticks* were to be received into the *Church* by Baptiſm; and ſeeing *Dionyſius*, who was of the ſame judgment, ſucceeded *Xyſtus*, it follows, that three Succeeding *Popes* had then defined that *Article.*

Διονυσίῳ καὶ Φιλήμονι τοῖς αὐτῶν μοι γεγράφασι πρότερον μὲν ὀλίγα καὶ νῦν ὑπὲρ ἄλλα πλείονα ἐπέστειλα. Euſeb. H. Eccl. l. 7. c. 5.

§. 18. *Fifthly*, Obſerve, That the Opinion and Practice of the *Africans*, and many *Eaſtern Churches* was aſſerted by very many *Chriſtian Doctors*, *Churches* and *Councils.* It was the Opinion of *Tertullian*, that *Hereticks had no Baptiſm*, and this ſaith he *is without doubt.* It was the Doctrine of *Agrippinus*, and of St. *Cyprian* in the ſame *Century.* In *Ægypt* it was the Doctrine of *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria:* In *Aſia* of *Firmilian Biſhop* of *Cæſarea*: In *Cilicia*, of *Helen Biſhop* of *Tarſis.* In the Fourth Century it was the Doctrine of *Optatus*, who frequently aſſerts, *Apud ipſos non eſſe Sacramenta*; That *the Hereticks had no Sacraments.* Of *Athanaſius*, who declares the *Arians Baptiſm*, *wholly vain and unprofitable.* That the Baptiſm given by them was, *alien from the Truth*; *though they uſed the name of the Father and the Son, becauſe they found them written*; *for not he who ſimply calls him Lord, gives true Baptiſm*; *but he who, with the names, holds the true Faith. Hence our Saviour gave not commiſſion to Baptize any how*; *but firſt to Teach, that by teaching aright, Faith might be obtained, and with Faith might be added the Conſecration of Baptiſm*; and of other *Hereticks* he ſaith, That *he who was ſprinkled by them was rather defiled than waſhed.* It was confirmed by Four *African Councils*, one under

Sine dubio non habent. *De Baptiſm. c.*15. Apud nos — Hæreticus etiam per Baptiſma veritatis utroque homine purgatus admittitur. *De pudicitia, Cap.* 19.

Lib. 4, & 5.

Orat.3.Contr. Arian. p. 413.

Ibid. 13.

Ἁπλῶς βαπτίζεσθαι.

Ὥστε καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνων ῥαντιζόμενον παρ' αὐτῶν ῥυπαίνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ λυτροῦσθαι. Ibid.

der *Agrippinus*, consisting of *the Bishops* of *Africa* and of *Numidia*; one at *Carthage*, under St. *Cyprian*; another under the same St. *Cyprian*, of Seventy one *Bishops*, *Anno. Dom.* 256. and lastly, by a *Synod of Eighty seven Bishops*, convened from *Africa*, *Numidia* and *Mauritania*. It was confirmed by a *Council* of *Fifty Bishops*, met at *Iconium*, where also were present the *Bishops* of *Galatia*, *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, and the *neighbouring Provinces*; and where it was decreed, saith *Firmilian*, That *this Doctrine should be firmly held, and vindicated*; it was confirmed by a *Synod* held at the same time at *Synnada* in *Phrygia*; it was determined, saith *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, ἐν ταῖς μείζοσι τῶν ἐπισκόπων Συνόδοις, *in the greatest Synods of Bishops*, and *by many Synods* besides those now mentioned of *Iconium* and *Synnada*. It was observed, saith the forementioned *Dionysius*, ἐν ταῖς πολυανθρωποτάταις Ἐκκλησίαις, *in the most populous Churches*. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* speaks of it as of *the practice of the Church* in his time; saying, *there is one Baptism*, μόνον γὰρ οἱ Αἱρετικοὶ ἀναβαπτίζονται, *for only Hereticks are re-baptized*; *because their Baptism is no Baptism*. St. *Basil* saith, That *they received not such Hereticks without Baptism*, *as the Encratites*, *the Saccophori* and *Apotactites*. The *Constitutions* of the *Apostles* declare the same thing, their *Forty sixth Canon* commands, That *the Bishops*, *Presbyters or Deacon should be deposed*, *who admits the Baptism of Hereticks*, *because there is no Communion betwixt Christ and Belial*; and the Forty seventh determines, That the Bishop shall be deposed, who neglects to Baptize them *who have been defiled*, παρὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν, *by the wicked*; that is, saith *Zonaras*, by the *Hereticks*, their Baptism being represented in the forecited *Constitutions*, as *a Pollution*, not a washing of the *Baptized* person. In a word, *Valesius* confesseth, that it appeareth from the *Council* of *Arles*, *That the Africans retained their Custom till the time of* Constantine. And *from the Epistle of St.* Basil *to* Amphilochius, *That the Cappadocians*, *and other Orientals*, *retained their Custom till the Council of* Constantinople.

Cypr. Ep. 71. p. 196. Plurimi Coepiscopi. Ibid. p. 193. Ep. 73. p. 198.

August. contra Cresc. Gram. l. 3. c. 3. Quod totum nos jampridem in Iconio confirmavimus tenendum firmiter, & vindicandum.

Ep. 75. apud Cypr. p. 221.

Apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 5.

Ibid. c. 7.

præfat. p. 4. Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐνὶ λόγῳ ἀναβαπτίζομεν τοιούτους. Ad Amphil. Can. 47.

Lib. 6. c. 15. Ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ Πρεσβύτερον, ἢ διάκονον Αἱρετικῶν δεξαμένους βάπτισμα καθαιρεῖσθαι προστάσσομεν.

Not. in Euseb. l. 7. c. 5. p. 141.

Sixthly, Observe, That for the Confirmation of his Doctrine *Pope Stephen* pretended to a *Tradition from the beginning*; §. 19.

Lib. 7. c. 3. *a Tradition derived from the Apostles.* That, saith *Eusebius*, which moved *Stephen* to be so stiff in this Opinion was, that he conceived nothing was to be done by innovation, παρὰ τὴν κεκτήσαις ἀρχῆθεν παράδοσιν, *against the Tradition which had prevailed from the beginning*, Nihil innovetur nisi quod traditum est; *let nothing be innovated, but that observed which was delivered* Ep. 74. p. 210. was his plea, saith *Cyprian*. And again, *Quod accepimus ab* Ep. 73. p. 201. *Apostolis hoc sequimur*; their saying was, *What we have received from the Apostles, that we follow. Stephen* asserteth, saith Ep. 75. p. 219. *Firmilian*, That *the Apostles forbad the Baptizing of those who return to the Church from Heresie*, & hoc custodiendum posteris tradiderint, *and delivered this to be observed by Posterity.*

Seventhly, Observe, That the *Asserters* of the contrary Opinion pretended also to *Tradition*, and some of them to *a Tradition from the beginning*, and which derived it self from the *Apostles*. Our Assertion, That they who only were Baptized by *Hereticks*, should be Baptized when they return to the Ep. 70. p. 189. *Church*, is, saith St. *Cyprian*, *no new Opinion, but long ago established by our Predecessors*; and accordingly observed by us. And again, it *is many Years, and a long Age since many Bishops, meeting under* Agrippinus, *established the same Practice, and many thousand Hereticks have been since Baptized in our Provinces. This Practice*, saith the *Carthaginian* Synod, *is that* quod semper, fortiter, stabiliterque tenuimus, *which we have always stoutly and firmly held.* It is not the *Africans* alone, saith *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, *who have now introduced this Custom, but it was practised* πάλαι πολλοῖς, *long before, by the preceeding Bishops in most populous Churches, and established in the Synods of* Iconium *and* Synnada, καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς, *and in many others, whom I dare not provoke to Contention by subverting their Decrees; it being written thou shalt not remove the bounds which thy Fathers have placed of old time. We*, saith *Firmilian*, *to the Truth join Custom; and to the Custom of the* Romans, *we oppose the Custom of the Truth*; Ab initio hoc tenentes, quod à Christo & ab Apo- Ep. 75. apud Cypr. p. 226. stolo traditum est; *Holding that from the beginning which was delivered by Christ and his Apostle. Nor do we remember, that* Can. 1. *this Custom had a beginning among us.* St. *Basil* saith expresly, ἔδοξε τοίνυν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ μὴ ἀναπικῶν παντελῶς ἀθετῆσαι, *it seemed good*

Ep. 73. p. 199. Non novam sententiam neque nunc fundatam asserimus, sed quæ olim ab Antiquioribus accuratissime & diligentissime fuit examinata. Concil. Oxon. Tom. 1. p. 366. Apud. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 7.

good to them who were from the beginning wholly to null the Baptiſm of Hereticks.

Eightly, Obſerve what theſe *Africans* and *Orientals* judged of the contrary Opinion, that *Hereticks* were to be received into the Boſom of the Church without *Baptiſm*; they ſtile the Aſſertors of it, *Prævaricatores fidei & veritatis, atque Eccleſiæ proditores, Men who betrayed the Church, and did prevaricate in matters which belonged to Faith and Truth*; Suffragatores & Fautores Hæreticorum, *Men who did cheriſh and abett Hereticks, were Friends to them, and Enemies to Chriſtians.* They add, That they who allowed their Baptiſm did *null and evacuate that of the Church, and deſtroyed their own*; that *they made themſelves partakers with blaſpheming Hereticks, and did Communicate with them*; that *they did Communicate with other Mens Sins*; that *they were Patrons of Hereticks*; did *plead their Cauſe againſt the Church of Chriſt*; that *they defiled Chriſtians, betrayed the Faith and Truth, gave up the Spouſe of Chriſt to Adulterers, and did act the* Judas *to her.* §. 20.

Cyp. Ep. 69. ad Mag. p. 185. Cypr. Ep. 73. p. 207. 210. Conc. Carth. p. 234, 239. Concil. Carth. apud Cypr. p. 230, 234, 237, 238, 239, 240.

As for their own Doctrine they confidently ſay, That it was *every where declared in the Holy Scriptures*, that it was proved *by the Divine Law, from the Deifying Scriptures, from Evangelical Authority, and Apoſtolical Tradition*; that they decreed for it *according to the Teſtimony, Authority, and Commands of the Holy and Divine Scriptures.*

Concil. Carth. Ibid. p. 230, 231, 232, 241. Cypr. Ep. 73. p. 205. 74. p. 214.

That it was

Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Canon. Syn. Carthag. apud Balſam. *pag.* 588.

Ninthly, Obſerve, That theſe *Africans* and *Orientals* differed from their *Brethren* without condemning or cenſuring of them, or breaking of the Peace or Unity of the *Church* on this account, or ſeparating from Communion with thoſe *Chriſtian Biſhops* who thought fit to do otherwiſe. *We*, ſaith St. * *Cyprian, as much as in us lies, do not contend with our Colleages and Fellow Biſhops about Hereticks, we hold a ſacred Concord, and the Lord's Peace with them, we preſcribe to no Body, we prejudge no Man, but leave every Biſhop to the Liberty of his Will, to do what he thinks beſt in this matter; we force no Man, we give Law to no Man.* The Preface of the *Council* of *Car-*

* Propter Hæreticos cum Collegis & Coepiſcopis noſtris non contendimus, cum quibus divinam concordiam & dominicam pacem tenemus. *Ep.* 73. *p.* 210.

Qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus nec legem damus. *Ep.* 72. *p.* 198.

Ep. 69. p. 188.

thage

thage assembled under *Cyprian* runs thus, *It remains that every one of us speak his Judgment in this Matter, judging no Man, nor*
Apud Cypr. p. 229. a jure communionis aliquem, si diversum sensérit amoventes, *separating any Man from our Communion who thinketh otherwise.* St. *Basil* excellently declares himself in the matter of the *Cathari*, that because there were different Opinions in the *Church* concerning the validity of their *Baptism*; ὅτι δεῖ τὸ ἔθει τῆς κατὰ
Can. 1. ἑκάστην χώραν ἴσασθαι, *the custom of every Region was to be followed.* And of the *Encratites* he saith, that it was his Opinion *that they ought to be Baptized*; but then he adds, *That if this would be any impediment to the Order of the Church in that Matter*;
Πάντες εἰσὶν ὁμόφρονες οἱ πανταχοῦ σωζόμενοι. πάλιν τὸ ἔθει χρηστέον, *the Custom which had obtained any where was to be observed.* This excellent Temper then prevailed in all the *Churches* of God; for *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* in his *Epi-*
Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 7. c. 5. *stle* to *Pope Stephen*, saith, That *all the Churches, notwithstanding this difference, were at Peace and Concord*, and thence entreats him to consider the weight of the Affair he had begun, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις κοινώνησον, *by refusing to Communicate with them* who admitted *Hereticks* into the Church by Baptism, praying him to disist from it, and telling him, that for his part he durst not
Ibid. c. 7. provoke so many Churches, εἰς ἔριν, καὶ φιλονεικίαν, *to strife and contention, by subverting their Decrees.* The *Council* of *Carthage*, in reference to this Action of *Pope Stephen*, speaks thus, *We pass our Sentence in this matter, judging no Man, or separating no Man from our Communion who thinks otherwise; for none of us makes himself a Bishop of Bishops, nor endeavours by tyrannical Terror to compel his Colleages to a necessity of Obedience.* St. *Cyprian* accuses him *of Pride, or Unadvisedness*, and acting *as a Friend and an Enemy of Christians, for thinking it fit to Excommunicate God's Priests on this account.* *Firmilian* declares, That he acted *inhumanely, by being at Dissention with so many Bishops throughout the World, and breaking the Peace with every one of them by various kinds of Discord, with those of the* East (by pronouncing them Excommunicate) and with those of the *South*, by *not vouchsafing to speak with the Bishops sent to him, nor permitting others to receive them into their Houses*, and by dividing the *Fra-*

Apud Cypr. p. 229.
Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se Episcoporum constituit, aut Tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit. *Ibid.*

Ep. 74. p. 210, 214.

Per illius inhumanitatem effectum est, &c. *Apud Cypr. Ep. 75. pag. 225.*
Cum tot Episcopis per totum mundum dissensisse, pacem cum singulis vario discordiæ genere rumpentem, modo cum orientalibus, modo vobiscum qui in meridie. *Ep. 75. p. 228.*

termity,

ternity for the sake of *Heretieks*; which various kind of *Discord* had *Valesius* well observed, he would not against so great evidence have denied that *Stephen* did as much as in him lay separate, or in the Language of the *Council* of *Carthage*, amovere a jure communionis, *expel from right of Communion, those who differed from him*; it being hence evident, that he Excommunicated the one, and vouchsafed not to speak with the other.

Tenthly, Whereas the *Roman Doctors* usually say that *Stephen's traditum est* prevailed against the opposite Opinion of the *Eastern* and the *Southern* Churches, and that the case was after by the *Church* determined for *Pope Stephen* against *Cyprian*, this is a great mistake; for neither the Opinion of *P. Stephen*, nor of St. *Cyprian* prevailed, but they were both rejected by the Church of *Christ*, and that which was the mean betwixt them was embraced. For, §. 21.

1. Whereas *Pope Stephen* with his *Church* determined, That no *Hereticks* should be Baptized from whatsoever *Heresie* they came into the Bosom of the Church, or, as St. *Austin* saith, *Baptismum Christi in nullo iterandum esse censebat, He held that the Baptism of Christ was to be repeated on no Heretick whatsoever.* The Ninteenth *Canon* of the *Nicene Council* saith, That *if the Paulianists do fly into the Bosom of the Church, we will,* ἀναβαπτίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐξάπαντος, *that they by all means be Baptized again.* The *Council* of *Laodicea* commandeth *Bishops and Presbyters to Baptize,* τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως τῆς λεγομένων Φρυγῶν ὑπεξελθόντας, *them who returned from the Heresie of the* Cataphrygæ, *or the* Montanists. The General Council of *Constantinople* speaks thus, *Them who come to us from Hereticks we admit after this manner, the* Arians, Macedonians, Sabbatians, Novatians, Quartodecimans, *the* Cathari *and* Apollinarians *without Baptism,* but the *Eunomians*, the *Montanists*, *Sabellians*, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάσας Αἱρετικοὺς, *and all other Hereticks, we receive as* Gentiles, *we Catechise them, and for a long time make them hear the Scripture,* καὶ τότε αὐτοὺς βαπτίζομεν, *and then we Baptize them.* The General *Council* in *Trullo* repeats the same Decree in the same words, and then adds, That *we admit by Baptism likewise the* Manichees, Valentinians *and* Marcionites, *and other Hereticks of like nature.* St. *Basil* determines, That the *Encratitæ*, the *Saccaphori*, and

Contra Petil. de unico Baptismo, *c.* 14.

Can. 8.

Can. 7.

Can. 95.

Ad Amphil. Can. 47.

the *Apotactites* were to be rebaptized. Now all these *Canons*
Can. 1. are approved by the following *Synods*, that of the *Second Nicene Council*, and the Eighth *Council* of *Constantinople*; and so we cannot doubt, but that they both believed and practised accordingly. Since then we are assured from so many Testimonies, that *Pope Stephen* would have all *Hereticks* whatsoever admitted, at their return into the *Church* without *Baptism*, and
Ep. 74. p. 214. in particular from the Testimony of St. *Cyprian*, that he admitted of the *Baptism* of *Marcion*, *Valentinus* and *Apelles*, it is exceeding evident that his Opinion was by the Church of *God* condemned both in *General* and in *Particular*.

Moreover, it was the Judgment of *Pope Stephen*, That *the Baptism of Hereticks, though administred only in the name of Christ*, and not of the whole Sacred *Trinity*, was valid, and not to be reiterated when they returned into the Bosom of the Church. This is apparent from these words of *Cyprian*, *No Man, to circumvent the Christian Truth, should oppose the Name of Christ, and say*, in nomine Jesu Christi ubicunque, quomodocunque Baptizati gratiam Baptismi sunt consecuti,
Ep. 73. p. 205. *that wheresoever, howsoever Men are Baptized in the Name of Christ, they obtain the Grace of Baptism.* And again, *Since after the Resurrection the Apostles being sent by our Lord to the* Gentiles, *are commanded to Baptize them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; how do some say, That out of the Church, yea against the Church, a* Gentile *may obtain Remission*
Ibid. p. 206. *of Sins*; modo in nomine Jesu Christi ubicunque, & quomodocunque, Baptizatum, *wheresoever, and howsoever he be Baptized provided it be done in the name of the Lord Jesus, when Christ himself commands the* Gentiles *to be Baptized*, in plena, & adunata Trinitate, *into the whole and united Trinity?* If then that be the Truth which usually is affirmed, that the *Ancients* did admit the Baptism of those *Hereticks*, who Baptized in the name of the *Father*, *Son* and *Holy Ghost*, and nulled their *Baptism* who Baptized not into the *Sacred Trinity*, then must they plainly have condemned the Doctrine of *Pope Stephen* and his *Abettors*. But though some of the *Ancients* seem to speak after this manner, and to assert this Doctrine, as is evident from the *Apology* made for the Baptism of the *Novatians* in St. *Cyprian*, *That*
Ep. 69. p. 183. *they did*, eandem legem tenere quam Catholica Ecclesia teneat, eodem Symbolo, quo & nos, Baptizare, eundem nosse deum patrem

patrem, eundem filium Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum, *use the same Symbol with Catholicks in Baptism, and Baptized into the same Sacred Trinity:* And from the *Canon* of the first Council of *Arles* which Decrees, That *they should be admitted by Imposition of Hands only, who were Baptized in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost*; yet the Opinion of the *Ancient Church* seems rather to have been this, that their Baptism alone was to be admitted, who both Baptized into, and believed aright touching the *Sacred Trinity*, as the *Novatians* did. This St. *Basil* doth expresly teach, saying, Ἐκεῖνο ἐκεινον οἱ παλαιοὶ δέχεσθαι βάπτισμα τὸ μηδὲν τῆς πίστεως παρεκβαῖνον, *The Ancients judged that Baptism valid which in nothing differed from the Faith.* And therefore having told us, That the Baptism of the *Encratitæ*, the *Saccophori* and *Apotactites* was rejected by the *Church*, he adds, *And let them not say, we are Baptized into the Father, Son and Holy Ghost,* οἱ γε κακῶν ποιητὴν ὑποτιθέμενοι θεὸν, *who make God the Author of Evil.* And *Athanasius* condemns the Baptism of the *Arians*, though *they named the Father and Son*, because they saw them in the Form of *Baptism* delivered in the *Scripture*, *seeing they did not conceive aright of them, nor retain the right Faith*; adding, That as the *Manichees*, the *Phrygæ*, the *Samosatenians* pronounced the right Names, and yet were *Hereticks*, so the *Arians*, though *they recited the Names and Words of Baptism, deluded them who receeived Baptism from them.* Again, St. *Cyprian* and his party in *Africa* held the Baptism, not only of *Hereticks* but *Schismaticks* to be void, and in particular of the *Novatians*; his words are these, *Dicimus omnes omnino Hæreticos &* Schismaticos *nihil habere potestatis ac juris, propter quod Novatianus nec debet, nec potest excipi, We say that no Heretick or Schismatick hath any power, or right to Baptize, and therefore* Novatian *should not, and cannot be excepted.* And again, *Audet quisquam dicere aquam Baptismi salutarem communem cum Schismaticis esse posse, Dares any one say, That Schismaticks can have the salutary Water of Baptism?* The same he Asserts in several other places, and the *Fathers* of the *Council* held under him, do often say, *Baptisma quod dant Hæretici & Schismatici non est verum, that the Baptism of Hereticks and Schismaticks is not true*; and that both returning to the Church were to be admitted by *Baptism*, Now in this

Ad Amphil. can. 1.

Can. 47.

Οὐ γὰρ ὁ λέγων ἁπλῶς Κύριε δίδωσιν, ἀλλ' ὁ μετὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἔχων ὀρθήν. Orat. 3. contr. Arian. p. 413.

Ep. 69. p. 180.

Ibid. p. 183.

Ep. 72. p. 196.

Pag. 231. ter. 232. bis. 236. bis.

this indeed he differed from the received Opinion of the Church, to whom it seemed good, saith *Basil*, to reject the Baptism of *Hereticks*, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀποσχιζόντων παραδέξασθαι, *but to receive that of Schismaticks*. 2dly, Whereas St. *Cyprian* and his party held the Baptism of *all Hereticks* to be void; we find the Church did afterwards judge that some *Hereticks* should be admitted into the Church by *Baptism*, and that others should be received only by Imposition of Hands. 'Tis therefore evident, That the Church equally disallowed both their *Assertions*, and decided the Controversie against them both, and did as much condemn *Pope Stephen*'s *Traditum est* as St. *Cyprian*'s *Scriptum est*, the *Pope*'s Appeal to *Tradition*, as the *Bishop* of *Carthage*'s to Scripture.

Ad Amphil. can. 1.

Now the *Corollaries* which naturally do result from these Ten Observations are as follow:

§. 22. *First*, Hence we learn, That the *Latins*, though comparatively *Ancient*, are not much to be relied upon in giving an account of matters in which their *Church* is concerned, and in which they differed from the *Eastern Churches*. For, to omit St. *Austin*, the Account *Vincentius Lirinensis* gives of this matter, is as full of Errors as of *Sentences*; for he averrs that *Agrippinus* was *the first of* [1] *all Men, who, against the* [2] *Divine Canon, against the* [3] *Rule of the Universal Church, against the* [4] *Sence of all his own fellow Priests, against the* [5] *Customs and* [6] *Institutions of the Ancients*, Rebaptizandum esse censebat, *judged for Rebaptization*, and that [7] *all men disclaimed the novelty of the thing*, and [8] *all the Priests every were resisted it, but above all Pope* Stephen, *who said*, Nihil innovandum, nisi quod traditum est, *Nothing must be innovated but that which was delivered us to be retained*; *that*, retenta est igitur Antiquitas, explosa novitas, hereupon *Antiquity was retained, and novelty exploded.* In which few words are no less than Eight gross mistakes, as will appear by comparing these words with the *Testimonies* above cited. And as it is truly observed by the *Oxford Commentator* upon *Cyprian*, That the *Eastern Writers were*, in rebus Occidentalium Hospites, *Strangers in things which concerned the West*, so is it as true, that the *Western Writers* were many of them Strangers to the true State of Matters in the *East*.

Commen. c. 9.

In Ep. 70. p. 189.

Secondly,

Secondly, Whereas the *Church* declared against *Pope Stephen*, That in this matter of the Rebaptizing *Hereticks*, the various Customs which had obtained were to be permitted without breach of Communion, and *Christian* Peace; that the Custom of every *Region* was to be followed, and the obtaining practice to be submitted to, οἰκονομίας ἕνεκα, *for Orders sake*; that it was to be done, or left undone suitably, τῇ τῆς καθόλου οἰκονομίᾳ, *to what should generally be ordered concerning it.* Hence in all matters of this indifferency and obscurity, in which, saith *Basil*, οὐδὲν δεῖ σαφῶς δηλούμενον, *nothing plainly is declared*, we admit that saying of St. *Austin*, That *Hereticks must be received as the Church receives them*, there being, as he adds, no clear Example to be produced from *Scripture* either way; and with him we acknowlege, That *the Truth of Scripture is held by us, when we do that which doth please the Church*; becaus̃e we know from *Scripture* that God is the God of Order, not of Confusion, and that in matters of this indifferency, that of the *Apostle*, *We have no such Custom neither the Churches of God*, must cut off farther matter of Contention; but then in Articles of *Christian* Faith, we with the same St. *Austin* say, *Credo quod hinc divinorum eloquiorum clarissima Authoritas fuisset, si homo illud, sine dispendio salutis, ignorare non possit*, *We believe that the Authority of the Divine Oracles would have been most clear, had the matter been such of which we could not have been ignorant without loss of Salvation.*

§. 23.

Ad Amphil. can. 1.

De unit. fidei, c. 19.

Contr. Cresc̃on. l. 1. c. 33.

1 Cor. xiv. 33.

1. Cor. xi. 16.

De peccat. mer. & remiss. l. 2. c. 36.

Moreover, though St. *Austin* doth acknowledge that no Example could be produced from *Scripture* in this Case, yet he pretendeth *Scripture* for the right and lawfulnes̃ of the said Practice: For, saith he, *That I may not seem*, humanis Argumentis id agere, *to prove the Right of receiving Hereticks without Baptism, only by humane Arguments*, ex Evangelio profero certa documenta, *I produce certain proofs out of the Gospel*, to shew how rightly this was determined by the Church. And again, having said, *We follow that which the Custom of the Church always held, and a plenary Council hath confirmed*; he adds, That bene perspectis ex utroque latere Scripturarum Testimoniis, potest etiam dici, quod veritas declaravit, hoc sequimur, *weighing well the Testimonies of Scripture on both sides, it may also be said, that we follow that which Truth hath declared.* From whence, and

De Bapt. contr. Donatistas, l. 10. c. 6. Tom. 7. P. 379.

Ibid. l. 4. c. 7. P. 419.

Tot tantisque S. Scripturarum testimoniis, l. 5. c. 4. Divinarum Scripturarum documentis, l. 6. c. 1.

many

many other places of his works, it is evident, that even in, *hac obscurissima quæstione*, *in this most obscure Question*, as he often stiles it, he recurrs for matter of Right to *Scripture*, and weighs it in the *Balance of the Sanctuary*.

§. 24. *Thirdly*, Hence it is evident, beyond all doubt, that the *Church* of that Age in which this Controversie happened, knew nothing, or at least believed nothing of the *New Rule* of *R. H.* That *in Judges subordinate dissenting*, *all Christians must adhere to the Superior*, *in those of the same Order*, *and Dignity to the major part*; since all these *Africans*, and *Orientals* not only take the liberty to dissent from what the *Pope*, and all the *Churches* which adher'd to him, held as *Apostolical Tradition*; but also to condemn it as a thing contrary to the plain evidence of *Scripture*, and to decree the contrary should be observed and practised. For had such a *Rule* been then received, and owned by the *Church* of *Christ*, could all the *Christian Churches*, besides that of *Rome*, have still maintain'd Communion with those *Southern*, and those *Eastern Churches* who did so resolutely oppose, and flatly contradict this *Rule?* Could they have thus condemned *Pope Stephen* of violating the *Churches* Peace and unity, for acting consonantly to this *Rule* by renouncing Communion with them who were, provided that this *Rule* be true, manifest *Schismaticks*? Could St. *Denys* of *Alexandria* have told the *Pope* he durst not, by acting contrary to the *Decrees* made at *Iconium* and *Synnada*, *provoke those Churches to Contention*, if doing so had only been to act according to a Rule always received, and owned by the *Church* of *Christ?* Could St. *Basil* have judged it best for every one to follow herein the Custom of their own Country in opposition to this Rule? Could *Firmilian* have charged the *Pope* with *Schism?* Could *Cyprian*, and the *Council* of *Carthage* have charged him with *Tyranny* for pressing a received Rule in the whole *Church?* These sure are demonstrations that this pretended *Rule* is like the rest of *Popish Doctrines*; a Rule with which the *Ancient Church* of *Christ* was not acquainted.

Fourthly, Hence evident it is, That all the *Churches* of that Age knew nothing of the *Pope*'s *Supremacy*, nothing of any Obligation laid upon them to conform to the Doctrines, *Decrees* and *Customs* of the *Roman Church* and her adherents; and,

and lastly nothing of that pretended Law that *Synods* were not to assemble, and make *Canons* without consulting of his *Holiness*. Since all these *Synods* made these *Canons*, either without his Knowledge, or else in opposition to, and condemnation of the *Decrees* and *Customs* both of the *Pope* and *Church of Rome*; and others told him, They thought themselves obliged, notwithstanding all his Threats, to act according to their Sentence, and durst not rescind it. Had they believed the *Pope*'s *Supremacy* in that Age, would they have declared so freely as St. *Cyprian* doth, for the Liberty of every *Bishop* to act as he saw fit in this matter, and said, that he was only to give account to God of his proceedings? Could they with the *Council* of *Carthage* have esteemed it such a *tyrannical* Matter for the *Pope* to act as *Bishop of Bishops?* Could *Firmilian* have accused him so pertly of *Inhumanity*, *Insolence* and *Boldness* in this Case? Could he have judged him a downright *Schismatick* for acting as he did? Could all the forementioned *Bishops* so freely have reproved him, and dissented from him, and judged it their Duty rather to adhere to the decisions of *Provincial Synods*, than to his Determination?

Unusquisq; Episcoporum quod putat faciat, &c. Ep. 73. p. 210.

Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit. *Apud Cypr. p.* 229. *Apud Cypr. Ep.* 75. *p.* 217, 218, 225, 227, 228.

Could they have thought themselves obliged to adhere to the *Decrees*, the *Doctrines* or *Customs* of the *Roman Church*, and yet declare, as doth St. *Cyprian* and his *Africans*, That the *Decrees* and *Practice* of the *Roman Church* were in this case opposite to *Scripture* and the *plainest Reason*. And, as St. *Basil* doth to *Amphilochius* in the same case, *Though you and the* Romans *hold the contrary*, ἀλλ' ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος ἰσχὺν ἰσχέτω, *yet ought our Sentence to take place*, And, as *Firmilian* expresly doth, That *'tis usual with them of* Rome *to vary from Apostolical Tradition?* Could so many *Fathers*, so many *Churches*, so many *Councils* have not only practised in opposition to the *Doctrines* and *Customs* of that *Church*, but also have condemned them in such opprobrious Terms as they have done, pronouncing the *Assertors* of them *Prevaricators in matters both of Faith and Truth*, *Betrayers of the Church*, *Enemies to Christians*, *Friends and Abettors of Hereticks*, *Men who did plead their Cause*, *and partake with them*

Ubique a S. Scripturis declaratum est Baptisma Hæreticorum non esse verum, *Ep.* 7.

Can. 47.
Eos qui Romæ sunt non ea in omnibus observare quæ sunt ab origine tradita, *Ep.* 75. *p.* 220.

Cyp. Ep. 69. p. 185. Ep. 73. p. 206, 208, 210. Ep. 74. p 212, &c.

them in their Sins, Men who did null, evacuate, deſtroy the Baptiſm of the Church, and give up the Spouſe of Chriſt to Adulterers.

§. 25. *Fifthly*, Hence it is manifeſt, That in that Age they verily believed, that what had paſſed for *Apoſtolical Tradition* in the Church of *Rome*, and her Adherents, might be no ſuch matter; that both that *Church* and her *Abettors* might impoſe upon their fellow *Chriſtians*, in pretending to it; and that there lay no Obligation on other Churches to comply with them in ſuch matters as they delivered for *Apoſtolical Tradition*. For otherwiſe how could it happen that ſo many populous *Churches*, ſo many *Councils*, ſo many famous *Biſhops*; that *Athanaſius*, *Optatus*, St. *Baſil*, *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, all great Aſſertors of true *Apoſtolical Tradition*, ſhould declare ſo plainly and expreſly againſt this practice of the *Church* of *Rome*; that *Firmilian* ſhould declare, *No Man could be ſo Fooliſh as to believe the Apoſtles had delivered any ſuch thing*; that St. *Cyprian* ſhould ſay, That this pretence of *Romaniſts* was manifeſtly falſe, and tended *to blaſpheme the Reputation of the Bleſſed Apoſtles*; that the *Africans* ſhould not only reject this pretended *Apoſtolical Tradition* in the opprobrious Terms forementioned, but ſhould declare ſo oft in *Council* that the contrary Doctrine deſcended *from Evangelical Authority and Apoſtolical Tradition, and was confirmed by the Divine Law, and the Holy Scriptures*? How, laſtly, could it happen that all the other *Churches*, excepting that of *Rome*, were all at Peace, and ſtill maintained Communion with theſe Oppoſers, and Traducers of this pretended *Tradition*, and did not blame them in the leaſt on this account, but rather interceded with the *Roman Biſhop* to lay aſide his Fury, and entertain Communion and Friendſhip with theſe Churches as they did?

Neminem tam ſtultum eſſe qui hoc credat Apoſtolos tradidiſſe, *Ep.* 75. *p.* 219.

Nemo infamare Apoſtolos debeat quaſi illi Hæreticorum Baptiſmata probaverint, *Ep.* 74. *p.* 211.

Vid. Supra.

Sixthly, Hence it appears that in that Age they thought not Cuſtom or *Tradition*, though practiſed by the *Church* of *Rome*, and by the *major* part of *Chriſtians*, any certain Rule of Manners, but thought themſelves obliged ſometimes to vary from it, and that they might have Truth, and Reaſon, and *Scripture* on their ſides againſt it; that it concerned them to examine then whether the *Cuſtom* they were required to follow, had

had its riſe from *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*, and could be proved from their Writings, and if not to reject it. For in this matter they declare, *Non eſſe conſuetudine præſcribendum, ſed ratione vincendum, Their Adverſaries were not to preſcribe to them from Cuſtom, but to convince them by reaſon*, St. Paul *having taught every one not to adhere pertinaciouſly to what he had once imbibed, but willingly to embrace any thing which he found better, or more profitable.* That 'twas in vain, *when Men were overcome by reaſon, to oppoſe Cuſtom to it, as if Cuſtom were better than Truth, and that were not rather to be followed which was revealed for the better by the Holy Spirit*; *that*, Non ſemper errandum, quia aliquando erratum eſt, *We muſt not always erre becauſe we once have done ſo*; that *Cuſtom without Truth was only old Error, and vainly was preferred before it*; that *the Truth being manifeſted, Cuſtom was to yield to it*; that *no Man ought to preferr Cuſtom to Reaſon and Truth*; that *Chriſt being Truth, we ought rather to follow that than Cuſtom*; that it was *obſtinacy and preſumption*, humanam traditionem divinæ diſpoſitioni anteponere, *to preferr humane Tradition to divine Orders*, and *not to conſider that God is angry when humane Tradition evacuates divine Precepts*; that *when it was ſaid to them, let nothing be innovated, but that which was delivered be obſerved*; *it was to be enquired*, unde eſt iſta traditio, *whence is that Tradition? Whether from the Authority of Chriſt and the Goſpel, the commands and Epiſtles of the Apoſtles*; *and if*, in Evangelio præcipitur, aut in Apoſtolorum Epiſtolis aut Actubus continetur, *it were commanded in the Goſpel, or contained in the Acts, or Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, then was it to be obſerved*, and that *when Truth ſhook and ſtaggered, we were to have recourſe to the Head and Original of Divine Tradition*, ad originem dominicam & Evangelicam & Apoſtolicam Traditionem, *to the Goſpel, and Apoſtolical Tradition.*

Cypr. Ep. 71. p. 194. Pag. 195. Ep. 73. p. 203. Ibid. p. 208. Ep. 74. p. 215. Concil. Carth. apud Cypr. p. 236, 240, 241. Cypr. Ep. 74. p. 212. Ibid. p. 211. Ib. p. 215.

Laſtly, Hence it is evident, That in thoſe early times *Tradition Apoſtolical*, and from the beginning, muſt falſly be pretended by Great Men and Churches, even in a matter of continual practice and occurrence in the *Church* of *God*; for here you ſee it was pretended for the Admiſſion of *Heretick*s without Baptiſm by *Pope Stephen* and his Church, and the ſame Tradition *Apoſtolical*, and from the beginning was pretended for the oppoſite Doctrine by *Firmilian* and St. *Baſil*, and their Party;

§. 26.

Party; and yet the *Church* did in the following Ages declare againſt the Pretences of them both. If then in theſe plain matters of Fact, and of continual practice, *Tradition* did ſo fail both the Pretenders to it, muſt it not be more apt to fail in matters of meer Speculation: If by Tradition theſe Churches could not truly tell what their *Forefathers* did, how ſhould they by it tell aſſuredly in all things what they held, ſince that could only be made known unto them by their Words and Actions? if actually they handed down unto poſterity for a *traditionary Practice*, that which was not truly ſo, why might they not alſo hand that down to them as a *traditionary Doctrine*, which was nothing leſs than ſo?

CHAP. V.

Eightly, *We diſtinguiſh alſo betwixt Traditions which appear from Reaſon to be ſuch as ought to be received, and ſuch as want the Evidence of Reaſon to aſſure us of their Truth; of the latter kind is the Tradition that* Enoch *and* Elias *are to appear as Chriſt's Fore-runners at the Day of Judgment*, §. 1. *This Tradition is very ancient, and found no Contradiction in the* Church, §. 2. *It was alſo the general Tradition of the* Jews, *that* Elias *was to come in Perſon before the firſt coming of their Meſſiah*, Ibid. *And yet this is not countenanced, but plainly is confuted by the Scriptures*, §. 3. *The promiſe in* Malachy *belongs not to Chriſt's Second, but to his firſt* Advent, Ibid. *The* Elias *there promiſed was not* Elias *in Perſon, but* John *the Baptiſt*, §. 4. *The Objections againſt this Aſſertion anſwered*, Ibid. *Two Corollaries*, 1. *That Tradition is not always a ſure Interpreter of Scripture.* 2. *That Oral Tradition is not of abſolute certainty in matters of Speculation*, §. 5, 6. *The Tradition of the Superiority of Biſhops over Preſbyters may be relied upon, becauſe it is ſtrengthened by Reaſon*, §. 7. *So alſo is the Tradition of the true Copies of Scripture; where note*, 1. *That we cannot know the Scriptures are not corrupted from the Infallibility of the* Jewiſh *or the Chriſtian Church*, §. 8, 9. *But we may know from Reaſon grounded upon Scripture*, 1ſt. *That the Scriptures were committed pure to the Chriſtian Church*, §. 10. 2dly. *That the immediate ſucceeding*

succeeding Age could want no assurance of their Purity, whilst the Autographæ *were extant*, §. 11. 3dly. *That these Records being so generally dispersed, could not be then corrupted*, §. 11. 4ly. *That the whole* Church *would not, and part of them could not corrupt them*, §. 13. 5ly. *That the Providence of God would not permit them to be corrupted in Substantials*, §. 14. *No like proof can be given, that the pretended Traditions of the* Church *of* Rome *have been thus handed down unto us*, §. 15. *The Objection of Mr.* Mumford *is answered*, §. 16.

WE distinguish betwixt *Traditions* which can be made appear by Reason to be such as ought to be received, and which we therefore think our selves obliged to receive, and such as cannot by Reason be proved to have derived from the *Apostles*, though they appeared very early in the Church. Of the first Nature are the *Traditions* of the *Canon* of *Scripture*, of the Copies handed down to us without Corruption, in any necessary Articles of Christian Faith; of the Observation of the *Lord*'s Day, *&c.* Of the Second Order are the Traditions of the *Millennary* Doctrine; of the Appearance of *Enoch* and *Elias* the *Tisbite*, as the Forerunners of the Day of Judgment. And of Traditions of this Nature we say we have no Ground sufficient to receive them as Articles of Christian Faith, or *Apostolical* Traditions. Dist. 8.

§. 1.

The Appearance of *Enoch* and *Elias*, then to resist the Seduction of *Antichrist*, and to be slain by him, is delivered thus, Enoch *and* Helias *are*, saith *Tertullian*, *Translated*, cæterum morituri reservantur ut Antichristum sanguine suo extinguant, *but they are reserved to die, and shed their Blood for the Extinction of Antichrist.* De Resur. Carnis, c. 22.

This, saith *Petrus Alexandrinus*, is, ἡ τῆ ἐκκλησίας παράδοσις, *the Tradition of the Church*, That Enoch *is to come in the last Days with* Helias *to resist Antichrist. It is*, saith Aretas, *unanimously received by the Church from Tradition, that* Enoch *and* Elias *the Tisbite are to come.*

In Chronico.

Λόγῳ ἢ φέρει) ἐκ παραδόσεως φοιτᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπαραλλήπτως καὶ αὐτὸν ἥξειν μετὰ Ἠλιοῦ τοῦ Θεσβίτου.

In Apoc. 11.

§. 2.

The Tradition of the Advent of the *Tisbite* is as old as *Justin Martyr*, and hath been constantly believed in the *Church* from Dial. cum Tryph. p. 268.

from that time till the Reformation; that of *Enoch*'s coming with him, is as old as *Tertullian*, it generally obtained in the following *Centuries*, and found no Contradiction from any of the Writers of those times; and yet I find no ground at all for this *Tradition* concerning *Enoch*: For the Two Witnesses in the Revelations are not described like *Enoch* and *Elias*, but like *Moses* and *Elias*, it being said, *They have Power to shut Heaven, that it Rain not in the Days of their Prophecy*, which *Elijah* did, *and have Power over Waters to turn them into Blood, and to smite the Earth with all Plagues as often as they will*, which we know *Moses* did; but there is nothing in the description of these Witnesses, relating in the least to *Enoch*.

Rev. xi. 6.

As for *Elias* let it be considered.

First, That it was the general Tradition of the *Jewish Nation*, that *Elias* the *Tisbite* was to come in Person, as the Forerunner of the *Messiah* of the *Jews*, that he in Person was to Anoint him, and make him known unto the People, that before the Advent of the Son of *David*, *Elias* was to come to Preach concerning him. This is the Import of the Question of St. *John*, *Art thou Elias*? and of the Saying of the Scribes, Elias *must first come and restore all things*; of the Interpretation of the *Seventy*, *Behold I send unto you*, Ἐλίαν τὸν Θεσβίτην, *Elias the Tisbite*; —— and of that Saying of the Son of *Syrach*, Elias *was ordained for reproofs in their times, to pacifie the wrath of the Lord's Judgment before it break into fury, and to turn the Heart of the Father to the Son, and to restore the Tribes of* Jacob. And suitably to these Assertions *Trypho* the *Jew* declares, That, ἡμεῖς πάντες προσδοκῶμεν τὸν Ἐλίαν χρίσαι αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα, *all we* Jews *expect* Elias *to Anoint Christ at his coming*.

Joh. i. 21. Matt. xvij. 10. Mal. iv. 5.

Eccluſ. xliij. 10.

Dial. p. 268.

Secondly, Observe, That it was the general Tradition of the Writers of the Christian Church, even from the Second *Century*, that *Elias* the *Tisbite* is to come in person before our Lord's Second Advent, to prepare Men for it. This Opinion of the coming of *Elias*, *tradit tota Patrum antiquitas*, *all the ancient Fathers have delivered*, saith *De la Cerda*. Constans est patrum, omniumque consensu receptissima Ecclesiæ opinio, *It is the constant and most received Opinion of the Church, and all the Fathers*, saith *Huetius*. Constantissima semper fuit Christianorum opinio, *It was always the most constant Opinion of Christians, That* Elias *was to come before the Day of Judgment*, saith

In Tetull. de resur. carn. c. 22.

Not. in Orig. p. 41. c. 1.

In Mat. xi. 14.

ſaith *Maldonate*. *It is*, ſaith Mr. *Mede*, *well known, that all the Fathers were of this Opinion.* He is to come, ſaith *Petrus Alexandrinus*, κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίας παράδοσιν, *according to the Tradition of the Church*; ſaith *Arethas Cæſarienſis*, *According to the unanimouſly received Opinion of the Church.* Diſc. 25. p. 48. In Apoc. 11.

§. 3. And yet if we may credit either the *Angel* or our Bleſſed *Lord*, the *Prophecy* on which the *Jews* built this Tradition was fulfilled in *John* the *Baptiſt*: And if we may believe the Ancient Fathers, they built their Tradition on thoſe words of Chriſt, *Elias cometh firſt, and reſtoreth all things*, which words do not eſtabliſh, but with the greateſt Evidence deſtroy this vain *Tradition*. And,

Firſt, That the words of *Malachy*, *Behold I will ſend you* Elijah *the Prophet*, &c. cannot be underſtood of our Lord's Second Coming to paſs Judgment on the World, will be exceeding Evident from theſe conſiderations, 1. That this *Forerunner* was to come, the *Lord*, there mentioned, to follow, before the Ruine of the *Jewiſh Temple*; this is evident from theſe words, *Behold I will ſend my Meſſenger, and he ſhall prepare my way before me; and the Lord, whom ye ſeek, ſhall ſuddenly come to his Temple*: For that the Meſſenger in this Third Chapter, is the ſame with *Elijah* the *Prophet* in the Fourth Chapter, will be apparent, 1. From the Office of this *Meſſenger*, which was to come *before the Face of the Lord*, or to be his Forerunner; as the *Elijah* mentioned Chapter the Fourth was to be, and as *John Baptiſt* was. 2. From the Conſideration of the work he was to do, This Meſſenger being to *prepare the way before him*, as the *Elijah* promiſed alſo was to do, *by turning the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and of the Diſobedient to the Wiſdom of the Juſt*. And as the Angel doth inform us that the *Baptiſt* ſhould do, for ſaith the *Angel*, *He ſhall go before him in the Spirit and Power of* Elias, *to turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and of the Diſobedient to the Wiſdom of the Juſt, to make ready a People prepared for the Lord*. 3. From the conſideration of the Day of his Coming mentioned Chapter the Third, as a Day ſo *dreadful* that few could *abide it*, or ſtand when he appeareth, by reaſon of the Severity of the Judgments which ſhould then befal them. And Chapter the Fourth, as a Day *great and terrible*. Since then the Lord here mentioned

Mal. iv. 5, 6.

Mal. iij. 1, 2.

Mal. iij. 1.

Luk. i. 17.

verſ. 2.

mentioned was to come *ſuddenly*, ſeeing he was to come *to his Temple*; 'tis certain that the Day of his coming was to be before the *Temple* was deſtroyed, and therefore could not be the Day of Judgment. 4. This will be further evident from the Conſideration of the perſons to whom this *Meſſenger* and this *Elijah* were both ſent, for the *Meſſenger* was ſent to them who *then ſought for the Lord*, and delighted in the *Meſſenger* of the *Covenant*; he was to be his *Meſſenger* who was to *purifie the Sons of Levi*, to make the *Offerings of* Judah *and* Jeruſalem *pleaſant to the Lord*. He therefore was a *Meſſenger* peculiarly ſent to them, to reprove them for their Sins, and to declare unto them ſuch things as concerned them, and not ſuch things as were common to the whole World. Accordingly *Elijah* the *Prophet* was ſent to them that *fear'd his name*, to them who were obliged *to remember the Law of* Moſes, *which he commanded to him in* Horeb *for all* Iſrael.

Chap. iij. 1.
verſ. 3.
verſ. 4.
Chap. iv. *v.* 2.
verſ. 4.

This Day of Terror therefore muſt be chiefly that which did concern that Nation. And laſtly, This *Elias* was to come to call Men to Converſion and Repentance, for which was a fit *Seaſon* at our *Lord*'s firſt coming, whereas at his ſecond coming, there will be no time for Repentance, but for the Deſtribution of Rewards and Puniſhments. He was to come to *turn the Hearts of the Fathers*, &c, *leaſt God ſhould ſmite the Earth*, Becherem, *i. e.* the Inhabitants of *Judah* with Deſtruction, ſo that the Ruine threatned here, might be prevented by Repentance and Converſion; whereas the general Day of Judgment cannot be thus prevented, but will certainly come in the appointed time.

Object. The only Objection that is conſiderable againſt this Aſſertion, is, That the Day ſpoken of, *Chapter* iv. *verſ.* 5. is repreſented as *a dreadful Day*, which ſeemeth proper to the Day of Judgment, whereas the Day of *Chriſt*'s firſt coming is not ſo called, but rather an *Acceptable Day*, and *a Day of Salvation*.

Anſw. To this I Anſwer, That the Day of our Lord's firſt coming conſidered, as reaching to the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* was indeed a very *dreadful* and terrible Day. Thus in the *Prophet Joel* we read of a Day of the Lord deſcribed in the ſame Expreſſions, *The Sun ſhall be turned into Darkneſs, and the Moon into Blood, before the great and terrible Day of the Lord come*; and

Joel ij. 31.

yet

yet St. *Peter*, ſpeaking of what was done after our *Lord*'s Aſcention, and citing theſe very words, ſaith, *This was that which was ſpoken by the Prophet* Joel. Moreover our Bleſſed *Lord* ſpeaking of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and of the miſeries that ſhould befal that very *Generation*, ſaith, *Theſe ſhall be the days of Vengeance*, ſuch days of Tribulation *as never were from the beginning of the World, and never ſhall be afterwards.* Yea, the Tradition of the *Jews* doth in their *Talmud* make mention of ſuch great Afflictions which ſhould happen in the days of their Meſſiah unto *Iſrael*, that happy ſhould he be who did not ſee them. Which, notwithſtanding, this day might well be ſtiled *an Acceptable Day, a Day of Salvation* to them who received our *Jeſus* as their *Saviour*, believed in him, and obeyed his Sayings, according to the words of the Prophet *Malachy*, *Behold the Day cometh which ſhall burn as an Oven*, &c. *but to you that fear my name ſhall the Sun of Righteouſneſs ariſe with healing in his Wings.* Whence, after this moſt terrible deſcription our *Lord* ſpeaks thus to his *Diſciples*, *Be not ye terrified* when theſe things ſhall happen, *in Patience poſſeſs your Spirits, for there ſhall not one Hair of your Heads periſh; when theſe things come to paſs, then look up, and lift up your Heads, for your Redemption draweth nigh.*

Acts ij. 16.
Luk. xxi. 22.
Mat. xxiv. 21.
Vid *Dr. Pocock in Mal.* 3. *v.* 2.
Mal. iv. 1, 2.
Luk. xxi. 18, 19.
verſ. 28.

Secondly, That the *Elias* of whom the *Prophet Malachy* ſpeaks, was not the *Tiſbite*, or, that it is not there aſſerted, that he, who in the Reign of *Ahab*, was carried into Heaven, ſhould be in perſon, ſent as the Fore-runner of our *Lord*'s ſecond Advent, will be evident from theſe Conſiderations: §. 4.

1: Becauſe *Elias* the *Tiſbite* came not upon the Errands mentioned there, *to prepare the way of the Lord, or turn the Hearts of the Diſobedient to the Wiſdom of the Juſt, before the ruin of* Juruſalem, and the deſtruction of the *Temple*, as the *Elijah* promiſed by the *Prophet* was to do, and did.

2. 'Tis certain that the Meſſenger deſcribed by the *Prophet* as the Fore-runner of the *Lord*, and of his Day, was *John* the *Baptiſt*; for ſo our *Saviour* doth expreſly teach us, ſaying, *This* John *is he of whom it is written, Behold I ſend my Meſſeger before thy Face to prepare thy way before thee. There hath not riſen among Men a greater Prophet than this* John. Since then it is already proved that *Elijah* the *Prophet* in *Malachy* is the ſame perſon

Matth. xi. 10. Luk. vij 27, 28.

with the *Meſſenger* here mentioned, it follows that he can be no other than the *Baptiſt*.

3. Our *Lord* himſelf declares expreſly, that *John* the *Baptiſt was that* Elias *who was for to come*; for, when deſcending
Matth. xvij. 9. from the Mount, he ſaith to his *Diſciples*, *Tell no Man of the Viſion, till the Son of Man is riſen from the dead*; they thinking, ſuitably to their Tradition, that this *Elias*, who appeared in the Mount, was viſibly to appear among them to Anoint the *Meſſiah* in the ſight of all the People, and order all things belonging to his Advent, ask this Queſtion, Seeing, according
verſ. 10. to the Doctrine of the *Scribes*, *Elias muſt firſt come*, and do theſe things, why is it thou forbiddeſt us to ſpeak of his Appearance? To this Enquiry our *Saviour* Anſwers, that it is very true there is a promiſe of an *Elias* to come, and *reſtore all*
verſ. 11. *things*. But I ſay unto you, the *Elias* promiſed, ἤδη ἦλθε, *hath come already, and the Scribes knew him not, but did unto him what-*
verſ. 12, 13. *ſoever they would*. And then it follows, that *his Diſciples underſtood that he ſpake to them of* John *the Baptiſt*. They therefore underſtood what the *Fathers* did not, and others will not learn from *Chriſt*'s plain words, that *John* the *Baptiſt* was the *Elias* promiſed, as the Fore-runner of *the great and terrible Day of the Lord*; whence it doth plainly follow, that they who do not think *John Baptiſt*, and he only, was the *Elias* mentioned by the *Prophet*, muſt miſtake; for our *Lord* plainly ſaying, That that *Elias* of whom the *Scribes* made mention as the Fore-runner of his Advent, was already come, and giving them no intimation that any other was to be expected after the coming of this one, there can be no pretence from the Tradition of the *Scribes*, or from the Saying of the *Prophet* to expect any other. Moreover our *Lord*, as if he had foreſeen, and had deſigned to confute this *Jewiſh Fable*, ſpeaks ſtill more plainly,
Matth. xi. 14. thus, *All the Prophets and the Law Propheſied until* John, *and if you will receive*, *i. e.* attend to, and believe it, *this is that* Elias *which was for to come*; by which words he moſt plainly teach-
Vid. *Pocock in locum.* eth that that *Elias* of whom the *Prophets* ſpake as of one for to come, was come already, and makes it manifeſt, that all that was in *Malachy*, or any other *Prophet* ſpoken of *Elias*,
Luk. i. 16. was made good in the *Baptiſt*, who came *in the Power and Spirit of* Elias, and was to be underſtood of him alone, as muchas if he had in expreſs words aſſerted, that he only was the *Elias* that

was

was to come, and they were not, by virtue of any Prophecy, to look for or expect another. For thus our *Saviour* speaks, The *Prophet Malachy* saith, *Behold I send my Messenger before my Face*; now, I assure you, the *Baptist* is the very Person of whom this is written. The same *Prophet* saith, *Behold I will send you* Elias *the Prophet, &c.* whence your *Scribes* teach you to expect the personal Appearance of *Elias* the *Tisbite*, as the Fore-runner of your *Messiah*; but if you will receive the true Interpretation of those words from me, St. *John* the *Baptist is that* Elias, which according to that *Prophecy* was to be his Fore-runner. Matth. xi. 10. verse 14.

But against this plain Assertion of our *Lord* it is objected, That in the Translation of the Seventy the words run thus, *Behold I will send you*, Ἠλίαν τὸν Θεσβίτην, *Elias the Tisbite*, which denotes *Elias* in person, and cannot be applied to St. *John* the *Baptist*. *Object.*

To this I answer, That this Argument is of no force, because it is founded not on the *Original*, but only on a Translation which is not *Authentick*. 2. From this Translation it may be probably collected that this Imagination of the Appearance of the *Tisbite*, obtained among the *Jews*; but hence it will not follow that it was true, any more than that the Doctrine of the *Millennium*, and of *Christ*'s *Temporal Kingdom* must be true, because they where received by that Nation as such. 3. "By the same Reason and Figurative way of "speaking, the *Baptist* may as well be called *Elijah* the *Tisbite* "as *Elijah* the *Prophet*; that only shewing the *Country* of that "*Prophet*, as the other doth his Office; so that if the *Baptist* "deserved to be called *Elijah the Prophet*, because he came *in* "*the Spirit and Power of* Elijah, he must deserve to be called "*Elijah the Tisbite* on the same account, seeing *Elijah* the *Pro*"*phet* was *Elijah* the *Tisbite*. *Answ.* *Pocock*, p. 99.

It further is Objected, That *John* expresly denies that he was *Elias*, for when the *Jews* from *Jerusalem*, and the *Priests* and *Levites* sent to him saying, *Art thou* Elias? *He said, I am not*. *Object.* 2. John i. 21.

If this Objection be of any force, it will also prove that *John* the *Baptist* was no *Prophet*; for to the following Enquiry, *Art thou a Prophet?* he still answers, *No*; whereas our *Saviour* attested, That he was a *Prophet, yea, and more than a Prophet*, and *Answ.* Matth. xi. 9.

Dr. Pocock, Ibid. all the People so accounted of him: His meaning therefore only is, I am not that *Elias* in person whom you expect, nor am I such a *Prophet*, as in the days of the *Messiah* you expect to rise from the Dead. And thus Expositors tell us, he chose to answer out of Modesty, that he might not commend, or bear witness of himself, thinking it more convenient that *Christ* should thus bear witness of him, than that he should ascribe so great a Dignity to himself.

Object. 3. *Thirdly*, It is Objected, That after St. *John* was Beheaded, our *Saviour* saith, Elias *truly shall first come*, and *restore all things*, now how, say they, can this be spoken as a thing future of *John Baptist* then? This therefore must be understood of some other *Elias* to come hereafter. This is the Ground on which this Doctrine is established by *Justin M.* That our Lord taught it, saying, Ἡλίαν ἐλεύσεσθαι, That *Elias shall come*. And in this he is followed by *Theodoret*, and many of the Ancients.

Dial. cum Tryph. p. 268.

Answ. After that our Lord had uttered these words, not in the *future*, as the vulgar reads them, but in the *present Tense*, *Elias cometh*, or *Elias coming first restoreth all things*. He adds immediately of the same *Elias*, of whom he had said, *He cometh*, or he shall come first; that, ἤδη ἦλθε, *he is now come*, ὅτι ἐλήλυθε, *that he indeed was come*. And again, if you will receive it, this *Baptist* is the *Elias*, ὁ μέλλων ἔρχεσθαι, *who is for to come*; and when he had said these words, then his *Disciples* understood that he spake of *John* the *Baptist*, that he meant him and no other, when he speak of an *Elias who was for to come*.

Matth.xvij 11. Mark ix. 11. Matth.xvij 12. Matth xi 14.

So that the meaning of our *Lord*'s words is plainly this, true it is, as the *Scribes* say, *Elias* is to come before the *Messiah*, and it is also true, that *John* is that *Elias* which was, when *Malachy* spake those words, to come afterwards, but was not yet to come when our *Saviour* spake of him, but as he saith expressly, *Was already come*, though they who said *Elias* must first come, knew him not when he was come. And truly had our *Lord* spoken of one *Elias*, *viz. John* the *Baptist*, and the *Prophet Malachy* of another; had *Christ* spoken of an *Elias* to come at his first Advent, and the *Prophet* and the *Scribes* of one to come at his second Advent, He had not answered his *Disciples* Question, but deluded them. And that the *Elias* here spoken of was to appear at our *Lord*'s first coming, is apparent from the Enquiry of the *Disciples*; *Why*, *say the Scribes*,

Scribes, Elias *must first come*, before the Son of Man; for the Tradition of the *Scribes* was, that *Elias* was to Anoint the *Messiah*, and make him known unto the People.

And 'tis as evident from our *Lord*'s answer, *Elias cometh first*, *i. e.* before my Resurrection of which I now speak; from this place therefore it never can be proved, that any other, under that *Character*, is to appear before his second coming.

Object. It further is Objected, That the *Elias* mentioned by *Malachy*, was, *To turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children*, and was, according to our *Saviour*'s acknowledgment, *to restore*, or set all things in Order, which seemeth not to have been done by the Ministry of the *Baptist*, who continued but a short time, and did no such things as these words seem to imply; it remains therefore, that these words should be fulfilled by an *Elias*, who shall be the Fore-runner of *Christ*'s second Advent.

Answ. To this I Answer, That all who will not give the Lye unto the *Angel* sent to *Zachary*, must be obliged to confess the *Baptist* did fulfil the *Prophecy* of *Malachy*; for of the *Baptist* he thus speaks, *He shall be great before the Lord, and many of the Sons of* Israel *shall he turn unto the Lord, for he shall go before him in the Spirit and Power of* Elias, *to turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the Disobedient to the Wisdom of the Just, to make ready a People prepared for the Lord:* If then *John Baptist* did not fulfil the words spoken by the *Angel*, we must confess the *Angel* was deceived, and *Zachary* deserved not the punishment he suffered for disbelieving of his Testimony. But if he did fulfil these Sayings of the *Angel*, he also must fulfil the words contained in the *Prophet Malachy*, because the *Angel* speaketh in the very words of *Malachy*. Luk. i. 15, 16, 17.

Again, our *Saviour* acknowledging that an *Elias* was to come before him, *and restore all things*, adds, that he who was to come to restore all things, *was already come*, and was the *Baptist*. He therefore must have *restored all things*, or it must be confessed he did not execute his Office, or fulfil what was written of him. Moreover, the *Holy Ghost*, by the Mouth of *Zachary*, speaks thus concerning *John*, *And thou Child shalt be called the Prophet of the Highest, for thou shalt go before the Lord to prepare his way*, which is the very thing the *Prophet Malachy* declares to be the Office of his *Messenger*. And whosoever shall consider what in the Gospel is said of *John* the *Baptist*, and shall compare Luk. i. 76.

compare thoſe things with what the *Prophet Malachy*, and even the *Scribes* averr'd, that the *Elias* promiſed ſhould do, will eaſily perceive all that was ſaid or Propheſied concerning *Elias*, was ſo punctually fulfilled by the *Baptiſt*, as to cut off all further expectation of the completion of this *Prophecy* by any perſonal Appearance of *Elias* before our *Saviour*'s ſecond Advent. For the *Prophet* ſaith, *Behold I will ſend Elias*, and the *Goſpel* ſaith, *There was a Man ſent from God whoſe Name was* John; and that this *John* was *that* Elias *which was for to come*. The *Prophet* ſaith of his *Elias*, That he was to come *before the Great and Terrible day of the Lord*. And in the *Goſpel*, *John* is ſaid to come when the Day of Wrath was coming, when *the Axe was laid to the Root of the Trees, and every Tree that brought not forth good Fruit* was to be *hewen down, and caſt into the Fire*, when he was now appearing, *whoſe Fan was in his Hand to purge his Flour, and gather the Wheat into his Barn, and to burn up the Chaff with unquenchable Fire*. He came at the time, when, ſaith our *Saviour*, *their Houſe was to be left unto them deſolate*; when the deſolation of their City, *Nation* and *Temple* was irreverſably at hand, —— when the Enemies of *Jeruſalem* were to *caſt a Trench about her, and lay her even with the Ground, and her Children within her*. Here it is ſaid, That this *Elijah* ſhould *turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, &c.* That he ſhould Preach to Young and Old Converſion and Repentance; and in the *Goſpel* it is ſaid of *John*, That *he ſhould turn many of the Children of* Iſrael *to the Lord their God*, that he ſhould *turn the Hearts of the Fathers to their Children, and of the Diſobedient to the Wiſdom of the Juſt*, that he preach'd to all the *Baptiſm of Repentance*, and that with ſuch ſucceſs and good effect, that Jeruſalem, *and all* Judea, *and all the Regions round about* Jordan *went out to him, and were Baptized of him, confeſſing their Sins*; that *all the People*, and *the Publicans juſtified God, being Baptized of* John. So effectual was his *Miniſtry*, that many of the *Scribes* and *Phariſes came to his Baptiſm*, and even the *Souldiers* and the *Publicans* to be inſtructed by him. He prevailed generally with the *Jews* to unite in one common Baptiſm, that of Repentance, and whereas the Tradition of the *Scribes* taught, That *Elias* was to Anoint the *Meſſiah*, and make him known to the People; *John* did Baptize him, and declare unto the People that he was the *Lamb of God*, and at his Baptiſm by St. *John* he was *anointed by the Holy Ghoſt*. What

Vid. Pocock, p. 105.

Matth. xxiv. 2.

Mat. xxiij. 38.

Luk. xix. 43.

Luk. xix. 43, 44.

Luk. iij. 3.

Matth. iij. 5, 6.

Luk. vij. 29.

Matth. iij. 7.

Luk. iij 13, 14.

Vid. *Dr.* Pocock, p. 105.

John i. 29.

Matth. iij. 16.

What therefore better can agree, than the *Prophecy* in *Malachy*, and the matter of Fact in the *Gospel*?

What can be further requisite to shew that the Person who is characterized thus by the *Prophet*, and who so punctually answered to that Character in the *Gospel*, is one and the same Person, and that no other ought to be expected by virtue of this *Prophecy*?

§. 5. Now hence it follows, 1. That the renowned *Scribes* and *Doctors* of the *Jewish Church* were all mistaken in their Interpretation of this place of *Malachy*, That they and the whole *Jewish Church* had entertained a false Tradition, in a matter of so great Consequence as the Fore-runner of their true *Messiah*, for they all had embraced it as a Tradition, That *Elias* was to come in Person before the first Appearance of the true *Messiah*; they all interpreted that place of *Malachy* to that effect, and thence concluded, as they still obstinately do, ἐν τῷ μηδὲ Ἠλίαν ἐληλυθέναι, That because *Elias* is not yet come in Person, their *Messiah* was not come. And yet this general Tradition of the *Jewish Church* gives no Assurance of the Truth of this Assertion, or if it doth, it must be then confessed that their *Messiah* is not yet come. 2. Hence also we may learn how vainly Men pretend to absolute Certainty on the account of *Oral Tradition*; for that Tradition was received as much, as highly reverenced, and regarded by the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, as by the *Romanists*, I hope will easily be granted, when we consider how zealous they were for the Customs and Traditions of the Fathers: How they advanced the Tradition of the *Elders*, even to the dissolution and making void the Law of God. And how frequent are such Maxims as these among them, *The Words of the Scribes are more worthy than the Words of the Law, and more weighty than the Words of the Prophets.*—— That *the Words of the Elders are more weighty than the Words of the Prophets.*——That *they came from the Mouth of* Moses, *as well as the written Law.*——That *the written Law is narrow*, but *the Traditional is longer than the Earth*, and *broader than the Sea.*

Trypho apud *Justin. M.* p. 268.

Vid. *Leight. in Matth.* 15. 2.

And yet these *Patrons* of *Tradition* had not only generally received such *Traditions* as made void the Law of God, but also such *Traditions* touching their *Messiah*, his Fore-runner, his temporal Kingdom, his glorious Reign on Earth, *&c.* as gave Occasion

Occasion to their Rejecting of him when he came: If then the *Jewish Church* might pretend to *oral Tradition* as much as that of *Rome*, and yet receive such Falshoods as Tradition, which did evacuate the Law of God, and cause them to reject their *Saviour*, why may not they of *Rome* receive such Falshoods for Tradition as do evacuate the Law of Christ? If the People were deceived and abused by following their *Traditions*, why may not others be equally deceived in following the supposed *Traditions* of the *Church* of *Rome*?

§. 6. 3. Hence also it will follow, That the Tradition of the Doctors of the *Christian Church* can be no certain Evidence in Matters of meer Speculation, or of Interpretation of *Scripture*, that what they thus deliver is the Truth; for they have generally taught from the third Century, That *Enoch* is to come in the last days to resist *Antichrist*, and be slain by him, without the least appearance of any Ground for this *Tradition*. And they have taught more generally, even from the Second *Century*, That *Elias* the *Tisbite* is to come in Person before our *Saviour*'s second Advent, and grounded this their Doctrine upon the Words of *Malachy* and of St. *Matthew*, against the plain Assertion of our *Lord*, and the most clear convincing Evidence that *John* the *Baptist*, and he only, was that *Elias*, which, according to the *Prophecy* of *Malachy* was to come as the Fore-runner of our *Saviour*. In a word, the *Tradition* of the *Millennium*, of the Appearance of *Enoch* and *Elias*, seem to have had their Rise from the *Jewish* Converts, zealous of the *Tradition* of their *Fathers*, and from them, not from the *Apostles*, to have gain'd Reputation in the *Christian Church*. And the *Tradition* of Prayers for the Dead seems to have had the same Original.

§. 7. But now if a *Tradition* hath been very *ancient*, and can, by Reason, be demonstrated to have derived from the *Apostles*, or to be worthy of Acceptation upon rational Grounds, then it is fit to be embraced as such. For Instance,

First, We have it from *Tradition*, That presently after the *Apostles* times all Churches were governed by *Bishops*, presiding over *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, as their lawful Governors; whence we inferr we have just Reason to believe this form of Government was *Apostolical*, since otherwise the Government

left

left in all *Churches* by the *Apoſtles*, muſt, in the immediate following Age, have been not only changed, but corrupted every where. But that in the frame and Subſtance of the eſtabliſhed Government of the *Church*, a thing always in uſe and practice, there ſhould be ſo ſuddain a Change, ſo univerſal a Corruption, in ſo ſhort a time; and that all *Chriſtians*, without the leaſt Oppoſition that we read of, ſhould conſpire in this Corruption, is a thing morally impoſſible: For, as *Tertullian* argues in like Caſe, *Variaſſe debuerat Error doctrinæ Eccleſiarum; quod autem apud omnes unum eſt, non eſt erratum, ſed traditum: What all Chriſtian Churches did ſo early agree in practiſing Uniformly, came not by Error, but Tradition.* De præſcript. c. 28.

Moreover it is clearly proved by the moſt learned *Biſhop* of *Cheſter*, That the Writers of the Second Century diſtinctly mention the ſeveral Orders of *Biſhops*, and their inferior *Presbyters* in the ſame *Church*, and thereby give us Reaſon to conclude that this Diſparity was generally ſetled in that Age. Now how improbable it is, that either ſuch a Change, as muſt be here ſuppoſed, were this an Innovation, ſhould happen unadviſedly, or thorough Negligence, or that the whole *Church* ſhould have conſpired ſo early to ſwerve from the eſtabliſhed Order, by placing *Biſhops* above *Presbyters* without Complaint, or the Reſiſtance of any ſingle Perſon that we hear of, will appear, if we conſider, L. 2. c. 13. prima Aſſertio. p. 157, &c.

1. The Subjects of this Conſtitution, *viz.* The Perſons appointed by the *Apoſtles* to govern and preſide in every *Church*, they being conſtant Objects of every Perſons common Sence, ſeen in every *Aſſembly*, imploy'd in every *eccleſiaſtical* Affair, publick and private, in which all Chriſtians, Sick or Well, Living or Dying, were concerned, we may reaſonably conceive that which ſome of the *Apoſtles*, to gain upon the *Jews*, did obſerve the *Chriſtian* Feaſt of *Eaſter* on the Fourteenth Day of the Moon, others might have miſtaken this compliance, as if the *Apoſtles* had judged that the fitteſt time for *Chriſtians* of ſucceeding *Ages* to obſerve it in, or that when they heard of an *Elias* to come *before the terrible Day of the Lord*, or of *the Reign of Chriſt on Earth a Thouſand Years*, repreſented to St. *John* in a *Viſion*; they might miſtake the genuine import of thoſe *Scriptures*, and of others of like nature; but in a matter of this kind, which was the daily object of

the Senſes of all *Chriſtians*, we cannot eaſily conceive how they could poſſibly miſtake, and not perceive that ſuch a change was made, if really it was done.

2. We ſhall be more convinced that this was not performed by Conſpiracy, or by a joint conſent of *Chriſtians* to make ſo great an alteration in that form of Government which the *Apoſtles* had eſtabliſhed, if we conſider,

1. The general agreement of all *Churches* in this matter, ſince not one ſingle *Church* or Corner of the world can be produced in which this Government did not obtain. For how can we imagine that in a time when no *General Council*, could meet to appoint it, and when there was no *Chriſtian Prince* to ſet it forward on a political Account, and when, by reaſon of the heat of Perſecution, and the diſtance of *Chriſtian Churches*, there was ſo little commerce, and intercourſe between them, from the *Churches* of *Armenia* and *Perſia* in the *Eaſt*, to thoſe of *Spain* in the *Weſt*; from the *African Churches* in the *South*, to our *Britiſh Churches* in the *North*, this conſtitution ſhould have been univerſally received and ſubmitted to, if it had not been eſtabliſhed by the *Apoſtles*, or the firſt *Founders* of thoſe *Churches*?

2. If we conſider how much it did concern all *Chriſtians* that ſuch an Innovation ſhould not obtain among them, and tamely be ſubmitted to. For all the people were obliged to know the *Governors* to whom they were by *Scripture* commanded to ſubmit, and ſo they could not yield to this ſuppoſed Innovation without the greateſt danger to their Souls: The *Preſbyters*, if they had by the *Apoſtles* been advanced to the higheſt Power, would not ſo meekly have ſubmitted to an Authority uſurped over them, but either out of a juſt Zeal for aſſerting their Freedom, or out of Indignation at the inſolence of the uſurping *Biſhops*, or out of an unwillingneſs to ſubmit and obey, which is natural to moſt Men, they would have aſſerted their Equality.

3. This will be farther evident if we conſider that even the perſons thus exalted could have then no motive or temptation to accept of this advancement; for Men do not uſually deſire a change but upon proſpect of ſome eaſe or temporal Advantage, much leſs when they perceive the Change is only like to add to their trouble, and encreaſe their danger, now this was really

really the case of the first *Christian Bishops*, they being still exposed to the sharpest fury of their Persecutors, and commonly begun with first in any storm that was raised against the *Church*; their Labours also were very great, for the care of the Flock lay on them, and they were unwearied in the discharge of their *Pastoral* Care; can we then reasonably think that they should be so fond of so much toil and peril, as to violate the Institution of the *Blessed Jesus* or his *Apostles* to obtain it.

Let any reasonable Person duly weigh these things, and ask his Conscience, whether it can be really perswaded that such an early Innovation could generally have prevailed in the *Church* of *God*.

§. 8. Such also is the Evidence that we pretended to, touching the *Canon* of *Scripture*, and that those Books have not been so corrupted or depraved as not to be sufficient Rules of *Christian* Faith or Manners: Concerning this matter let it be considered,

First, That we have the true *Canon* of the *Old Testament*, and that the *Books* of the *Old Testament* are not corrupted, we cannot know from the *Infallibility* of the *Jewish Church* or her *Traditions*; for when she handed down these *Scriptures* to the *Christians*, as the pure word of their inspired *Prophets*, she was not Infallible, but actually had renounced her true *Messiah*, and judged him an *Impostor*, and had embraced such false *Traditions* as did engage her so to do. So that if, according to the Author of *Popery Misrepresented*, *As the* Jews *received the Books of the Old Testament from the* (*Jewish*) *Church*, (and the *Christians* also) *so also were they to receive from her the sence of them*; the *Jews*, if not the *Christians* also, were obliged to reject our *Saviour*, as an *Impostor*, and one who taught and acted contrary to their Law, and their *Traditions*. Chap. 14. p. 29.

§. 9. *Secondly*, That the Books of the *New Testament* are not corrupted or forged, we cannot know from the *Infallibility* of the *Christian Church*.

The Reason is because the *Infallibility* of the *Church* is so far from being a proof of *Scriptures* incorruption, that no proof can be pretended for it but uncorrupted places of *Scripture*. For if any man should attempt to prove the *Scriptures* uncorrupted, *because that Church says so, which is Infallible*, I would

demand of him, seeing the Infallibility of the *Church* is not self-evident, and seeing *Infallibility* is a Prerogative which no Man can pretend to but from God's Assistance, and therefore no Man can be sure of that Assistance but from God's free Promise, how shall I be assured of her Infallibility? If he say from *Scripture*, promising it unto her, I would ask how shall I be assured that the *Scriptures* are not corrupted in those places; and if to this it be answered, From the *Church*'s *Infallibility*, is it not evident that he runs in a Circle, proving the *Scripture's* incorruption by the *Church*'s Infallibility, and the *Church*'s Infallibility by the *Scripture's* incorruption. Moreover, this is further evident from the *Tradition*, Practice, and Acknowledgment of the whole *Church* of *Christ*, for to inform us in any controverted *Text*, which is the Reading to be owned as true; her *Doctors* never have sent us to *Oral Tradition*, or the infallible Assistance of the *Church*, but always to the readings of former *Ancient Authors*, and to the Inspection of *ancient Manuscripts* and Versions, and have declared what in it self is manifest, and owned by all that ever treated on this Subject, That *there is no other way whereby we can attain to any knowledge or assurance in this matter.* Thus *Sixtus Quintus* in his Preface to his Bible, tells us, That *in Pervestigation of the true and genuine Text, it was perspicuous to all Men, that there was no Argument more firm and certain, than the Faith of ancient Latin Books.*

In hac Germani Textus pervestigatione satis perspicue inter omnes constat nullum esse certius ac firmius Argumentum quam Antiquorum probatorum codicum Latinorum fidem.

Let any Man peruse all Commentators, Ancient and Modern, of what Perswasion soever, and he will be convinced of their unanimous concurrence in this Assertion. Thus St. *Austin* tells us, That the *Latins* have need of Two other Tongues, for obtaining the knowledge of the Divine *Scriptures*, *viz.* the *Hebrew* and the *Greek*, Ut ad exemplaria præcedentia recurratur, si quam dubitationem attulerit Latinorum Interpretum infinita varietas, *That if any doubt should arise from the great variety of Latin Versions, they might recurr to the Greek or Hebrew Originals*; That *the Latin Versions of the Old Testament, where it is necessary,* Græcorum Authoritate emendandi sunt, *are to be corrected by the Authority of the Greek.* And that their Versions

De Doctr. Christ. l. 2. c. 11. de Civ. Dei, l. 15. c. 13. Chap. 14, 15.

Verſions of the *New Teſtament*, where they vary, *Græcis cedere oportere non dubium eſt*, *muſt yield to the Greek Copies, is without doubt.* St. *Jerom* in his Epiſtle to *Lucinius* ſaith, That he had Tranſlated moſt of the *Old Teſtament according to the Hebrew*, and that he had Tranſlated the New according to the Authority of the *Greek*: Ut enim veterum librorum fides de Hebræis voluminibus examinanda eſt, ita novorum Græci ſermonis normam deſiderat, *For as the Truth of the Books of the Old Teſtament is to be examined by the Hebrew, ſo is the Truth of the Books of the New Teſtament, to be examined by the Rule of the Greek.* In his Epiſtle to *Sunia* and *Fretela*, he tells them, That as in the New Teſtament, if at any time a Queſtion ariſe among the *Latins*, and there is a diverſity among the Copies, *recurrimus ad fontem Græci ſermonis*, *we recurr to the Greek, the Original Language*, in which the *New Teſtament* was writ: ſo in the *Old Teſtament*, if there be a diverſity between the *Greek* and *Latin Copies*, ad Hebraicam recurrimus veritatem, *we recurr to the Hebrew Verity.* In his Epiſtle to *Damaſus*, he ſaith, That he had, at his command, *Tranſlated the Four Evangeliſts*, codicum Græcorum emendatâ collatione, *mending the former Verſions by the Collation of the Greek Copies*; it being the deſire of *Damaſus*, that, becauſe the *Latin Copies differed*, he would ſhew, *quæ ſunt illa quæ cum Græca conſentiunt veritate*, *which beſt agreed with the true Copies of the Greek*; and indeed, ſaith he, *If we muſt truſt to the Latin Copies, let them, who think ſo, ſay to which, for they are almoſt all different one from the other*; *ſurely the Scripture of the New Teſtament, being writ in Greek, when that differs in the Latin Tongue*, uno de fonte quærendum, *we muſt have recourſe to the Fountain.* Now by the way, they who ſpeak ſo expreſly of the *Hebrew* and the *Greek* Verity, by which the truth of the *Latin Copies* is to be examined, ſhew that the *Decree* of *Trent*, that *the vulgar Latin*, pro Authentica haberetur, *ſhould in all Readings, Diſputations, Preachings and Expoſitions, be received as authentick*; *and that no Man ſhould dare, under any pretence to reject it*, agrees with *Antiquity* after their uſual manner, by way of *Oppoſition* and flat Contradiction to it, though in this matter, I confeſs, they are the more excuſable; ſeeing, as *Eſpenceus* ſaith, it rendred any of the *Latins* ſuſpicious to know *Greek*, and it was almoſt *Heretical* to know the *Hebrew Tongue.* And as *Melchior Canus* doth inform us,

Ep. Tom. 1. f. 69. b.

Tom. 3. f. 28. a.

Ep. Tom 3. f. 10. b.

Seſſ. 4.

In 1 Tim. c. 3.

The

Loc. Com. l. 2. c. 12. p. 108. *The School-men for Four hundred Years, retained only the Latin Edition*, quippe linguæ Græcæ & Hebraicæ non habuerunt peritiam, *because they had no skill in Greek or Hebrew.*

§. 10. *Thirdly*, That the Books of the *New Testament* have been handed down unto us uncorrupted in the necessaries and substantials of *Christian* Faith and Manners, we conclude from Reason grounded upon matter of Fact, delivered and testified by the *Doctors* of the *Universal Church*, and we receive them as such from the *rational* Evidence which *Tradition* affords in this Case. Whence we collect,

1. That the *Apostles* and *Holy Spirit* which did assist them in inditing of this *Canon* for the *Church*'s use, could not be wanting in causing them to be transmitted to those *Christians*, for whose use they were indited, because they could not be wanting to pursue the end for which they were endited.

Besides that they were actually thus committed to them is the Tradition of the whole *Christian* World, which owned and cited, read and received them for such from the *Apostles* Days, as is apparent from the *Epistles* of *Clement*, *Polycarp*, *Ignatius* and others, who were contemporary with the *Apostles*; and from the works of *Justin M.* *Irenæus*, and many others of the Second *Century*. They were read also by the *Jews* as *Trypho* doth confess, and by the very *Heathens* at the invitation of the *Christians*: For our Doctrines and Writings, saith *Justin M.* are such, οἷς ἐντυγχάνειν πᾶσι συγχωρῶ, *as all Men are permitted to read*; and if you will vouchsafe to look into them you may learn these things, *for we do not only read them our selves*, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, εἰς ὄψιν φέρομεν, *but we bring them to you to peruse, knowing that they will be acceptable to all that read them.* *We our selves do not suppress them*, saith *Tertullian*, *and many Accidents do put them into the Hands of Strangers.* They were attested to by the Sufferings of the *Primitive Christians*, who rather chose to suffer Death than to deliver up these Books, which Sufferings they could have no Temptation to endure besides their full Conviction, that they were, as they always stiled them, *Deifici libri*, *Scripturæ deificæ*, *Books* which instructed them to lead a *Divine Life*, and which their *Persecutors* could have had no Temptation to suppress and burn, had they not known them to have been the *Records* of the *Christian*

Apol. 1. p. 52. Apol. 2. p. 7. Ibid. p. 82. Apol. c. 31. Passio S. Felicis sæpius.

Chriſtian Faith, with which their Faith muſt live or periſh. Moreover, they contained things of the higheſt moment, and which it was their chiefeſt intereſt to be well aſſured of, they being the ſole Ground and matter of their ſupport under their ſharpeſt Trials, and of their future Hopes; and therefore Writings they were concerned to get, and hear, and read, and keep.

Add to this, that they very early were tranſlated into other Languages, into the *Syriack* by *apoſtolical* Men, ſaith the *Tradition* of the *Eaſtern Churches*; by Men of great *Antiquity*, who lived before the *Canon* was eſtabliſhed, as is apparent from their neglecting to tranſlate the controverted Books of the New Teſtament into the *Latin* and other Languages, ſaith *Biſhop Walton*. *From the Beginning*, as we may rationally conjecture, ſeeing the *Church* of *Rome*, and other *Churches*, which underſtood not *Greek*, were founded in the *Apoſtles* Days, or quickly after; nor could it rationally be ſuppoſed that they were without the *Scriptures* long: Eſpecially if we conſider, That it was part of their *Lord*'s day Exerciſe, ſaith *Juſtin Martyr*, to read the Writings of the *Apoſtles*: As for the Books themſelves, we find them moſtly written to whole *Churches*, *Nations*, or the whole World of *Chriſtians*, *To all that called upon the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in every place*, who could not eaſily have received them, had the *Apoſtles*, by whom they were at firſt converted, given no ſufficient indication of them. They were Books which could not have been ſpread abroad, as they were, in the *Apoſtles* Names, whilſt they were living, unleſs the *Apoſtles* had endited them, nor be eſteemed ſo preſently the *Charter* of the *Chriſtian* Faith, had they been ſo forgetful as not to make them known to them, for whoſe Sakes they were written. They were Books which pretended to a Commiſſion from the *Holy Jeſus* to give Rules of Life and Doctrine to the *Chriſtian Churches*, which none but the *Apoſtles* and *Evangeliſts* could do, all others ſtill pretending to deliver what they received from them.

Præleg. in Bibl. polyglott. 13. p. 91.

Apol. 2. p. 98.

1 Cor. i. 1.
2 Pet. i. 1.

Laſtly, They being written partly to confirm, and to aſcertain to us the Story of *Chriſt*'s Birth, Life, Paſſion, Reſurrection, and partly to engage us to believe that *Jeſus was the Chriſt*, partly to put an end to thoſe Contentions, and to rectify thoſe Errors which had crept into the *Church* in the

Apoſtles

Apostles Days, and which did need a speedy Reformation, partly to give Instructions for the *Bishops*, *Priests* and *Deacons*, and *Governours* of the *Church* how to behave themselves in their Offices, partly to justify themselves against *false Brethren* and *deceitful Workers*, and to preserve their *Proselytes* from such as did pervert the Faith, and partly to instruct them how to bear up in fiery Trials, and to support their Souls under the Sufferings and Temptations to which *Christianity* exposed them, and therefore on those Grounds which did require their quick Dispatch upon that Errand, and to those *Churches*, for whose use they did intend them, it is evident the *Apostles* must design that early Notice should be given of them, and so commit them to their new born *Proselytes* and Babes in *Christ*. Accordingly the Tradition of the *Church* assures us that when the *Apostles* went to preach to the *Gentiles* they desired them to leave in Writing the things which they had taught, and that in compliance with their Desires they writ their *Gospels*; and having preached the Gospel to them, *Postea verè per voluntatem dei in scripturis nobis tradiderunt fundamentum & Columnam fidei futurum*, *They afterwards, by the Will of God delivered to them the Gospel they had Preached in Writing, to be the Pillar, and the Ground of Faith hereafter.* St. *Peter* speaks of all the *Epistles* of St. *Paul*, shewing that at least many of them were then written, and others of the *Ancients*, that they were all Fourteen, φανηλοι καὶ σαφεῖς, *noted by, and manifest to all*, though some doubted whether he were indeed the *Author* of one of them.

Vid. c. 7. §. 1, 2.

Iren. l. 3. c. 3.

Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 3. c. 3.

§. 11. 2. It is evident, that the immediate succeeding Age could not be ignorant of what was thus delivered to the *Church*, and was commended to them by the *Apostles*, as the *Pillar and the Ground of Faith*, especially if we consider that the *Autographa* were still extant, saith *Tertullian*, some of those Persons were still living to whom they were directed, and with whom they were intrusted, and all those *Churches* still continued flourishing to whom they were sent, and to whom they were read in publick, and by whom in private.

De Præscript. c. 36.

§. 12. 3. Those *Records* being once so generally dispersed through places at so great a distance, as they were in the Second *Century*,

tury, so universally acknowledged, and consented to by Men of curious Parts, and different Perswasions, and repugnant Judgments, and great Aversions from each other, preserved in their *Originals* to succeeding Ages, multiplied into divers Versions, copied out by *Christians* for their private, and for publick use, esteemed by them as *digesta nostra*, their *Digests*, saith (*a*) *Tertullian*, as (*b*) *libri divini*, *Scripturæ deificæ*, say the *Martyrs*, believed by all *Christians* to be divine saith (*c*) *Origen*. And as the Records of their Hopes and Fears, and thereupon being so carefully (*d*) sought after, so riveted in their Minds, for many say the *Ancients* had them entirely in their Memory, they being so constantly rehearsed in their Assemblies by Men whose work it was to Read and Preach, and to exhort to the performance of those Duties they enjoin'd, being so frequent in their Writings, so often cited in their Confessions, Comments, *Apologies*, and *Epistles* of the *Christian* Worthies, as also in the Objection of those Adversaries, to whose view they still lay open.

(*a*) Adv. Marc. l. 4. c. 3.
(*b*) Concil. Carthag. apud Cypr. p. 232. Optatus, l. 1.
(*c*) Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 6. c. 25. 3. 25. Orig. contr. Cels. l. 3. p. 138.
(*d*) Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 5. c. 26. Lib. 8 cap. 11, 13. Euseb. l. 6. c. 19 p. 222. Justin. M. Ap. 2. p. 98.

Euseb. l. 6. c. 19. p. 219.

It must be certain that they were handed down to the succeeding Generations pure and uncorrupt.

Indeed these things render us more secure of the *Scriptures*, being preserved entire, than any Man can be of the Statutes of the Land, or of any *Histories* or *Records* whatsoever, because the Evidence of it depends upon more Persons, more Holy, and so less subject to deceive; more concerned that they should not be corrupted, than that no other *Records* should, and so we must renounce all certainty of any *Records*, or grant the certainty that these are truly what they do pretend. And,

§. 13.

4. This Corruption of the Word of God, or Substitution of any other Doctrine than that which it delivered, could not be done by any part or Sect of *Christians*, but they who had embraced the Faith, and used the same *Copies* of the Word of God in other places of the *Christian* World, must have found out the Cheat; and therefore this corruption, if at all effected, must be the work of the whole World of *Christians*: But can it be supposed that the immediate succeeding Ages

ſhould univerſally conſpire to ſubſtitute their own Inventions for the Word of God, and yet continue ſtedfaſt in, and ſuffer ſo much for that Faith which denounced the ſevereſt Judgments againſt thoſe which ſhould do ſuch things? Or that a World of Men ſhould with the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes avouch the *Goſpel*, and at the ſame time make an eſſential Change even in the Frame and Subſtance of its Doctrine, whilſt it yet daily ſounded in their Ears, employ'd their Tongues, and by ſo doing make it ineffectual both to themſelves and their Poſterity? Can it be reaſonably thought that they ſhould venture upon that which were the *Goſpel*, true or falſe, muſt needs expoſe them to the greateſt Evils whilſt they continued Abettors of it? Moreover, had ſuch a thing been done, can we in reaſon think that of thoſe many Thouſands, who in the *Primitive* Ages did renounce the *Goſpel*, that of thoſe many wavering Spirits, thoſe excommunicate Members, eſpecially thoſe *Hereticks*, who upon other motives did renounce the greateſt part of *Scripture*; can it, I ſay, be thought that none of thoſe ſhould publiſh and diſcloſe the Forgery, or anſwer the Alligations made from *Scripture*, by ſaying, They were Citations of falſe and of corrupt *Scriptures*, but that ſuch apparent Forgeries ſhould find a general Reception from all that looked into their Truth, and be unqueſtionably received as genuine by *Jew* and *Gentile*, *Heretick* and *Orthodox*, even in thoſe times in which, and in thoſe places where they firſt appeared, and by thoſe Perſons who immediately before received others as the true and genuine *Copies* of the Word of God.

§. 14. *Laſtly*, That theſe Records of the Will of God have not been ſo corrupted as to ceaſe to be a certain Rule of Faith and Manners, we argue from the *Providence* of God, inducing us to judge that the Books thus delivered to us by the *Church* as genuine, are truly ſo; for nothing ſeems more inconſiſtent with divine Wiſdom and Goodneſs, than to inſpire his Servants to write the *Scripture* as a Rule of Faith and Manners for all future Ages, and to require the Belief of the Doctrines, the practice of the Rules of Life plainly contained in it, and yet to ſuffer this divinely inſpired Rule to be inſenſibly corrupted in things neceſſary to Faith or Practice; who can imagine

gine that God who ſent his Son out of his Boſom to declare this Doctrine, and his *Apoſtles*, by the Aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit to indite and preach it, and by ſo many Miracles confirm it to the World; ſhould ſuffer any wicked Perſons to corrupt and alter any of thoſe terms on which the Happineſs and Welfare of Mankind depended.

This ſure can be conceived Rational by none, but ſuch as think it not abſurd to ſay, That God repented of his good Will and Kindneſs to Mankind, in the vouchſafing of the *Goſpel* to them.

That he ſo far maligned the good of future Generations, that he ſuffered wicked Men to rob them of all the benefit intended to them by this Declaration of his Will. For ſince thoſe very *Scriptures* which have been received for the Word of God, and uſed by the *Church* as ſuch from the firſt Ages of it, pretend to be the terms of our Salvation, *Scriptures* indited by Men commiſſionated from *Chriſt*, and ſuch as did avouch themſelves *Apoſtles* by the Will of God, and his Command, for the delivery of the Faith of Gods Elect, and for *the knowledge of the Truth which is after Godlineſs, in hopes of Life eternal*; they muſt be what they do pretend to be, the Word of *God*, or *Providence* muſt have permitted ſuch a Forgery, as rendereth it impoſſible for us to perform our Duty, in order to Salvation; for if the *Scripture* of the *New Teſtament* ſhould be corrupted in any eſſential requiſite of Faith or Manners, it muſt ceaſe to make us *wiſe unto Salvation*, and ſo *God* muſt have loſt the end which he intended in inditing of it. Again, when we conſider that in the *Jewiſh Church* the *Scriptures* were, until the coming of *Chriſt* in very corrupt Times, and amongſt very corrupt Perſons, preſerved ſo entire, that *Chriſt* ſends the *Jews* to them to learn Religion, declares, that they have *Moſes* and the *Prophets*; and both our *Lord* and his *Diſciples* confuted and inſtructed the *Scribes*, and *Phariſees*, and *Jews* out of them, without the leaſt intimation of any corruption that had happened to them; we have ſtill greater reaſon to judge the *New Teſtament* ſincere, ſince we cannot rationally ſuppoſe *Providence* leſs careful of the *New Teſtament* than of the *Old*.

If againſt this Argument it be Objected, that we find by the Citations of the *Ancients*, and by *Old Manuſcripts*, that there *Object.*

was a difference betwixt their *Copies* of the *Scripture*, and those we now use.

I answer, 1. That this is no certain Argument of any such difference, seeing the Citation of the *Ancients* might differ thus by the failure of their Memory, it being frequently their Custom to cite the *Scriptures* from their Memory without inspection of the Book; moreover we find by Ocular Demonstration, that these various Lectures make no considerable variation in matters of Faith or Manners, or if one Text which asserts a substantial Doctrine be variously read, so that the matter is thence dubious, there are others which assert it without that Variety.

If then no Writing whilst the *Apostles* lived could pass for *Apostolical*, and yet destroy or contradict the Faith they taught; — if their immediate *Successors* could not be ignorant of what the *Apostles* committed to them to be read and taught, as the *Records* of their Faith and Doctrine; nor would they be induced to deliver that for such which they believed not to be so, if neither they could universally conspire to effect this thing; nor can it rationally be thought that *Providence* would suffer them to do so: 'Tis morally impossible these Writings should be forged or corrupted in matters of Concern or Moment.

§. 15. If therefore Mr. *M.* will make good his Assertion, that they *have the same means to shew that their Traditions are true*, that is truly descended from the *Apostles*; *that we have to shew the Copies of the Scripture which we use are not corrupted in substantials*; he must first own what we have proved of these *Copies* to be true of his *Traditions*, *viz.* That they cannot be proved to be true from the *Infallibility* of the *Church*, and that in any doubt concerning the Truth of them, we must have recourse to the *Original* and Fountain of *Tradition*, not to the Judgment of the present Age, as in the proof of the true *Copies*, all Parties are agreed, that we must have recourse to *Ancient Manuscripts*, and to the Fountains of the *Greek* and *Hebrew*.

Secondly, He must shew what we have done touching the *Scriptures* concerning his pretended *Traditions*, *viz.* That these *Traditions* were owned, cited, read and received as *Apostolical Traditions* from the *Apostles* Days, that *Jews* and *Heathens* were acquaint-

acquainted with them, that they were atteſted to by the Sufferings of the *Primitive Martyrs*, that they were ſuch as the *Apoſtles* deſired to leave in writing, and which they did ſo leave according to the Will of God, and conſequently were not *oral Traditions*, that they were univerſally acknowledged, and conſented to by Men of different perſwaſions, preſerved in their Originals to ſucceeding Ages, tranſcribed by *Chriſtians* for their private and their publick uſe, eſteemed by them as their *Digeſts*, and as *deifying Traditions*, believed by all *Chriſtians* to be divine, and as the *Records* of their Hopes and Fears, that they were carefully ſought after, and riveted in their minds, and conſtantly rehearſed in their Aſſemblies, by Men whoſe work it was to read, and preach them, and to exhort to the performance of thoſe Duties they enjoined; that they were frequent in the Writings, and often cited in the *Confeſſions* and *Apologies*, the *Comments*, *Homilies*, *Diſcourſes* and *Epiſtles* of the *Ancient Worthies*, as alſo in the Objections of their *Adverſaries* to whoſe view they ſtill lay open.

And laſtly, he muſt prove they were *Traditions* which the good *Providence* of God was as much concerned to keep entire and uncorrupt, as to preſerve thoſe *Scriptures* ſo, which by the Will of God were written, to *be the Pillar and Foundation of the Chriſtian Faith*; and when we ſee this task performed, we ſhall be more enclined to admit of the pretended *Traditions* of the *Church* of *Rome*, and to believe them as true and uncorrupt as are the *Copies* of the *Holy Scripture*.

But ſaith Mr. *M.* "When we believe that the *Copies* which "we have now of theſe *Books* be not forged nor corrupted "*Copies*, but truly agree with the *Originals* given out by the *A*-"*poſtles*, we truſt to the Tradition of all the after *Churches* that "have been in every Age from the *Apoſtles* to this very preſent "*Church*; for it is as much in the Power of the *Church* in any "one of theſe Ages, to have thruſt a falſe *Copy* into their "Hand inſtead of a true one, as to thruſt a falſe *Tradition* into "the Mouth of every *Catholick* every where in place of a "true one. §. 16. Pag. 399.

This *Argument* in the mouth of a *Jew*, pleading for thoſe *Traditions* which were rejected by our *Lord* and his *Apoſtles*, runs to this *effect*: *Reply Firſt.*

It

It was as much in the power of the Jewish *Church, to have thrust a false Copy into the Hands* of the Jews *instead of a true one, as to thrust a false Tradition into the Mouth of every* Jew *every where, instead of a true one*; if therefore their received *Traditions* actually were false, as your *Christ* and his *Apostles* taught, you can have no assurance of the *Copies*, on which you depend for proving your *Jesus* to be the true *Messiah*, are not false.

Secondly, We say it is not in the power of any of the latter *Ages*, to corrupt the *Originals* without corrupting not only all the written *Manuscripts*, but also all the Writings of that *Christian Church* in which those *Scriptures* have been cited, and all the *Commentaries* on them, and all the *Translations* of them into all Languages.

'Tis therefore evidently false, *That it is as much in the Power of the Church in any one Age to have thrust a false Copy into the Hand of all Christians instead of a true one, as to deceive them with a false Tradition instead of a true one.*

Thirdly, No *Protestant* ever asserted or imagined that the whole *Church* was either willing or able, in any point of Doctrine, to change at once, and in one Age, the true *Tradition* for a false. No, they unanimously say, *These Tares were sown by the Enemy whilst Men slept*, that they came in by *degrees*, and insensibly got Ground by little and little; in one Age the Dispute was raised, the Opinion broached by some Man of *Vogue* and Credit, in the next it passed for *probable*, in the following Age for an *Ecclesiastical Doctrine*, and in the next advanced into an *Article* of Faith. Thus for Example:

Images for the first Three *Centuries* were disregarded by all *Christians*, the first thing they taught their *Proselytes*, was to contemn them.

In the Fourth and Fifth *Centuries* they crept into some few *Churches* by way of Ornament, and *symbolical* Representation.

In the Sixth and Seventh Centuries they begun to be received for *Instruction* and *historical Commemoration.*

In the Eighth Century in *Italy* and in the *East*, they advanced to the Veneration of them, though this *Novelty* met with great opposition in the *East* till the Tenth *Century*, and in the *West* till the Thirteenth Century.

Commu-

Communion in one Kind came in among ſome *Monks* in the Eleventh *Century* by reaſon of their negligence and rudeneſs, which made their *Governors* not truſt them with the *Cup* leaſt they ſhould ſpill it.

In the Twelfth *Century* it began to take place in *minoribus Eccleſiis*, *in leſſer Churches.*

The Approbation of *Thomas Aquinas* made it ſtill more prevail in the Thirteenth *Century*, and in the beginning of the Fifteenth *Century* it was eſtabliſhed for a Law.

FINIS.

A TREATISE OF TRADITIONS.

PART II.

Imprimatur

Liber cui Titulus [A Treatise of Traditions. Part II.]

July 12. 1688.

Guil. Needham, *R R. in Christo P. ac D. D.* Wilhelmo *Archiep. Cant. a Sacr. Domest.*

A TREATISE OF TRADITIONS.

PART II.

Shewing the Novelty of the pretended *Traditions* of the *Church* of *ROME*; as being,

I. Not mentioned by the *Ancients* of their Diſcourſes of *Traditions Apoſtolical*, truly ſo called, or ſo eſteemed by them. Nor,

II. In their avowed *Rule*, or *Symbol* of Faith. Nor,

III. In the Inſtructions given to the *Clergy*, concerning all thoſe things they were to teach the People. Nor,

IV. In the Examination of a *Biſhop* at his Ordination. Nor,

V. In the Ancient Treatiſes deſigned to inſtruct *Chriſtians* in all the Articles of their Faith.

VI. From the Confeſſions of *Romiſh Doctors*.

WITH AN

ANSWER to the Arguments of Mr. *Mumford* for *Traditions*.

And a *Demonſtration*, That the Heathens made the ſame Plea from *Tradition* as the *Romaniſts* do; and that the Anſwer of the Fathers to it doth fully juſtifie the *Proteſtants*.

Jam primo quod in nos generali accuſatione dirigitis divortium ab inſtitutis majorum, conſiderate etiam atque etiam ne vobiſcum communicemus crimen iſtud; ecce enim per omnia vitæ ac diſciplinæ corruptam, immo deletam in vobis antiquitatem recognoſco—— Excluſa ubique antiquitas, in negotiis, in officiis, totam auctoritatem majorum veſtra auctoritas dejecit. Tertullianus ad Nationes, lib. 1. Cap. 10.

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THE PREFACE.

The Contents.

Shewing, *Firſt*, That the *Lord's Day* is mentioned in Scripture, as a known Feſtival Day, a Day which bore Chriſt's Name, and on which Chriſtians did aſſemble for Religious Worſhip, 1. From thoſe words, *Rev.* 1.10. *I was in the Spirit on the Lord's Day*, §. 1. 2. From 1 *Cor.* xvi. 2. §. 2. 3. From *Act.* xx. 7. §. 3. 4. From the unanimous and uncontroulled Teſtimony of the Fathers from the firſt and pureſt Ages of the Church, §. 4. And ſhewing, *Secondly*, That the Apoſtles were commiſſionated from the Lord Chriſt, or were directed by his Spirit to appoint this a day of publick Worſhip in Honour of our Lord, and in remembrance of his Reſurrection, §. 5. The Romaniſts can ſhew no ſuch Tradition for any of the conteſted Doctrines, §. 6. Mr. *M*'s. Argument retorted againſt the ſufficiency of Tradition to eſtabliſh this Doctrine, by ſhewing that there is no Tradition for abſtaining wholly from ſervile Work upon that Day, but rather the contrary, §. 7. The not obſerving of this Day through ignorance of our Obligation ſo to do, is not deſtructive of Salvation, §. 8. The Command for remembring the Seventh Day from the Creation to reſt upon it from all manner of Work, was Ceremonial and not Moral; this proved, 1*ſt*. From Reaſon, §. 9. 2*dly*. From the Words and Actions of our Saviour, §. 10. 3*dly*. From *Gal.* iv. 10, 11. §. 11. 4*thly*. From *Col.* ij. 14, 16, 17. §. 12. 5*thly*. From the unanimous aſſertion of the Fathers, §. 13.

Mr. *M*'s.

Mr. *M*'s. first Objection from God's Blessing and Hallowing this Day Answered, §. 14. His second Objection from those Words of Christ, *If thou wilt enter into Life, keep the Commandments*, Answered, §. 15. His third Objection, That Saint *Paul* frequented Synagogues on the Sabbath Day, Answered, §. 16. His fourth Objection, That in Christ Jesus nothing avails but keeping the Commandments of God, Answered, §. 17. His fifth Objection from the Words of Christ, *Pray that your flight be not on the Sabbath day*, Answered, §. 18.

IN this Discourse I have endeavoured to shew in what Sence we admit of Tradition as a sufficient Evidence of the Truth of what we do believe, or practise: And have demonstrated, That in those things which we receive upon her Testimony the Romanists *cannot pretend unto a like Tradition for any of their Doctrines. Two things they farther do object against us as instances of things necessary to be believed, which yet, say they, have no Foundation in the* Holy Scriptures, *and therefore must be believed only on the account of* Tradition, *or the* Authority *of the* Church; viz.

First, *The Observation of the* Lord's Day, *and the liberty we take in working on the* Sabbath, *and not observing it as a day set apart unto the Service of the Creator of the World.*

Secondly, *The Baptism of* Infants, *of which, what Mr.* M. *offers is sufficiently considered in the following Treatise, and the practice hath of late been fully justified from* Scripture *and* Tradition, *jointly, by Three learned Treatises, to which I shall referr the Reader. Touching the first particular, I shall Discourse at present in this Preface, and shew in opposition to Mr.* Mumford, *that we have sufficient Ground from Scripture for observing the* Lord's Day, *and not observing of the* Sabbath *Day; and that, as far as we depend upon Tradition in these Points, the* Romanists *can shew no like* Tradition *for their Tenets. To begin with the first of these particulars; That* the Lord's Day is by all Christians to be observed as a Religious Festival, *will be made good from these Considerations.*

Mr. *Walker*'s Modest Plea for Infants Baptism. The Case of Infants Baptism. Dr. *Still.* Rational Account. *Part.* 1. *cap.* 4.

First, *That it is mentioned in the* Scripture *as a known Festival Day, a Day which bore* Christ's *Name, a Day on which the* Christians

Christians *did assemble for the performance of Sacred and Religious Worship.*

Secondly, *That it was perpetually and universally observed as such by the* Catholick Church *including the times of the* Apostles. *And,*

First, *That* it is mentioned in Scripture as a known Festival Day, a Day which bore Christ's Name, a Day on which the Christians did assemble for the performance of Religious Worship, *will appear,*

§. 2.

1st. *From that Expression of St.* John, I was in the Spirit on the Lord's Day: *For explication of which words observe,* first, *That the Name* Lord *in the* New Testament *doth ordinarily signifie the* Lord Christ; *for God the* Father *having committed all Authority into his Hands, he by so doing made him, as Saint* Peter *saith, both* Lord and Christ; *and therefore by this name he is distinguished from God the* Father *in these words,* There is one God the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things. *And again,* There are differences of Administrations, but the same Lord, diversities of Operations, but the same God: *Wherefore by the* Lord's Day *here mentioned, we cannot reasonably understand the* Jewish Sabbath, *that being not the Day of the* Lord Christ, *or a Day instituted in Memorial of him, but a Day sanctified to* Jehovah, *who is in the* New Testament *stiled* God the Father, *or absolutely* God; *and by that phrase distinguished from the* Lord Christ. *Moreover, the* Sabbath *is in Scripture sometime said to be a Day* Holy to the Lord; *but it is never stiled,* ἡμέρα κυριακὴ, the Lord's Day, *either in* Scripture, *or in the Records of the three first* Centuries; *and therefore we can have no reason to believe Saint* John *intended the* Jewish Sabbath *by that Phrase.*

Rev. i. 10.

Act. ij 36.

1 *Cor.* viij. 6.

1 *Cor.* xij. 5,6.

2dly. *Whereas* Saint John, *to denote the time when he received his* Vision, *saith, It was* on the Lord's Day: *It follows that this Day must be a Day well known; otherwise he could not by this note sufficiently declare the* Time *when he received his* Vision: *Since then the first Day of the Week, and that alone was by the* Christians *of the first Ages stiled the* Lord's Day, *and known to them familiarly by that Name, it is rational to conclude, That the* Apostle *by this Phrase did understand the first Day of the Week. For Confirmation of this Argument, it is observable, that some*

Copies

Copies read that Paſſage of Saint Paul *to the* Corinthians, κατ' μίαν σαββάτων ἑκάστη κυριακὴν, On the firſt Day of the Week, being the Lord's Day, *let* every one lay by in ſtore. Ignatius, *who lived Thirty Years in the* Apoſtles *Days, ſpeaks thus, That* Chriſtians muſt no longer Sabbatize, but keep the Lord's Day, in which our Life ſprang up by him. Dionyſius Biſhop *of* Corinth, *who flouriſhed in the ſecond Century, writes thus,* This day being the Lord's Day, we keep it Holy. Melito Biſhop *of* Sardis, *who flouriſhed in the ſame Century, compoſed a Book,* περὶ κυριακῆς, of the Lord's Day, *and another of the* Paſchal Solemnity, *clearly diſtinguiſhing the one from the other.* Irenæus Biſhop *of* Lyons, *in his Book of the* Paſchal Solemnity, *declares,* That Chriſtians did not on the Lord's Day, which was a Symbol of their Reſurrection, bend the Knee. Clemens *of* Alexandria *calls the Eighth day,* ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα, the Lord's day. Origen *among the* Chriſtian Feſtivals *enumerates the* Lord's day, *the* Eaſter *and the* Pentecoſtal Feſtival. Tertullian *ſaith,* Dominico die jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare, We judge it wickedneſs to kneel on the Lord's day; *and then he adds, That on the* Eaſter *and the* Penticoſtal Feſtival *we enjoy the ſame freedom. And indeed the thing was ſo notorious even to the* Heathen *World, that it was uſual with them to put this Queſtion to the Martyrs,* Dominicum ſervaſti, *Haſt thou obſerved the* Lord's day? *To which their uſual Anſwer was,* Chriſtianus ſum, intermittere non poſſum, I am a Chriſtian and cannot ceaſe to do it. *And that,* Dominicum agere, *which is ſometimes the Phraſe, imports, not to celebrate the Lord's Supper, but to obſerve the* Lord's day, *is evident from* Clemens *of* Alexandria, *who tells us, That the true* Gnoſtick *doth,* κυριακὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖν, make that day truly the Lord's day, by caſting away every evil thought, and celebrating the Reſurrection of Chriſt.

1 *Cor.* xvi. 2.

Ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν δι' αὐτοῦ, Ep. ad Maneſ. Et ad Trallian. §. 9.

Τὴν σήμερον ἁγίαν κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. c. 23.

Euſeb. H. Eccl. l. 4. *c.* 26.

Juſtin M. Qu. & Reſp. Qu. 115.

Contra Celſ. l. 8. *p.* 392.

De Cor. Mil. c. 3. *Cyp. Ep.* 38 *Ed. Ox. p.* 75.

Strom. 7 *p.* 744.

Now from theſe Paſſages it is clear, That the Eaſter Feſtival *could not be here intended by Saint* John, *that being never ſtiled by the* Ancients *abſolutely the* Lord's day, *but always either,* κυριακὴ ἡ μεγάλη, *or,* κυριακὴ τοῦ Πάσχα, the Great Lord's day, *or,* the Paſchal Lord's day; *and being conſtantly in thoſe firſt Ages diſtinguiſhed from, and in their enumeration of their Feſtivals oppoſed to the* Lord's day. *Moreover the* Eaſter *Feaſt ſeemeth not*

to

to have been so Ancient *as the* Apostles Vision; *for then it would have been observed uniformly as the* Lord's *day was, whereas the* Eastern *and the* Western Churches *differed much about it; and that very difference demonstrates that the* Lord's *day was the more* ancient, *because the Question was, Whether the* Eastern Festival *should be kept on the* Lord's day *only, or on the day of the Full-Moon, as by the* Jews *it was, on what day of the Week soever that did happen.*

And whereas Mr. M. *asks,* How prove you that it was not Christmas or Ascention day? *I Answer,* 1st. *That we have no Evidence from* Antiquity, *that either of these* Festivals *were then observed, much less, that they were then known to the* Christian *World under that Appellation.* 2dly. *The common Consent of all* Interpreters, *and the perpetual Practice of the* Church *in all Ages from* Saint John *to* Ignatius *his Scholar, and so downwards to this day, do give the name of the* Lord's day *to* Sunday, *and to no other Festival of the* Church, *Weekly or Annual, sufficiently instructs us what* Saint John *understood by the* Lord's day. P. 207.

3dly. *Observe, That whatsoever in the* Scripture *hath the* Lord's *Name and Subscription on it, as the* Lord's *Temple, the* Lord's *Offerings, the* Lord's *People, the* Lord's Priests, *was consecrated to the Service of* Jehovah *the* Lord *of the* Old Creation; *wherefore the day which had so early the Name and Superscription of the* Lord Christ *upon it must be supposed to be Holy to the* Lord *of the* New Creation, *and consecrated to his Service: For as the* Jewish Sabbath *being called the* Lord's *Sabbath, or the Sabbath of* Jehovah, *was by that Title known to be a day Sanctified to* Jehovah, *as Creator, so this day being called the* Lord's *day, is by this Note as certainly known to be a day consecrated to the Service of the* Lord Christ. *And as the* Lord's Supper *is stiled,* κυριακὸν δεῖπνον, *the Supper of the* Lord; *the Sacramental Table,* τράπεζα Κυρίου, the Table of the Lord; *the Sacramental Wine,* ποτήριον Κυρίου, the Cup of the Lord, *either because the Sacrament was instituted immediately by the* Lord Christ, *to be observed to his Second Coming. Or,* Secondly, *Because it was appointed for the remembrance of the* Lord's *Death and Passion till that time, even so,* ἡμέρα κυριακὴ, the Lord's day, *must be so called for one of these two Reasons, or for both,* viz. *Because it was enjoined by* Christ, *or by Directions given to his* Apostles *to command the* 1 Cor. x. 20. x. 21.

Observation of it as a Day to be devoted to the Service of our Lord Christ, *or because it was by the* Apostles *so observed in memory of our* Lords Resurrection, *and was from them received as a day to be observed for all future Generations of the* Church. *And that this day was certainly observed by the* Apostles, *and by the* Christians *who lived in their daies, in Honour of our* Lord, *is evident from what hath been already proved: For if it were then known to* Christians *by the Name of the* Lord's day, *and if so be the* Lord's day, *must import a day that is consecrated to the Service of the* Lord, *'tis clear, that they must then observe it as such, or act against the knowledge of their Duty; if when* Saint John *received this Vision, it were known to be a day devoted to the Service of the* Lord Christ, *it must be known to be thus consecrated to his Service by some who had* Authority *sufficient so to do; that is, at least by those* Apostles *and* Rulers, *to whom* Christ *had committed the Guidance of his* Church, *and the determination of that outward Worship he required from his* Disciples: *What they thus consecrated to his Service, must be devoted either by virtue of their positive Institution, or by their practice only; if by virtue of their Institution, then is it granted that this day is of Divine and* Apostolical *Institution; if by their Practice only, yet is it granted that this day was constantly observed by those* Apostles *who were assisted in their Actions by the* Holy Ghost; *that 'twas by their Example commended to the practice of all* Christians; *and therefore he alone can alter this* Apostolical Tradition, *who better knows the mind of* Christ, *than they did, and is more able to discern what Service is well pleasing to him than they were.*

§. 2. Secondly, *This Practice will sufficiently appear from other* Scriptures, *which either presuppose, or else directly shew this was a day observed in the* Apostles *time.* Saint Paul *in his* Epistle *to the* Church *of* Corinth, *writeth thus,* Now concerning the Collection for the Saints, as I have ordained for the Churches of Galatia, so do ye, κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων, upon the first day of the week, let every man lay by him in store as God hath prospered him, that there be no gathering when I come. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.

Where observe,

First, *That* μία σαββάτων, *doth certainly signifie the first day of the Week, the day of our* Lord's *Resurrection from the dead; for the Four* Evangelists *do with one Voice averr, That our* Lord Jesus

Jesus *did arise*, τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, the first day of the week: *Nor can this reasonably be doubted by any who believe the* Scriptures. *Moreover* Saint Mark *doth clearly so interpret the Phrase*; *for the* Sabbath being over, *saith he*, Mary Magdalene, and others, came, πρωῒ τῆ μίας τῶν σαββάτων, early the first day of the week, *and found* Christ *risen*; *and* v. 9. *he adds*, *That* Christ was risen early, πρώτῃ σαββάτου, *that is*, *by the consent of all Interpreters*, upon the first day of the week. Saint Luke *observes*, *That* they rested on the Sabbath day according to the Commandment, *and then adds*, *That* they came unto the Sepulchre, τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, on the first day of the week.

Matth. 28. 1. *Mark* 16. 2. *Luke* 24. 1. *John* 20. 1.

Luke 23. 56.

Secondly, *This may be Argued from the succeeding Practice of the* Church, *which*, *in compliance with this Precept*, *still offer'd their Alms upon this Day*; *for* Justin M. *who flourished in the next Age to the* Apostles, *tells the* Heathen Emperor *in his* Apology, *That* 'twas *the Custom of* Christians to meet on the Lord's day to Pray, to hear the Word, to receive the Sacrament; and then, *saith he*, they who are rich, and willing, give what they think fit; and what is thus collected, is laid up in the hands of the President, who distributes it to Orphans, and Widows, and other Christians, as their Wants require. *Saint* Cyprian *also taxeth the Omission of this Duty on the* Lord's *day as a Fault in Rich*, *and able Persons*, *saying*, Thou art Wealthy and Rich, and thinkest thou that thou observest the Lord's day, who dost not at all respect the poor Man's Box?

Οἱ εὐπορῶντες καὶ βουλόμενοι αὐτῶν προαιρεσιν ἔχας ὃ τι ἂν ἑαυτῷ ὁ βούλεται δίδωσι. Apol. 2. p. 98, 99.

Locuples & dives es, *& dominicum observare te credis qui corbonam omnino non respicis?* De opere & eleemos. p. 203.

Thirdly, *All the* Ancient Commentators *on this Place*, *both* Greek *and* Latin, *unanimously interpret this of the* Lord's *day*. Ambrose *and* Primasius *among the* Latins; Chrysostom, Theodoret, Oecumenius *and* Theophylact *among the* Greeks.

Secondly, *Observe*, *that no good Reason can be given why the* Apostle *should limit the Collections of the* Churches *of* Corinth, *and* Galatia, *to* the first day of the week, *but this*; *That this day was appointed for the Worship of our* Lord, *and so more fit for the performance of those Duties which concerned his distressed Members in those Times*, *for as the works of Charity and Mercy are proper Duties of this day*, *so doth this day contain a special motive in it to enlarge their Charity*, *it being the day in which they were begotten to a lively Hope*, *through the Resurrection of our*

Saviour, *and in which they constantly in those times participated of his precious Body and Blood; and therefore having then received spiritual Things so plentifully from* Christ *must be more ready to impart of their temporals to his needy Servants.*

Thirdly, *Observe, that should the Text be rendered thus,* Let every one lay up against the first day of the week, *there would be some good reason for that Precept; provided that it were a day appointed for the Service of* Christ, *and the Assemblies of all* Christian *People, for meeting thus together on that day, they might then bring to the Assembly what they had treasured up against that time, and then put it into the publick Bank, as the Custom was in the first Ages of the* Church; *and that they did so here at* Corinth, *seems highly probable from the design of the* Apostles *Precept; for he exhorts them to have their Charity ready, that there might be no need of a Collection when he came; whereas, if they had kept their Charity in their own hands, and not put it into the publick Stock, there would still have been need of a Collection at his coming.* 2dly. *The* Apostle *might command to lay it up against that day, to be then offered to the* Lord, *because our Charity to his distressed Members is an* Odor of a sweet smelling Savour, a Sacrifice well-pleasing to God, *a Duty fitly joined with our Prayers, that so* they may come up together as a memorial before God. *Since therefore, whether we translate the word's,* upon the first day of the week, *or* against the first day of the week, *no reason doth appear, why* Saint Paul *should pitch upon that day, had it not been the day of their assembling together, the day on which they met to serve the* Lord Christ; *we ought in reason to conclude it was so: And if for the performance of this Work of Charity on the* Lord's day, Saint Paul *thought fit to give his,* διάταγμα, *or* special Order, *can we suppose the day it self should be observed without appointment of the said* Apostle, *or others of like power with him, especially, if we consider that* Clemens *the Contemporary of the* Apostles, *doth inform us, That* our Lord commanded our Oblations and Liturgies should be performed at times appointed, and not dis-

Philip. 4. 18. *Act.* 10. 4.

Πάντα τάξει ποιεῖν ὀφείλομεν ὅσα ὁ δεσπότης ἐπιτελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, κ᾽ καιρὸς τεταγμένους τὰς τε προσφορὰς, κ᾽ λειτουργίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι — κ᾽ οὐκ ἀτάκτως ἐκέλευσεν γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ὡρισμένοις καιροῖς κ᾽ ὥραις. πῦ τε κ᾽ διὰ τίνων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι θέλει αὐτὸς ὥρισεν τῇ ὑφηγητικῇ αὐτοῦ βουλήσει; ἵν᾽ ὁσίως πάντα γινόμενα εὐδοκήσει εὐπρόσδεκτα εἴη τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ, οἱ γὰρ τοῖς προστεταγμένοις καιροῖς ποιοῦντες τὰς προσφορὰς αὐτῶν εὐπροσδεκτοὶ, τοῖς γὰρ νομίμοις τοῦ δεσπότου ἀκολουθοῦντες οὐ διαμαρτάνουσιν. Epist. ad Cor. §. 40.

orderly,

orderly, but at those very times and seasons which he had ordained; *and thence concludes, That* they who offer their Oblations in those appointed Seasons, are blessed, and acceptable to God, *and that* because they act agreeably to the Commandments of their Lord; *for if* Christ *himself gave Laws for the time when, and the persons by whom he would have divine Offices performed, as* Clemens *here doth plainly teach, there is little doubt to be made but the* Lord's day *was his own Ordinance; and if, as he there adds,* These things were defined by his Sovereign Counsel, that all things being done religiously according to his good Pleasure, might be acceptable in his sight, *it follows that this time could not Religiously have been set apart for his Service, or have been acceptable to him, had it not been appointed by the Counsel of his Will; so that, although this Text doth not expressly command that the first Day of the Week should be observed as the* Christians *weekly Festival, yet if we join with it the uniform Practice of the* Primitive Church *then, and ever since, they jointly prove that the first day of the Week was the weekly Festival of* Christians *at that time, and strongly do imply, or suppose that before this* Apostolical *Ordinance for these Collections on this Day, there was another for the observation of the day it self; for how could it have happened that all the* Apostolical Churches *throughout the World should from the beginning have accorded to make this day a weekly* Festival, *unless they had been directed thus to do by the* Apostles *themselves, by whom they were at first converted to the* Christian *Faith, and with that Faith received this Institution?*

§. 3. 3dly. *We have another Scripture,* Act. xx. 7. *which fairly seemeth to conclude, that the* Apostles *and the* Christian Church *did then observe this day, and meet for the performance of Religious Worship on it; for there it is expresly said, That* upon the first day of the Week, when the Disciples came together to break Bread, Paul preached unto them, *Where Note,*

1. *That,* μία τῶν σαββάτων, the first day of the week, *was certainly the* Lord's day, *as hath already been made manifest.*

2. *Observe, That on this day the* Disciples *were not summoned extraordinarily to come together, that* Saint Paul *did not,* συναχαλεῖν, call them together, *as he did the Assembly of the* Elders *of the* Church, v. 17. *but the* Disciples *were themselves,* συνηγμένοι, met in their Synaxis, *or Assembly; the Text informs us, That*

Saint

Saint Paul tarried with them seven days, *and in none of them have we any mention of an Assembly to this purpose, but only on* the first day of the week.

3. *Observe, That they then met together* to break Bread, *which Phrase doth signifie the sacred Action performed in celebration of the* Holy Sacrament, *which 'twas the Custom of the* Primitive Christians *to receive in all their* Church-*Assemblies on the* Lord's day; *this the* Apostle *intimates when he complains of his* Corinthians, *That they came together for the worse, because when they came together in the* Church, *there were Divisions among them, so that they did not eat together of* the Table of the Lord. *Now thus to come together* in one place, *saith he,* is not to eat the Lord's Supper, i. e. *it is not so to do it, as the sacred Action ought to be performed; this therefore, when they came together in the* Church *they did, and therefore what is* coming together, *v.* 17. coming to the Church, *v.* 18. coming to one place, *v.* 19. *is* coming together to eat, *v.* 33. *Accordingly it was the Custom of the* Church *from the* Apostles *times thus to communicate upon the* Lord's day. Pliny *in his Epistle to the* Emperor Trajan, *tells him, That he found nothing to alledge against the* Christians, *but their Obstinacy in their Superstition, and that it was their Custom* to meet together on a set day before it was light, and to bind themselves by the Sacrament to do no evil. *Now this* Epistle *was writ only Six Years after the Death of the* Evangelist Saint John. *And* Justin M. *who wrote but Fifty Years after his death, thus speaks,* On Sunday all the Christians in the City or Country meet together, because that is the day of our Lord's Resurrection, and then we have read unto us the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles; this done, the President makes an Oration to the Assembly, to exhort them to imitate and do the things they heard; then we all join in Prayer, and after that we celebrate the Sacrament, and they that are willing and able, give their Alms, *&c.*

1 Cor. xi.

Soliti sunt stato die ante lucem convenire, &c. Ep. l. 10. *Ep.* 97.

Τὴν δὲ τῦ Ἡλίυ ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες ἡ συνέλευσιν ποιέμεθα ἐπειδὴ Ἰησῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος Σωτὴρ τῇ αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη. Apol. 2. p. 98, 99.

§. 4. Fourthly, *This may be further proved from the* Church's Testimony, *and from the plain Expressions of the* Fathers, *who flourished in the first and purest Ages of the* Church: *For to this Effect;*

Century

Century *the first*, *besides the words of* Clemens Romanus, *already mentioned*, the Apostle Barnabas *saith of the* Apostles *and* Christians *in the* General, Ἀγομὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν, We keep the eighth day a Festival, in which our Jesus rose from the dead. *Sect.* 15.

Century *the Second*, *I have produced the plain Testimonies of* Ignatius, Justin M. Irenæus, Dionysius *of* Corinth, Melito Sardensis.

Century *the Third*, *I have produced already the Testimony of* Clemens *of* Alexandria, *to which add that of* Tertullian, *who saith in his* Apology, Diem solis lætitiæ indulgemus, Sunday is the Festival of us Christians. *Cap.* 16. *And in his Book* Ad Nationes, *That they did rejoice upon that day, and that this was a thing so well known to the* Heathens, *that hence they took occasion to conjecture*, That the Sun was the God of Christians; *that of* Origen, That the Resurrection of our Lord is not celebrated annually only, but every seventh day; *which therefore, in opposition to the* Jews, *he calls*, Dominica nostra, The Christians Lord's day. *And that of* Cyprian, *That* Aurelius, *Dominico legit*, reads on the Lord's day.

Solem Christianorum deum æstimant quod innotuerit nos die solis, &c. Lib. 1. cap. 13.

Neque enim Resurrectio Domini semel in anno & non semper post septem dies celebratur. In Esa. Hom. 6.

Hom. 7. in Exod. fol. 41.

Ep. 38. *Ed. Ox. p.* 75.

Century *the Fourth*, Epiphanus *informs us*, *That* the Holy Catholick Church keeps every Lord's day as a Festival. *In a word, no* Church, *no single Writer ever represented this as a new, or introduced Practice, but do continually speak of it as the constant Practice of the* Christian Church. *We never read that any of the converted* Jews, *though they retained the* Jewish Sabbath, *ever disputed the Observation of* the first day of the week *in honour of our* Lord: *And therefore, as the* Reverend Bishop Bramhal *truly saith*, To question now whether there was a formal precept for that which all the Christian World hath obeyed ever since Christ's time, and shall obey until his Second Coming, is a strange degree of Folly. *And that this may be farther evident, I add this second Proposition:*

Τὰς κυριακὰς ἁπάσας τρυφερὰς ἡγεῖται ἡ Καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. Expos. fid. cap. 22.

Pag. 918.

That the Apostles had Commission from the Lord Christ, or were directed by his Spirit to ordain and chuse this day, to be employed in the publick Exercise of Christian piety, and in remembrance of the Resurrection of our Lord. *For*, §. 5. *Prop.* 2.

First,

First, Christ *did Commission his* Apostles *to teach the* Churches *all his Doctrine, and to deliver them all his Commands and Orders, which concerned their Duty and his Service; for thus he delivers his Commission to them*; All Authority is committed to
Matth. 28. 18. me in Heaven and Earth, Go therefore, and disciple all Nations, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded
John 20. 21. you: *He also saith unto them, That* as my Father sent me, so send I you; *and surely the* Father *sent him, who was* Lord of the Sabbath, *with full Commission to change and alter it, and substitute another day in lieu thereof. Accordingly the* Apostles *exercised this Power, they founded* Churches, *they delivered to them the Doctrines and Commands of* Christ, *they setled* Church Officers, Orders *and* Discipline; *and surely then they had Commission also to settle the time to be appointed for the Service of their* Lord *and* Master. *When therefore they began to practise the Observation of the first day of the Week, they only did what their Commission from the* Lord *impowered them to do.*

Secondly, *That the* Apostles *were directed by the* Holy Ghost *to set apart this day for Holy Worship, or to appoint* Church-*Meetings on this Day; and therefore that this was done by a* Divine Authority *appears from this, That their Determinations touching smaller Matters, and which were only temporary, are by themselves ascribed to the* Holy Ghost; *thus, when* Saint Paul *gives his advice,* in respect of the present necessity, *touching a single Life, though he confesseth he had no express from* Christ *touching that matter, yet he ascribes this Counsel to the* Holy
1 *Cor.* 7. 40. Ghost, For I think, *saith he,* I have the Spirit of Christ. *Again, the same* Apostle *speaking of the Directions which he gave concerning their* Church-*Meetings, and their Behaviour in them,*
1 *Cor.* 14. 37. *saith,* If any man think himself to be a Prophet, or Spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things I write unto you are the Commandments of the Lord. *The same must therefore be much more acknowledged of things of so high a nature as that is which they delivered to be observed by the* Universal Church, *they being equally Appointed, and Authorized to instruct them in Discipline and in Matters of Divine Worship, as in matters of Doctrine, and as well by Word as by* Epistle, *and therefore as well in the Observation of the time appointed for the Worship of their* Lord, *as in the due Regulation of it when they came together. The same*
1 *Cor.* 11. 23. Saint Paul *professeth, That* he had received from the Lord what

what he delivered to the Church of Corinth, *touching the Sacrament of the* Lord's Supper; *and when he ſpeaks of one particular concerning which he had no precept from* Chriſt, *he ſaith expreſly,* This ſpeak I, not the Lord; *if then the practice touching the Obſervation of the* Lord's Day, *had been of the ſame nature, we may ſuppoſe the* Apoſtles *would not have failed to inform the* Chriſtian Churches, *That this was their own Conſtitution, not the* Lord's, *which ſince they did not, we may preſume that they in this, as well as other things, did only what they received from the* Lord. *And laſtly the* Apoſtle *doth command the* Chriſtians *to obſerve the* Traditions *which they had received, whether* by Word, *or* by Epiſtle, *and therefore muſt command them to obſerve that day which by Tradition from the* Apoſtles *was certainly delivered to them.* 1 Cor. 7. 12. 2 Theſſ. 2. 15.

But againſt theſe Arguments it is Objected, That we read in Scripture *of many things ordained by the* Apoſtles, *which are now laid aſide,* viz. The Kiſs of Charity, the Love-Feaſt, the Anointing with Oil, the abſtaining from things ſtrangled, and from blood, and *therefore cannot rationally conclude the* Lord's day *ought to be obſerved perpetually and unalterably, becauſe it was ordained by thoſe* Apoſtles *who were aſſiſted by the* Holy Ghoſt. *Object.*

To this I Anſwer, That Apoſtolical Conſtitutions *which concern the whole* Church *muſt be eſteemed invariable and perpetual, if they have theſe Conditions:* *Anſw.*

First, *That they were made upon ſuch Grounds and Reaſons as equally concern the whole* Church *of all Ages, and there hath happened ſince no alteration of Circumſtances, which made it reaſonable then to obſerve, what now we have no Reaſon to perform:* v. g. *The* Anointing of the Sick *was a Ceremony annexed to the extraordinary Gift of Healing, which ceaſing, this Appendix of it ceaſed with it, not by any repeal of the* Church, *but by expiration; as all the Conſtitutions of Saint* Paul, *touching* the uſe of Tongues, *did with the failure of that Gift. The Law which obliged the* Gentile *to* abſtain from things Strangled, and Blood, *was deſigned only to avoid offending the weak* Jew; *there being therefore none ſuch now, nor any hopes remaining of their Converſion by this Abſtinence, that Law muſt ceaſe, not by a poſitive repeal, but by ceſſation of the Cauſe, or Reaſon of it, according to thoſe known Rules,* Sublatâ cauſâ tollitur effectus, & ratio

legis est lex, Take away the Cause, and the Effect ceaseth.

Secondly, *When they are not about some lesser Ceremonies or Circumstances, which in tract of time may become subject to abuse and hindrance, to a greater good; and for that reason may be dispensed with, and abrogated by the* Church, *by virtue of that general Rule of* doing all things to Edification, *but about Matters of great Moment, such as concern the Service of our Great* Master, *and the time to be set apart for the performance of it. For Instance, touching* the Kiss of Charity, *all that* Saint Paul *or* Peter *have delivered concerning it is this, That some times or other* Christians *should testifie their mutual affection to each other by a Kiss; and that this Kiss be not a wanton or dissembling one, but an* Holy *one, or a true* Kiss of Charity, *and in this sence 'tis still continued among* Christians: *Moreover 'tis of it self a thing indifferent, and only good as 'tis an indication of true Charity, and therefore is equivalently continued by all Acts of* Christian Charity. *The* Love Feasts *were designed for the Refreshment of the Poor, by what the Rich brought to the* Holy Sacrament *to be eaten by them at that Feast of Love; and since it after happened through the looseness of* Christians, *that great Disorders were committed in those Feasts, they being made occasions not of Divisions only, but of Intemperance and Drunkenness, they were universally disused in the Fourth Century, and converted into a more unexceptionable Charity to be distributed among the Poor; according to that never failing Rule, That where the abuse is greater than the use of a Ceremony, if the intended use may be obtained other wise,* Abusus tollit usum, *the abuse makes it reasonable to cease the usage of that Rite.*

Thirdly, *If they have been universally received through the whole* Christian *World, from the* Apostles *times unto our daies; not that the neglect of this Observation, by any* Church *in any Age or Ages, could have rendered this Ordinance invalid, or not obliging to Posterity, but because the continuance of it from the time of its first Practice or Institution to this present moment, is a just Presumption that all* Christians *have been always satisfied, and well assured of their Obligation to comply with it, and that no* Christians *can have any cause to vary from it. Now all these three particulars here meet: For,* 1. *This* Christian Festival *hath always been observed in all places, and throughout all Ages of the* Church. 2. *It was observed by all* Christians *for these very Reasons,* 1st. *That as the* Jews, *by Observation of the* Sabbath,

professed

professed to own the Lord of the Creation *for their* God, *and themselves to be his Servants; so they by Observation of the* Lord Christ *might own him as their* Lord *and* Master, *who was* the Lord of the New Creation. 2dly. *As they observed their* Sabbath, *in Commemoration of the Blessings procured to them by the* Creation, *so the* Christians *observed the day of our* Lord's Resurrection, *in thankful Remembrance of the inestimable Blessings procured and consigned to them by it. Now sure this solemn Act of owning* Jesus *for our* Lord, *on which account* Tertullian *says,* The Heathens feared to observe the Lord's Day, *is a Duty of the highest moment; and surely the Blessings partly purchased, partly confirmed to us by our* Lord's Resurrection, *must as well deserve a day to be employed in solemn and in grateful commemoration of them, as the Mercies which the Creation did conferr upon Mankind; and so this Constitution must be concerning Matters of great Moment. And,* 3dly. *These are never failing Reasons, and such as render it as necessary now to observe this day, and will do so for ever; and no Man ever can refuse the Observation of this day without being careless to own* Christ *for his* Lord, *or to return Thanks for the Benefits of his Resurrection, or without opposing, yea condemning the Wisdom of the* Apostles, *and the whole* Christian *World to this very day.*

Non Dominicum diem timerent enim ne Christiani viderentur.

Moreover, This Assertion is confirmed by the concurring suffrage of the Ancient Fathers; *for* Justin M. *speaking of the Observation of this day, saith, That our* Lord arising from the dead, ἐδίδαξε ταῦτα, taught these things. Eusebius *saith, That* Christ hath prescribed to all the Inhabitants of the World, by Sea and Land, that coming together into one place, they should celebrate as a Festival the Lord's day. In time past, *saith* Athanasius, the Sabbath was of great account, which Solemnity the Lord translated to the Lord's day, nor do we set light by it without his Authority. *In a word, the* Fathers *generally apply that Passage of the* Psalmist, This is the Day which the Lord hath made, let us be glad and rejoice in it, *to the* Lord's day, *as made or Instituted by the* Lord, *and* Consecrated *or Sanctified by his* Resurrection. *Others of them say, That the Observation of the* Lord's Day *was an* Apostolical Tradition,

Apol. 2. p. 99.

Τὴν κυριακὴν ἡμέραν ἑορτὴν ἄγειν ἐπέταξε συνιόντας παρεκέλευσε. De laudibus Constant. p. 664.

Μετέθηκε ὁ κύριος τὴν τῶν Σαββάτων ἡμέραν εἰς κυριακήν. De Sement. p. 1060.

So *Athanas. Serm. de Resurrect. Tom. 2. p. 277. Ambros. Ep. 83.*

Psalm. 118. 24.

Hesuch. in Levit. c. 9. Leo. Ep. 11. Ed. Quesnel. p. 436.

and that they kept it as an Holy Day, Apostolorum sequentes traditionem, following the Tradition of the Apostles. *The* Apostles, *and* Apostolical Men having decreed, *Dominicum diem religiosâ solennitate habendum,* That the Lord's day was Religiously to be celebrated.

And surely it is enough to satisfie all Conscientious Christians *in the Observation of this Day, that it was consecrated to the Service of our* Lord, *either by* Christ *himself, or his* Apostles, *and as such hath been celebrated ever since by the perpetual practice of the whole* Church Catholick, *especially if we consider what excellent Names these ancient* Observers *of it have ascribed unto it, and what great Dignities they have put upon it, calling it the* Queen of Days, *the* Princess *and* the Principal of Days, a Royal Day, higher than the highest, *the* first Fruits of the Days, *whereas had they conceived it only an humane Ordinance, it could not have deserved these Titles above other Daies ordained by the* Church. *In fine, how dangerous it is to say, That the publick Exercise of* Christian Religion *should depend upon so weak a Foundation as* humane Authority, *which may alter its own Constitutions, and is subject to manifold Errors, I leave to the prudent and* judicious Reader *to consider.*

§. 6.

Let then the Romanists *shew three Texts of* Scripture *expounded constantly in that sence by the whole* Church, *which confirms any of their Doctrines; let them shew us the Names of any of those Practices of theirs which we condemn, in* Scripture, *and the* Fathers *of the first* Centuries; *let them give clear evidence from their Writings, that such Practices were received in the* Apostles *daies throughout the* Christian *World, no* Church, *no* Christian *Writer ever excepting against them, or mentioning them as newly introduced Customs; let them shew us plain Expressions from them declaring that they were instituted either by* Christ *or his* Apostles, *and that they practised them,* Illorum sequentes traditionem, in compliance with their Tradition, *and then we shall no longer question or condemn them.*

Having thus Answered Mr. M's. *Argument against the sufficiency of the* Scripture *from this Head, I retort it thus.*

§. 7. Pag. 204.

That is necessary to be done to Salvation, which left undone, causeth Damnation; but the observation of the *Sunday*

(commanding

(commanding the abstaining from all servile Works) if neglected, or left undone, brings Damnation; therefore to observe in this manner the *Sunday*, is a thing necessary to Salvation; and yet this point is so far from being clearly put down in Tradition, that standing meerly to the sole judgment of it, we can clearly shew *more Declarations for the lawfulness of working on the* Sunday, *than for the unlawfulness thereof. The* Canon *of the* Council *of* Laodicea *only saith,* Can. 29. *That* Christians shall rest on the Lord's Day, ἐὰν δύνωνται, if they can, *well knowing that it was not possible for many of them so to do, some of them being Servants to* Pagan Masters, *some condemned to labour in the* Mines, *and toil in* Gallies *when their* Lords *required them, and yet we find not in all* Ecclesiastical History *those* Christians *ever then refused to labour upon this account; and therefore* Balsamon *upon this* Canon *saith, That,* ἐκ ἀναγκαστικῶς ἐπέτρεψαν, they did not enjoin this as a thing necessary; *but added,* If they could, let them do it; εἰ γὰρ ἐν πενίας ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς ἀνάγκης, καὶ μὴ πρὸ τοῦ κυριακοῦ ἐργάσηταί τις, οὐ παρακεκινδύνευται, for if any one work on the Lord's day out of Poverty, or any other necessity, he will not be condemned. *And* Zonaras *on the same* Canon *adds, That* the Civil Law commands all without excuse to rest upon the Lord's day, ἀνὰ πᾶν γεωργῶν, excepting Husbandmen, ἐκείνοις γὰρ καὶ ἐν Κυριακῇ ἐργάζεσθαι ἐφίησιν, for it permits them to work on the Lord's day, provided that they find no other day so fit for their work. *That which he saith touching the* Civil Law, *is evident from that* Law *of* Constantine *where commanding all men to rest on the* Lord's day; *he excepts* Rural Labours, *in which delay may be very prejudicial to them; which Law* Hermenopulus *gives us thus,* Ἐν τῇ Κυριακῇ δὲ λοιπὸν ἑορταῖς καὶ οἱ δικασταὶ καὶ πάντες ἀργείτωσαν πλὴν τῶν γεωργῶν, On the Lord's day and other Festivals, let the Judges and others rest, excepting only Husbandmen; *and none of the* Fathers *of the* Church *living in those dayes, or in the following* Centuries *reproved these Laws, or spake any thing to signifie that they esteemed them* Prophane: *On the contrary* Saint Jerom *tells us, That* Paula, with all the Virgins and Widows that lived at *Bethlehem* in a Cloyster with her, repaired to the Church on the Lord's Day, *Atque inde pariter revertentes instabant operi distributo,* and returning thence, they all fell to their work, and made Clothes for themselves, or others.

Cod. Just. l. 2. Cod. de feriis.

Enchirid Tit 4.

Epitaph. Paulæ ad Eustoch. f. 64.

And

§. 8. *And lastly, let it be observed, that though I verily believe this day to be of* Divine Institution, *and*, jure positivo, *to be observed, yet am I far from thinking that it is necessary to* Salvation *so to do, and much less to abstain wholly from working that day, or that if any* Church *should rather think it fit to keep another day in Honour of our* Lord, *or that if any* Christians *should think, as some of the* Ancient Fathers *seem to have done, that under the* Gospel *Dispensation there was no difference of daies; but that the* Christian *should observe every day as a* Spiritual Sabbath, *they should be damned, or even* Unchurched *for that Opinion. And therefore this is like unto most other Instances urged by Mr.* M. *impertinent, and such as reacheth not unto the Question,* viz. Whether the Scripture be deficient in any thing that's necessary to be believed, or practised to Salvation.

To proceed to the Second Question *touching our Freedom from any Obligation to observe the* Sabbath *injoined in the Fourth Commandment: I say, that though* Tradition *seems not sufficiently to do it,* Scripture *affords sufficient Evidence, that the Observation of the* Seventh day from the Creation *was only* a ceremonial Precept, *and therefore not obliging to the* Christian; *that is, the Observation of the* Seventh day from the Creation, *as a day wholly to be set apart* for rest from bodily Labour, *according to the* Fourth Commandment, *was not enjoined by a* Moral Law, *or by a Law commanding what is naturally good antecedently to the Command of the* Lawgiver; *or which can be resolved into any Principle, or Dictates of the Law of Nature, imprinted in Mens Hearts at the* Creation, *but that it was a Law which only did oblige the* Jews *and* Jewish Proselytes *to rest from Labour on that day, laying no Obligation on the* Christian *so to do. And,*

§. 9. First, *That this Command to observe the* Seventh day from the Creation *could be no Moral Precept, obliging all Mankind, is evident,* 1. *From the Reasons there assigned of it; Because* God having made the World in six days, rested the seventh, *and that* therefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and hallowed it. *Now, evident it is, that no Man by the Light of Nature could discern that God imployed* six days *in the Creation of the World, or that he rested on the seventh day only from his Labour;*

no

no humane Reason could, with any certainty inferr, That because he rested from his Labour on this day, we should rest also on it; and so no Man, without a Revelation, could be acquainted with these Grounds for Observation of this day. Moreover no Man by the Light of Nature could know that Time ought rather to be computed by Weeks, *or by the Number* Seven, *than any other Number, and much less that one day in seven precisely, rather than in ten, should be dedicated to God's* Service; *this being neither a principle evident in it self, nor derivable from any thing that is so, and much less that the last of* seven *days should be kept holy, rather than the first, or any other of the seven, no day being more holy than another by* inherent Sanctity, *but only by* God's *free and arbitrary injunction to apply it, or consecrate it to Religious Uses. And sure God, notwithstanding the Creation of the World in six days, had he so pleased, might have designed any of those days for his* Religious Worship. 4thly. *Such Precepts as are purely Moral, and are injunctions of things good antecedently to the command, can in no time or case be violated or transgressed; whereas our* Lord *expresly hath declared, That this Law touching the* Sabbath, *in many cases, might be violated. And therefore* Chrysostom *observes, That* of those natural Laws, Thou shalt not Kill, or commit Adultery, *&c.* God gave no Reason, because the Light of Nature taught them; but when it pleased him to prescribe the Observation of the Sabbath day according to the Fourth Commandment, he adds these Reasons, because he rested on the seventh day from all his Work, and because thou wast a Bondman in the Land of *Egypt*, as knowing this Commandment was not primogeneal, nor made known to us by the dictate of our Consciences, but was temporary and particular, *i. e. given only to the* Jewish Nation, *according to those Words of* Moses, I have given you the Sabbath, *Exod.* xvi. 19.

Περὶ Σαββάτου νομοθετῶν — πῶς αἰτίαν προσέθηκεν, ὅτι ὃ τοῦ φόνου οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐποίησεν ἐπειδὴ αὐτὴ μὲν ἡ ἐπολὴ ἀπῶν, προσηγμένων, ἦν οὐδὲ πρὸ ἐν τῇ συνειδότος ἐπειλουμένων, ἀλλὰ μειζονὴ τις καὶ προσκαιρος. Stat. Orat. 12. Tom. 6. Ed. Savil. p. 542. Τὸ Σαββάτου φυλακῆς ἐκ ἡ φύσις διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ' ἡ θέσις τοῦ νόμου. Theod. in Ez. 20.

Secondly, *This clearly doth appear from that Defence our* Saviour *made of his* Disciples, *when they were censured by the* Pharisees *for violating the* Sabbath *by* plucking Ears of Corn, and rubbing them; *for our* Lord *justifies their Action,* 1. *by the Example* §. 10. *Matth.* xij.

vers. 3. *Example of* David *and his Men*, Who being hungry ate the shew Bread, which by the Law of Moses was to be eaten only by the Priest: *Now in all Arguments*, à pari, *or taken from Example, the Ground, or the Foundation of them must be this*, In paribus par ratio, the Reason is the same where the Case is so. *And so in Arguments drawn from such Actions, the Cases must be still alike in all considerable Circumstances, and so it will be in the* Example *here produced, provided that the rest enjoined in the* Fourth Commandment *be* Ceremonial, *for then the Case runs thus, I and my Men, and* David *and his Men being both hungry, did that which was forbidden by a* Ceremonial *Law of* Moses; *if therefore* David *and his Men were blameless, I and my* Disciples *must be so: But if the Rest enjoined by the* Fourth Commmandment *had been* Moral, *'tis evident the Cases could not be alike, since* David *and his Men did only violate a* Ceremonial Precept; *but* Christ's Disciples *did transgress a* Moral Precept. *So that we stand obliged to confess the Rest enjoined by the* Fourth Commandment *was* Ceremonial, *or that our* Saviour's *Argument was unconcluding and unsound, which it is* Blasphemy *to assert.*

Again our Saviour *Argues, That his* Disciples *were not to be accused of doing evil, though they did not observe the Rest required on the* Sabbath *day, because God had declared* he will have mercy, and not Sacrifice; *that is, he will have works of Mercy, which are* Moral Duties, *to be preferred before* Sacrifices, *which are but* Ceremonials, *the feeding of the hungry Body must therefore be compared to works of Mercy, the violating the Rest prescribed by the* Fourth Commandment *is that which is compared to Offering* Sacrifice: *Since then the Law concerning* Sacrifices *most certainly was* Ceremonial, *the Law concerning the* Sabbatick Rest *must be so also.*

vers. 7.

§. 11. *Argum.* 2. *Gal.* 4. 10, 11. Secondly, *This may be fairly gathered from these Words of the* Apostle Paul *to the* Galatians, You observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, least I may have laboured among you in vain. *Where observe,*

First, *That the* days, *and* months, *the* times *and* years *here mentioned are only* Jewish *days and times, as will appear first from the scope of the Apostles, which is to shew the* Christian Gentiles *were exempt from any Obligation to observe the Law of* Moses

Moſes, *for this being the chief deſign of that* Epiſtle, *the days forbidden here muſt be the days and times commanded by the Law of* Moſes. 2dly. *By Obſervation of thoſe days and times*, &c. *they are here ſaid to be willing* to return again to the ſervice of weak and beggarly Elements. *Now theſe Elements to which they are ſaid to have been in Bondage are the* Moſaick Ceremonies, *v.* 3, *and* 4. For we, *ſaith he*, when we were Children were in Bondage to the Elements of the World, *but* when the fulneſs of time was come, God ſent to redeem thoſe that were under the Law, *from any farther Bondage to it.*

Secondly, *Obſerve, That the* Months, Times *and* Years *here mentioned, do comprehend all other* Jewiſh Feſtivals *beſides the* Sabbath, *for the* Months *ſignifie their* New Noons; *the* Times, *the* ſet times *of going up to* Jeruſalem; *the* Years, *their* ſolemn Anniverſary Feaſts, *which conſtantly returned at ſuch a time of* Year, *or after ſuch a* period of Years; *and therefore the* Days *here mentioned can only ſignifie the* Sabbath *Days obſerved by the* Jews, *and ſo Saint* Jerom *and Saint* Chryſoſtom *interpret the Place.*

Thirdly, *Obſerve, That the* Jewiſh Sabbath, *or the Day of Reſt, appointed by the* Fourth Commandment, *is certainly the* ſeventh day from the Creation, *as is evident*, 1. *From the Reaſon there aſſigned*, You ſhall keep the Sabbath, for in ſix days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, and reſted the ſeventh day. 2. *That was the day which the Lord* Bleſſed *and* Sanctified; *if therefore that be abrogated, and not to be obſerved by* Chriſtians, *the day of Reſt enjoined in the* Fourth Commandment *muſt be aboliſhed, which was the thing to be proved.*

Thirdly, *This will be ſtill more evident from thoſe words of the ſame* Apoſtle *to the* Coloſſians, *affirming, That* Chriſt had blotted out the hand-writing of Ordinances which was contrary to us, and had taken it out of the way, nailing it to his Croſs; *and making thence this Inference*, Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in reſpect of an holy day, or of the New Moons, or of the Sabbath days, which are a ſhadow of things to come, but the body is of Chriſt. *Where Note*, §. 12. *Argum.* 3. 2 *Coloſ.* xiv. 16, 17.

1ſt. *That* the hand-writing of Ordinances *reſpecteth* Ceremonial *Orders, for of them only can it be truly ſaid, That* they

were againſt us, and were contrary to us, *as being Yokes of Bondage, and Burthens grievous to be born*; *that they were* blotted out, *and* cancelled, *and* nailed to the Croſs of Chriſt, *and that they were* ſhadows of, *or* ſhadows in reſpect of things to come.

2dly. *When it is ſaid*, Let no Man judge you in reſpect of *theſe things*, *the meaning clearly is*, *Let no Man cenſure or condemn the* Chriſtian *for not obſerving theſe* New Moons, Feaſts *or* Sabbaths. *Hence then theſe Arguments reſult.*

Firſt, *No Man ought to condemn the* Chriſtian *for not obſerving of the* Jewiſh Sabbath, *becauſe that* Chriſt hath blotted out the hand-writing of ceremonial Ordinances, which was againſt them; *therefore the* Jewiſh Sabbath *was a* ceremonial Ordinance; *therefore 'tis blotted out*; *therefore the* Chriſtian *is not obliged to obſerve it*: *That which is joined with Meats and Drinks*, *and with* New Moons, *which are things confeſſedly* Ceremonial, *no difference at all being obſerved by the* Apoſtle, *as to their being named* hand-writings, *things* cancelled, ſhadows, *or the like*, *that muſt be* ceremonial; *that which is a ſhadow of*, *or in reſpect of things to come*, *of which* Chriſt *by his Advent exhibited the* Body, *that muſt be* ceremonial, *that muſt be* cancelled, *and* aboliſhed *by* Chriſt; *therefore the* Jewiſh Sabbath *muſt be aboliſhed*, *as being only* ceremonial. *The Anſwers which the* Sabbatarians *return to this laſt Argument are theſe*;

Anſwer 1. 1ſt. *That the* Apoſtle *meaneth here by* Sabbaths, *not the weekly* Sabbath *of the* Jews; *but the firſt*, *and laſt days of the* great Jewiſh Feaſts, *which were by them obſerved as* Sabbaths, *and are in* Scripture *ſometimes ſtiled by that Name.*

Reply. 1. *The* Apoſtle *having ſaid before*, Let no Man condemn you, ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς, for not obſerving of the Jewiſh Feſtivals, or any part thereof, *cannot be rationally ſuppoſed in the word* Sabbaths *following*, *to forbid only the ſame thing.*

2. *In the* New Teſtament *the word* Sabbath, *or* Sabbaths, *is uſed above* ſixty *times*, *and in* Fifty ſix *of thoſe places*, *it doth unqueſtionably ſignifie the* Jewiſh weekly Sabbath, *and in the other places the* whole week: *ſith then the* Sabbath *in the* New Teſtament *is never uſed for the firſt and laſt days of the* Jewiſh *Feaſts*, *but ordinarily is there uſed for their* weekly Sabbath, *we ought in reaſon to conclude it here importeth the ſame thing which it is uſed to ſignifie where it is mentioned in other places by*

the

the Holy Ghoſt, *and not conceive it here importeth that which it is never uſed to ſignifie in the* New Teſtament; *that is, we ought to judge it ſignifies the* ſeventh day Sabbath, *and not the* ſolemn days *of the* great Jewiſh Feaſts.

3. *Where-ever the word* Sabbath *in the* Old Teſtament *is mentioned in conjunction with* New Moons, *or* Jewiſh Feaſts, *it doth import the* ſeventh day Sabbath *diſtinctly and ſeparately from all others, as will appear from the peruſal of all the places where theſe things are jointly mentioned, as,* v. g. 2 Kings iv. 23. Eſa. i. 13. Eſa. lxvi. 23. Lament. ij. 6. Ezek. xlv. 17. Ezek. xlvi. 1. Hoſ. ij. 11. Amos viij. 5. *Being then here mentioned together with* New Moons *and* Jewiſh Feaſts, *'tis reaſonable to conceive it ſignifies the ſame thing.*

4. *The* Sabbath day *in the* Old Teſtament *is often contradiſtinguiſhed to all other* ſolemn Feaſts, *and more particularly to* New Moons, *and* anniverſary Feaſts; *and therefore being here mentioned with them, we may preſume it cannot ſignifie them, or any portion of them, but rather that it doth import that* Jewiſh Sabbath, *which in other places is put in oppoſition to them; as for Example,* 1 Chron. xxiij. 31. 2 Chron. ij. 4. xxxi. 3. Neh. x. 32, 33. *And laſtly* Moſes, *having reckoned up the* ſolemn Feaſts, Leviticus *the* 23. *he adds v.* 37, 38. Theſe are the Feaſts of the Lord which you ſhall proclaim beſides the Sabbath of the Lord; *ſeeing then the word* Sabbath *where-ever it is uſed in conjunction with* New Moons *or* Feaſts *in the whole Book of God, doth always ſignifie the* Jewiſh weekly Sabbath *we cannot doubt but in conjunction with them, here it ſignifies the ſame; ſeeing the word is often put in oppoſition to* New Moons *and* ſolemn Feaſts *indefinitely taken, what reaſon have we to conceive that in this place it ſhould be taken for any part or portion of them.*

Some Sabbatarians *tell us, That by* Sabbath *here the* Apoſtle *underſtandeth not the* weekly, *but the* yearly Sabbaths, viz. *the ſeven Years* Sabbath, *and the* Sabbath *of the Year of* Jubilee. *Anſw.* 2.

But the ſame Obſervations do confute this Gloſs; *for ſeeing the word* Sabbath *in the whole* New Teſtament *doth never ſignifie the yearly* Sabbath, *but ſtill the* ſeventh day Sabbath, *or the whole week; ſince the word* Sabbath, *when it is joined with* New Moons *and* Feaſts, *as here it is, doth always ſignifie* the ſeventh *Reply.*

day Sabbath, *this* Sabbatarian Gloſs *muſt be repugnant to that Sence in which the word is uſed by the* Holy Ghoſt, *and therefore contrary to thoſe Rules by which we are obliged to expound the* Scripture.

Anſw. 3. *'Tis Thirdly Anſwered, That the* Apoſtle *ſaith not, as the words are rendered,* Let no Man judge you in reſpect of a Feaſt; *but as they ought to be rendered,* Let no Man judge you, ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς, ἢ νεμηνίας, ἢ Σαββάτων, in part of a Feaſt, New Moon, *or* Sabbath; *whence they conclude, that he intends not the whole* Sabbath, *but that part of it which conſiſted in* offering Sacrifices, *and this he calls a* ſhadow, *or a* hand-writing of Ordinances.

Reply. *This Quarrel at the Tranſlation of theſe Words is groundleſs; for,* ἐν μέρει, *doth as truly ſignifie* on the account, *or* on behalf *or* in reſpect, *as it doth ſignifie* in part; *as when the ſame* Apoſtle *ſaith,* 2 *Cor.* 3. 10. That which was made glorious, had no glory, ἐν τούτῳ μέρει, in this reſpect, by reaſon of the Glory that excelleth. *And again,* 2 *Cor.* 9. 3. I have ſent the Brethren, leaſt our boaſting of you ſhould be in vain, ἐν τούτῳ μέρει, on this behalf. *And when Saint* Peter *ſaith,* 1 *Pet.* 4. 16. If any Man ſuffer as a Chriſtian, let him not be aſhamed, but let him glorifie God, ἐν τούτῳ μέρει in this behalf. *Moreover this expreſſion was in uſe among the* Jews *of that* Age, *as appears from that ſaying of the Book of* Maccabees, 2 *Maccab.* 15. 18. The care they took for their Wives and Children, *&c.* was, ἐν ἥττονι μέρει, in leaſt account with them, *their principal fear being for the* Holy Temple; *whence it appears, that our Tranſlation of this Phraſe is very ſuitable to the Language of the* Apoſtles, *and of the Age in which they lived, and conſequently to the true meaning of theſe Words.*

2dly. *The* Apoſtle *here makes no diſtinction of parts of the* Sabbath *to be retained, and other parts to be aboliſhed; if therefore no Man ſhould condemn us,* ἐν μέρει Σαββάτου, for not obſerving part of a Sabbath, *then no Man ſhould condemn us for not obſerving the* Reſt *enjoined on that day, that being eminently part of the* Sabbath.

3dly. *If,* τὸ ἐν μέρει, *the word,* in part, *can only be referred to the* Sacrifices *offered on the* Sabbath, *then muſt it only relate to the* Sacrifices *of the* New Moons, *and other* Feaſts, *to which it more immediately is joined; whereas it is acknowledged,*

not

not only that the Sacrifices *offered then, but even the whole* New-Moons *and* Feasts *were part of that* hand-writing *which was blotted out, and* shadows of things future, *and Solemnities, for not observing any part of which the* Christian *was not to be censured or condemned, and therefore this must be affirmed also of the whole* Sabbath Festival.

4thly. *There is not one Example in the whole* sacred writ, *in which it can be shewed, that,* μέρος Σαββάτε, *doth signifie the* Sacrifices *offered on the* Sabbath *day, in distinction from the other Duties of the Day; whence evident it is, That this Exposition of the words is groundless. Besides, had the* Apostle *intended by these words only to signifie, That no Man should condemn the* Christians *for not offering* Sacrifice *on that day; what Reason could there be, why he should not have plainly said so, rather than signifie his mind in Terms so much offensive to the* Jews, *as seeming to declare the Abrogation of their whole* Sabbath, *and to misguide the* Christian *into such an apprehension? Surely, had the* Apostle *embraced the* Sabbatarian *Doctrine, he would not have afforded so great occasion to others to reject it. But against this Argument the* Sabbatarians *thus Object;*

That the Sabbath *here mentioned is said to be* a shadow of things future, *but the Seventh day* Sabbath *was a sign of a thing past,* viz. *of the* Creation *of the World.* *Object.* 1.

That the Sabbath was (not as the Objection, without Ground, affirms, A Sign, but) a Feast *Instituted in Commemoration of the Creation of the World, proves not that it was not a shadow also of things future; for the* Passover *was the memorial of God's Mercy in passing over the Houses of* Israel, *when he smote the* Ægyptians; *the Feast of* Tabernacles *was a memorial that their Fathers dwelt in Tents and Tabernacles;* Pentecost *was a memorial of the giving of the Law at* Mount Sinai; *the Feast of* unleavened Bread *was celebrated in memory of their Passing out of* Ægypt *with their* Dough unleavened, *and of their deliverance from the Afflictions they endured in* Ægypt; *if therefore, notwithstanding the Institution of these* Feasts *in memory of what was past, it is acknowledged by all* Christians, *that they were* shadows of good things to come, *the* Seventh day Sabbath *may be both.* *Answer.*

And whereas it is by the Sabbatarians *said, That the* seventh day Sabbath *seems not to be a* shadow *of any Blessing which*

which we at preſent do enjoy by Chriſt, *it may be Anſwered,*

1. *That this Expreſſion of the* Apoſtle *doth not neceſſarily import, that the things mentioned here were* ſhadows *which related to things future, but only that comparatively to thoſe future things which were to be preſcribed and taught by* Chriſt *and his* Religion, *they were ſhadows.*

2. *This Objection ſeems to contradict the very Words of the* Apoſtle, *and therefore what Saint* Auſtin *ſaid to* Fauſtus *is very proper here*; Anſwer thou the Apoſtle, if thou canſt, who witneſſeth, That reſting on the Sabbath day was a ſhadow of that which was to come. *Even the* Ancient Jews *acknowledged, That their* Sabbath *was a* ſhadow of the Age *of the* Meſſiah; *this being their Aſſertion, That* the Sabbath was given as a Type of the Holam Habba, or the Age to come, *by which they underſtand the Age of the* Meſſiah; (*whence in the* Epiſtle *to the* Hebrews, the World to come *doth clearly ſignifie the* Goſpel Age,) *and this they gathered from theſe Expreſſions of the* Prophet Iſaiah, *which ſay, That* it ſhall come to paſs that from one New Moon, and from one Sabbath to another, *ſhall* all fleſh come to worſhip before the Lord; *which, ſay the* Jews, *is ſpoken of that Age to come, which ſhall be* all Sabbath. *And all the* Ancient Fathers *do with one Voice declare, That the* Jewiſh Sabbath *was* Typical, *and figured the* Spiritual *Reſt which Righteous Perſons ſhould enjoy by* Chriſt, *and their Spiritual Ceaſing from the Works of Sin, and that we always ought to be employed in God's Service.*

Apoſtolo reſpondeſi potes, qui vacationem iſtius diei umbram futuri eſſe teſtatur. Contra Fauſtum l. 19. c. 16.

Ch. 66. 23.

In ſigno data ſunt Judæorum populo, *Iren. l.* 4 *c.* 30. Ita *Iren. l.* 4. *c.* 30. *Barnabas, Ep.* §. 15. *Orig. Hom.* 23. *in Numer. f.* 136. *Auguſt. l.* 4. *De Gen. ad lit. c.* 11. *Clemens Alex. Strom. l.* 4. *p.* 477. *Orig. Hom.* 23. *in Num. f.* 136. *Machar. Hom.* 35. *Greg. Nyſſen. Hom.* 7. *in Eccleſ. Tom.* 1. *p.* 440. *Cyril. Alex. in cap.* 6. *Amoſi p.* 315. Sabbata perſeverantiam totius diei erga deum deſervitionis edocebant, *Iren. lib.* 4. *cap.* 30. *Juſt. M. in Dial. cum Tryph. p.* 229. *c. Tertull. adverſ. Jud. c.* 4.

§. 13. Fourthly, *The* Fathers *with one Voice Aſſert, That the* Sabbath *was* ceremonial, *and that the* Chriſtians, *or at leaſt the* Gentile *Converts, were not obliged to obſerve it.* Juſtin M. *Aſſerts, That* after the Appearing of the Son of God we have no need to obſerve the Sabbath. Irenæus, *That* it doth not Juſtifie, *and that the* Ancient Patriarchs pleaſed God without the Obſervation of it. Tertullian, *That the Obſervation of it was* Temporary, *and that it was blotted out like as* Circumciſion,

Lib. 4. *c.* 30.

Adv. Jud. c. 4.

cumcision, *and other Rites of the Old Law. The* Council *of* Laodicea *declares, That* Christians ought not to Rest on the Sabbath, but work on it, preferring before it the Lord's day. Epiphanius *saith, That* our Lord did his Miracles on the Sabbath, and commanded the Impotent Man to take up his Bed on that day, to insinuate that the Sabbath was to be dissolved; *that hence the* Apostles *knew,* ὅτι λέλυται τὸ Σάββατον, that the Sabbath was dissolved; *that it was dissolved by the Coming of* Christ *the Great Sabbath, who gives us Rest from our Sins. Saint* Cyril *of* Jerusalem *tells his* Catechist, *That* all Observation of Sabbaths is to be rejected. *It would be endless to recite all that the* Fathers *say upon this Subject; but if we do consider how constantly the* Fathers *teach, That the* Patriarchs *and pious Men, before the promulgation of the Law of* Moses *observed not the* Sabbath, *how generally they teach that it was a* shadow of good things to come by Christ, *and that our* Saviour *both by his* Miracles *performed upon that day, and by his Contests with the* Pharisees, *designed to insinuate the dissolution of it, we can no longer doubt the Judgment of the* Ancients *in this Matter.*

Can. 29.

Hær. 30. Ebion. §. 32. vid. Hær. 66. c. 82.

Catech 4. p. 38.

To proceed then to Answer the Objections of the Sabbatarians. §. 14.

First, Mr. M. *Objects, That* God Blessed the Seventh day and Sanctified it, because in that, and not in any other, he had rested from all his Work, *Gen.* 2. *And then enquires,* How comes this Blessing given to no other day among the Seven, but given to the Seventh day, only to be lost? who took away the Sanctification of it given by God himself, and given for a Reason which is as obliging now, as ever?

Object. 1. §. 9. *p.* 205.

To this I Answer, That to Bless *and* Sanctifie *the Seventh day doth only signifie to set apart that day for his peculiar Worship, or as the Badge and Sign by which the People, who owned* Jehovah *for their God, should be distinguished from all other People, and by which He should also be distinguished from all other Gods, by a Work peculiar to himself; for it being the Custom of all* Nations *and of all* Religions, *to set apart some day or time as Sacred for the Worship of their Gods, and in that time to Solemnize their Worship by the Commemoration, or the imitation of some peculiar Actions for which they were Honoured; God would have this to be the Sign of His* peculiar People, *the Resting on the* Sabbath *day, in Token that they owned him as the Creator of the World by imi-*

Answ.

tation

tation of the Reſt he took when he had made it: This God himſelf
Exod. 31. 15, 16. *declares by ſaying,* The Children of Iſrael ſhall keep the Sabbath to obſerve it through their Generations for a perpetual Covenant. It is a ſign betwixt me and the Children of Iſrael for ever; for in ſix days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, and on the ſeventh day he Reſted; *that is, Now that the Seed of* Abraham *are come to be my People in* Covenant, *they ſhall keep the Seventh day as a Sign that they are Conſecrated to the Service of the Creator of the World, and that they own him as*
Ezek. 20. 12. *their God. Hence are theſe Sabbaths ſaid to be given* to be a ſign betwixt God and them, that they might know he was the Lord that ſanctified them: *and God commands them to*
Exod. 31. 13. *obſerve them,* that they might know he was the Lord that ſanctified them; *that is, did conſecrate and ſeparate them from all other* Nations, *to be his own peculiar People. Hence alſo was it that till God had made of* Abraham a great Nation, *till he had freed this Nation from that Bondage they were under to the* Ægyptians, *who would not let them reſt from Work, and choſen them to be* his own peculiar People: *He laid not this injunction on them, for even the very* Sabbath *day before that mentioned by* Moſes *to be obſerved by them as a day of Reſt, they marched a*
Exod. 16. 1. Neh. 9. 14. *wearisom Journey, and* came *at Night* to the Wilderneſs of Sin; *and therefore* Nehemiah *ſaith, That God* made known to them his Holy Sabbath by the hand of Moſes his Servant, *that is, then did he ſet a part that day to be a day to be obſerved by them in Honour of him. Accordingly the* Chriſtian Fathers *generally teach, That none of the* Patriarchs *did keep the Sabbath, nor do we find from* Adam *to* Joſeph *the leaſt mention of the Obſervation of it, though we find frequent mention of all other Acts and Requiſits of their Religious Worſhip, of their Groves and Oratories, their Prieſts and Altars, their Sacrifices and Oblations, Prayers, Vows, Thanksgivings, and, after* Abraham, *of their Circumciſion; the Book of* Geneſis *is partly ſpent in giving an account of the Travels of theſe* Patriarchs *from one place to another, and yet it addeth not one word of their reſting any where, becauſe it was the* Sabbath *day. Now doth it not ſeem ſtrange that ſuch a ſolemn Command ſhould have been given to* Adam *and all Mankind, as ſome conceive it was, and not the leaſt Print or Token of the Obſervation of it to be found for Two thouſand Years?*

And

And whereas ſome Object thoſe Words of Moſes, This is that which the Lord hath ſaid, To morrow is the Reſt of the Holy Sabbath to the Lord, *and thence Collect, that God had before* Moſes *given a Command touching the Obſervation of that day;* *Object.* *Exod.* 16. 23.

It may be Anſwered, That the word is, *is wanting in the* Hebrew, *and ſo the Words may thus be rendred,* This is that which the Lord hath ſaid, To morrow ſhall be the Reſt of the Holy Sabbath to the Lord; *and ſo they will accord exactly with thoſe other* Scriptures, *which tell us, That the* Sabbath *was* made known *to the* Jews, *not by* Abraham *or* Joſeph, *but* by the Hands of Moſes; *that God cauſed them* to go forth out of the Land of Ægypt, *and* (*then*) gave them his Sabbaths to be a ſign between him and them; *whereas the Sign of the Covenant between him and* Abraham *was only that of* Circumciſion. *Now from all theſe Conſiderations it ſeems evident that the import of thoſe Words of* Moſes *in* Geneſis *the Second,* Wherefore the Lord bleſſed the ſeventh day, and hallowed it, *is only this, God made the World in Six days, and reſted the* Seventh, *which was the Reaſon that when he choſe to himſelf a* peculiar *People, he made that the day they were to ſet apart for his Service that ſo they might acknowledge him, whom they ſerved, to be the Creator of the World.* *Ezek.* 20. 10, 12.

And Becauſe on the ſame Day God overthrew Pharaoh *and his* Hoſt *in the* Red Sea, *and by that Action compleated his Deliverance of his People from* Ægyptian *Bondage, therefore he gives that as a farther Reaſon of the Obſervance of that Day, ſaying,* Remember that thou waſt a Servant in the Land of Ægypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence with a mighty hand, and with a ſtretched out arm, therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day. *Hence therefore,* See Mr. *Mede*, Diſc. 15. p. 56. *Deut.* 5. 15.

1. *We ſee ſufficient cauſe why this Command ſhould be inſerted into the* Decalogue *with as much Ceremony and Solemnity as the others were, although it were not Moral, as to the Nature of it, it being ſo far Moral with reſpect unto the end of its Obſervance,* viz. *The owning the Creator of Heaven and Earth, as their peculiar God, in oppoſition to all* Heathen Deities; *that upon this depended the performance of all the other Duties, which belong to the Firſt Table. For 'twas this Inſtitution which continually*

nually brought this Fundamental Article *to their Remembrance, that the God they Worſhipped was the Creator of the World; they could not ask themſelves why they thus reſted, but this muſt come into their Minds; this could not come into their Minds but they muſt be inclined to deſpiſe all the old* Heathen Deities, *the* Sun, Moon *and* Stars, *and the whole* Earth, *as being all the Creatures of their Great* Jehovah: *Wherefore this Precept having ſuch ſtrict Affinity with the other Three, which were unqueſtionably intended to remove the Kinds, the Objects, the Signs, and Inſtruments of* Idolatry, *and keep them cloſe to the ſole Worſhip of the True* Jehovah, *might very well find place among the Precepts of the* Decalogue.

2. *Hence alſo may we ſee ſufficient Reaſon for the ſtrict Charge God gave for Obſervation of the* Sabbath; *for the ſevereſt Puniſhments which he inflicted on the Violaters of it, and for the Promiſes he made of ſignal Bleſſings to the Obſervers of it,* viz. *Becauſe the Obſervation of this day tended ſo fully to eſtabliſh the great Foundation of the Law of* Moſes, *That* Jehovah *the Creator of the World was their God in Covenant; and becauſe it was a moſt effectual Bar againſt the Old* Idolatry *of the World, which chiefly did conſiſt in Worſhipping the whole, or elſe ſome parts of Heaven and Earth, on which account we find God often mentioning theſe things together, the keeping of the* Sabbath, *and the fleeing from* Idolatry, *as in theſe words,* Ye ſhall keep my Sabbath, I am the Lord your God, turn you not to Idols, nor make to your ſelves molten Gods, I am the Lord your God. *And in theſe following,* You ſhall make no Idols, nor graven Images, nor ſhall you ſet up an Image of Stone in the Land to bow down unto it; for I am the Lord your God, ye ſhall keep my Sabbaths. *Laſtly, Becauſe the Violation of this Law was a virtual denial of the Creation of the World, and conſequently of that God who made it, and gave them this Temptation to Worſhip the Heavenly Beings, that they were eternal. Accordingly we find the* Jews *uſually committing both theſe Sins at once,* Idolatry, *to wit, and violation of the* Sabbath, *as in thoſe Words,* They polluted my Sabbaths, for their Hearts went after their Idols; *and in thoſe of the Author of the Book of* Maccabees, Many of the Iſraelites conſented to the Religion of Antiochus, and ſacrified unto Idols, and prophaned the Sabbath. *Since then the Obſervation of this Day was of ſo great moment for*

Levit. 19. 3,4.

Levit. 26 1,2.

Ezek. 20. 16.

1 *Mac.* 1. 43.

pre-

preſervation of them from that Idolatry *to which they were ſo prone, and the neglect of it put them in ſo great danger of returning to it. Surely we may diſcern ſufficient Reaſon of the Severities and Promiſes forenamed, and of the frequent Charges given for the ſtrict Obſervance of it.*

3. *Hence alſo may we ſee the plaineſt Reaſon for the non-Obligation of the* ſeventh *day* Sabbath *now, Becauſe that Reaſon of the Inſtitution of it, which concerned their Freedom from* Ægyptian *Bondage, was peculiar to the* Jews, *and therefore never could concern the* Chriſtian. *The other Reaſon Aſſigned by God that it might be a* Sign between God and them, *that they were his peculiar People, and that he was the* Lord that ſanctified them, *muſt alſo ceaſe upon their ceaſing to be his* peculiar People, *and to have any more Relation to him as* their God in Covenant. *Yea ſeeing God hath now caſt off that very People to whom he gave the* Sabbath *for a Sign, and as* Joſephus *truly ſaith,* ὁ πάλαι⊙ νόμ⊙, a Law peculiar to that Nation, *and that diſpenſation, it ſeems to be a kind of* Judaiſm, *and as it were a virtual revolting to the* Moſaick *Diſpenſation to be ſtill, out of Conſcience, Obſervers of the Reſt which was peculiar to that Law and Nation.*

If it be here enquired, whether the Reaſon of the Obſervation of the Seventh day aſſigned in the Fourth Commandment, viz. *Becauſe God reſted on that day, doth not remain and equally concern all* Chriſtians: *Obj.*

I Anſwer, No. For, 1. *it ſeems a vulgar Error to conceive that God did chiefly and primarily command the* Jews *to reſt upon the Seventh day in imitation of his Reſt, there being nothing moral, or nothing in the Light of Nature which could induce them to imitate him in this matter any more than in the Work of the Six days preceeding, in which God worked; which was ſo far from laying any neceſſary Obligation on them to work upon thoſe days, that God himſelf eſtabliſhed many other* Feſtivals *as a perpetual Ordinance, in which they were obliged to ceaſe from Labour on thoſe Days on which he Worked. Wherefore the great deſign of God, in requiring them to Reſt upon that day, as he did, was this, that by ſo doing they might acknowledge, as by a Sign and Pledge, That they did Worſhip and own him as their God in Covenant, who was the ſole Creator of the World, according to theſe Words of God to* Moſes, Speak thou unto the Children of Iſrael, ſaying, Verily my Sabbaths ye ſhall keep, for it is a ſign betwixt me *Anſw.* *Ex.* 31. 13. 14.

and you throughout your Generations, that you may know that I am the Lord that doth ſanctifie you. You ſhall keep
15. the Sabbath therefore, for it is Holy *unto you.* Wherefore
16. the Children of Iſrael ſhall keep the Sabbath to obſerve the Sabbath throughout their Generations, for a perpetual Co-
17. venant. It is a ſign between me and the Children of Iſrael for ever, for in ſix days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, and on the ſeventh day he Reſted. *Now hence it follows, That God neither did, nor could, agreeably to his Deſign, Command the* Gentiles *then, or before, to obſerve the* ſeventh *day in imitation of his Reſting; for then the doing this by his own* Nation *could be no ſign betwixt him and the* Jews, *that they were his peculiar People, becauſe it was, according to this Suppoſition, the common duty of all other* Nations. *The* Gentile Chriſtians *therefore never were obliged to obſerve this reſt by virtue of the fourth Commandment, and being alſo not obliged to it by any Precept* Evangelical, *it cannot be in them any act of* Chriſtian *Obedience, but rather muſt be deemed the Fruit of* Jewiſh Superſtition, *ſo to do.*

Anſw. 2. Secondly, *I add that the injunction of this Reſt upon a reaſon which remains, and which doth in the General concern all* Chriſtians, *will not inferr the Obligation of the* Chriſtian *to obſerve the Reſt commanded for that Reaſon, it being very common in the Law of* Moſes *to require the Obſervation of Ceremonial Precepts for Reaſons which remain, and which do equally concern all* Chriſtians, *v. g.* Thou ſhalt not glean thy Vineyard, neither ſhalt thou gather every Grape of thy Vineyard, but thou ſhalt leave them for the Poor. I am the Lord, thou ſhalt Reverence my Sanctuary, I am the Lord. You ſhall obſerve all my Statutes, and all my Judgments, and do them, I am the Lord. *Now God is ſtill the Lord of* Chriſtians, *but hence it will not follow that they are obliged to obſerve theſe Ceremonial Precepts, enjoined for Reaſons ſtill remaining, and equally concerning* Chriſtians; *it therefore cannot rationally be concluded, that* Chriſtians *are obliged to obſerve the Reſt enjoined in the Fourth Commandment, becauſe it is commanded for a Reaſon that doth ſtill remain.*

Lev. 19. 10. *verſ.* 30. *verſ.* 37.

4. *Hence we may eaſily diſcern the Reaſon why the* Chriſtians *ſtill obſerved one day in Seven, and alſo why they choſe to obſerve the firſt day of the Week, and not the laſt. For when* Chriſtianity

ty *began, it had two ſorts of Adverſaries to encounter,* viz. *The unbelieving* Jews, *and the* Idolatrous Gentiles; *and therefore as a Teſtimony againſt the* Heathens, *who worſhipped falſe Gods; that is, the Gods* who made not Heaven and Earth, *they choſe one day in ſeven to ſignifie they worſhipped the true God, and the Creator of all things.*

But then they choſe the firſt of theſe ſeven days, to teſtifie, againſt the Jews, *that they worſhipped this God, not now as one in Covenant with the* Jews, *or as their Redeemer out of* Egypt, *but as the* Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *and through him our moſt loving* Father, *and to own themſelves the Servants of that God who on the morning of that day vanquiſhed Satan the Spiritual* Pharaoh, *and redeemed us from our Spiritual thraldom, by raiſing* Jeſus Chriſt our Lord *from the dead, begetting us inſtead of an Earthly* Canaan, *to an* Inheritance incorruptible in the Heavens; *this account of this change of the day I have borrowed from two very Learned and Ingenious men, and for the further illuſtration and confirmation of it, let it be obſerved,* *Dr. Spencer de Legibus Hebr. Mr. Mede Diſc. 15.*

1. *That the* Jews *never worſhipped God, or put up their addreſſes to him under the name of* Father, *as we* Chriſtians *by our Lord are taught, and commanded to do in theſe words,* When you pray ſay, Our Father; *this being as the* Apoſtle *hath obſerved, the peculiar privilege of* Chriſtians *above the* Jews, *that* we have not received, *as they,* the ſpirit of bondage unto fear, but the ſpirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba Father. *They were, it is confeſſed,* Children *alſo, but* nothing differing from ſervants, *as being Children in their Minority, and ſo* in bondage to the Rudiments of the world; *whereas we having received, through faith in* Chriſt Jeſus, *the Adoption of Sons,* God hath ſent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba Father. *It is the ſaying of the* Jews, *that* a ſervant cannot ſay unto his Lord Abba; *this being a word proper to a Son, and only uſed by natural, or adopted Sons; we being therefore all the Children of God, and his adopted Sons* through faith in Chriſt Jeſus, *we have through him received this privilege to addreſs our ſelves unto him by the name of* Abba, *or* our Father; *and yet more certainly is it peculiar to the* Chriſtian *to own him as the* Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *which is his uſual name in the* New Teſtament, *and to addreſs unto him in, and by that Name.* *Rom. 8. 15.* *Gal. 4. 1, 4.* *Joh. 1. 12.* *Gal. 3. 26.*

2ly. *Ob-*

and you throughout your Generations, that you may know that I am the Lord that doth ſanctifie you. You ſhall keep
15. the Sabbath therefore, for it is Holy *unto you.* Wherefore
16. the Children of Iſrael ſhall keep the Sabbath to obſerve the Sabbath throughout their Generations, for a perpetual Co-
17. venant. It is a ſign between me and the Children of Iſrael for ever, for in ſix days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, and on the ſeventh day he Reſted. *Now hence it follows, That God neither did, nor could, agreeably to his Deſign, Command the* Gentiles *then, or before, to obſerve the* ſeventh *day in imitation of his Reſting; for then the doing this by his own* Nation *could be no ſign betwixt him and the* Jews, *that they were his peculiar People, becauſe it was, according to this Suppoſition, the common duty of all other* Nations. *The* Gentile Chriſtians *therefore never were obliged to obſerve this reſt by virtue of the fourth Commandment, and being alſo not obliged to it by any Precept* Evangelical, *it cannot be in them any act of* Chriſtian *Obedience, but rather muſt be deemed the Fruit of* Jewiſh Superſtition, *ſo to do.*

Anſw. 2. Secondly, *I add that the injunction of this Reſt upon a reaſon which remains, and which doth in the General concern all* Chriſtians, *will not inferr the Obligation of the* Chriſtian *to obſerve the Reſt commanded for that Reaſon, it being very common in the Law of* Moſes *to require the Obſervation of Ceremonial Precepts for Reaſons which remain, and which do equally concern all* Chriſtians, *v. g.* Thou ſhalt not glean thy Vineyard, neither ſhalt thou gather every Grape of thy Vineyard, but thou ſhalt leave them for the Poor. I am the Lord, thou ſhalt Reverence my Sanctuary, I am the Lord. You ſhall obſerve all my Statutes, and all my Judgments, and do them, I am the Lord. *Now God is ſtill the Lord of* Chriſtians, *but hence it will not follow that they are obliged to obſerve theſe Ceremonial Precepts, enjoined for Reaſons ſtill remaining, and equally concerning* Chriſtians; *it therefore cannot rationally be concluded, that* Chriſtians *are obliged to obſerve the Reſt enjoined in the Fourth Commandment, becauſe it is commanded for a Reaſon that doth ſtill remain.*

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2ly. *Ob-*

2ly. *Observe that the Resurrection of our* Lord Christ *is generally ascribed in the* New Testament *to* God the Father;
Joh. 10. 18. *and when our Lord declares that he had* power to lay down his life, and take it up again, *he adds immediately,* This Commandment have I received of my Father. *Hence doth the Holy Ghost assure us, that God the Father said unto him,*
Act. 13. 33. Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee; *for this as well as other reasons, that he had raised him from the dead,*
Rom. 1 4. *and that* He was declared to be the Son of God with power, by his raising him from the dead.

3ly. *Observe that our* Lord's *Resurrection is represented as the Great foundation of all the mercies derived to us from our* Saviour, *as being that by which they were compleated, or confirmed to us. Our Baptism doth* save us, *saith St.* Peter, through
1 *Pet.* 3 21. the Resurrection of Christ Jesus. *Our freedom from condemnation is ascribed rather unto his Resurrection, than his death; as*
Rom. 8 34. *in that question,* Who is he that condemns us? it is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen again. *Our Justification*
Rom. 4. 25. *is ascribed to it:* For Christ was delivered for our offences, and rose again for our justification. *From it derives our*
1 *Pet.* 1. 3. *hope of Glory, for* we are begotten to a lively hope, through the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus from the dead, of an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, reserved in the Heavens for us. *In a word, 'tis the foundation of our whole*
1 *Cor.* 15. 14. *faith, for* if Christ be not risen, then our faith is vain.

Since then these blessings, so far exceeding those of the Creation, or of the Jews *deliverance from* Egypt, *were procured to*
Ephes. 1. 19. *us by the Resurrection of our Lord, which was effected* κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, *by the operation of the strength of the power of God the* Father, *since he became the* Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, *and through him* our Father, *by raising him from the Dead, there seems great reason why this day should be appointed as the day in which the* Christian *should acknowledge himself a Worshipper of* God his Father through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Moreover this day being peculiarly stiled the Lords-day, *it is highly probable it was observed by* Christians *primarily in honour of our* Lord Jesus Christ, *and through him,* to the Glory of God

God the Father, *to whom our prayers, our praiſes, and ſpiritual ſacrifices are offer'd on that day through Chriſt.*

And for Illuſtration of this matter let it be obſerved,

1. *That the times of the* Meſſiah *were ſtill repreſented by the* Jews *under the Notion of* Holam Habba, *or* the world to come; *and the work of the* Meſſiah *as* a new Creation, *or a Creation of* new Heavens, *and a* new Earth. The Lord God ſhall ſlay ye, and call his ſervants by another name: *Iſa.* 65. 15, 17.
——For behold I create new Heavens, and a new Earth, *Iſa.* 66. 22.
and the former ſhall not be remembred, nor come into my mind. *Accordingly, the Author to the* Hebrews *ſtiles this new Diſpenſation* τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν μέλλουσαν, the world to come; *and* *Heb.* 2. 5.
they who then enjoy'd the Gift of Miracles, or other extraordinary operations are ſaid to have taſted δυνάμεις μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, the powers of the world to come. *And the Renovation of* *Heb.* 6. 5.
Chriſtians *by this Diſpenſation, is repreſented as* a new Creation, *wrought by* Chriſt; *for* we are his workmanſhip created *Epheſ* 2. 10.
in Chriſt Jeſus to good words. He hath aboliſhed the Law of Commandments, ἵνα τοὺς δύο κτίσῃ ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἰς ἕνα καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, *Ver.* 15.
that he might create thoſe two, *the* Jew, *and* Gentile, into one new man in himſelf; *ſo that now* if any man be in Chriſt Jeſus, he is καινὴ κτίσις, *a* new Creation, old things are *2 Cor.* 5. 17.
paſs'd away, that all things might become new *in him*; *for* in Chriſt Jeſus nothing availeth, ἀλλὰ καινὴ κτίσις, but this *Gal.* 6. 15.
new Creation.

2ly. *Obſerve that this* new World, *and* new Creation, *as* *Hieron. & Theodoret in Iſa.* 9. 6. *Euſeb. dem. Evan. l.* 7 *p.* 336
it was made by Chriſt, *ſo is it immediately ſubjected to him. He by the* Septuagint *was ſtiled* Πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, the Prince of Peace, the Father of the Age to come; *to him, and not unto the* Angels, *hath* God ſubjected this world to *Heb.* 2. 5.
come. *He hath* crown'd him with Glory and Honour, *Ver.* 8, 9.
and ſet him over the works of his own hands, and hath put all things in ſubjection under his feet; *declaring that he will have* all men honour the Son, even as they honour the *Joh.* 5. 23.
Father; *and determining that* at the Name of Jeſus every *Phil.* 2 10, 11.
knee ſhould bow, and every tongue ſhould confeſs that Jeſus was the Lord, to the Glory of God the Father. *Moreover this power he received at the Reſurrection, having then, as* *Mat.* 28. 18.
he ſaith, all power both in Heaven and Earth committed to him; being then, ſaith the Apoſtle Peter, *made both Lord and Chriſt,* *Act.* 2. 36.

and

and exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour; whence he is ſaid to
Col. 1. 10. *be* the firſt born from the dead, that he might be in all things ὁ πρωτεύων, the preeminent.

3ly, *Obſerve that* Chriſtians *are repreſented in the* New Teſtament *as thoſe who do ſucceed the* Jews *in all their Covenant-*
Rom. 11. 19. *Relations*; They being broken off from the true Olive, and we grafted in; *and being therefore* a choſen Generation, a peculiar people, a Royal Prieſthood, an Holy Nation to
1 Pet. 2 9. ſhew forth the vertues of him who called us from darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. *This Covenant-Relation they enjoy by virtue of that Jeſus who is* the Mediator of a better Covenant; *and who gave himſelf for us,*
Tit. 2 14. *that he might redeem us, and purifie us to himſelf a peculiar people. In fine, the vertues for which we are to celebrate his Praiſes, are our Redemption by him from the wrath to come, from the curſe of the Law, from the power of Satan, from the dominion of ſin, our Adoption, our receiving of the ſpirit, by which we are enabled to cry Abba Father, and as a conſequent of that, our being heirs of Glory; and all theſe mercies, as I have obſerved already, were confirmed by, and were compleated to us at his Reſurrection.*

If then in this Oeconomy there be a new world, and a new Creation, a new Lord to whom this world is ſubject, and who is to be honoured and worſhipped, as the former was, tho' to the honour of the former; if there be a new Covenant eſtabliſhed in his blood, and by which he hath purified to himſelf a peculiar people; if to this Lord all power both in Heaven and Earth is given by the Creator of the World, unto this very end that all men might thus honour him; if this Lord hath procured for us a Redemption from the power of Sin and Satan, much more valuable than the Redemption of the Jewiſh Nation *from* Egyptian *thraldom; if by his Reſurrection we are all begotten to the lively hope of a much better* Canaan; *is there not cauſe ſufficient for the Tranſlation of the Day appointed for the celebration of the mercies of the old Creation, and of deliverance from the* Jewiſh *thraldom, and the agnizing of the Author of it as the* Lord *that ſanctified them, to a day appointed for Celebration of the new Creation, and the deliverance accompliſhed by it, and the acknowledging the* Author *of it as the* Chriſtians *Lord? Is there not cauſe ſufficient why* Chriſtians *ſhould obſerve the day on which their* Lord *did triumph over their*

ſpiritual

ſpiritual Pharaoh, *redeem'd them from ſpiritual thraldom, begot them to a lively hope of a Spiritual* Canaan, *and by the obſervation of it ſhould profeſs that they are* Chriſtians, *and own that Jeſus who is Lord of all things? Can we refuſe to give this honour to the* Son, *who is by God's appointment to be honoured as the* Father, *and whom we do thus worſhip* to the Glory of God the Father?

Mr. M. *in behalf of the* Sabbatarians *Objects,* That our Lord ſaid to one enquiring of him, What good thing ſhall I do to have eternal life, if thou wilt enter into life keep the Commandments; and when he ſtill enquired of him which Commandments, did clearly explicate himſelf to mean all the Commandments of the Decalogue given by Moſes; *whence he infers,* That the Author of our new Law with his own mouth required no leſs the keeping of this Commandment of the Saturday Sabbath, as neceſſary for our entrance into life everlaſting, than the keeping any other Commandment. §. 15. *Obj.* 2. §. 9. *p.* 207, 208. *Mat.* 19. 17, 18. *Mar.* 10. 19. *Luk.* 18. 20.

Anſw. 1. *This Aſſertion is expreſly falſe, and manifeſtly contradicts the Text, for in none of theſe* Evangeliſts *doth our Lord mention the Commandments of the* firſt Table, *of which that of the* Sabbath *is one, but only doth enumerate thoſe which belonged to the ſecond.*

2ly. *His Inference is alſo falſe, for* Chriſt *there ſpeaks not of what was neceſſary to Salvation to be obſerved by the* Chriſtian *after his Reſurrection, but of what was neceſſary then to be obſerved by the* Jew, *ſpeaking there to a* Jewiſh Governour, *who was acquainted already with the Law of which he ſpake, and had obſerv'd it from his Youth.*

Mr. M. *Objects, That* St. *Paul* preached every Saturday, for he diſputed in the Synagogue every Sabbath. §. 16. *Obj.* 3. *Act.* 18. *p* 209.

Anſw. 1. *To this I anſwer firſt, That this* Apoſtle *hath declared that the ſeventh-day* Sabbath *was part of that* hand-writing of Ordinances which Chriſt took away, *and was* a ſhadow of good things, *exhibited by* Chriſt, *and ſo he plainly did diſcharge the* Chriſtian *from obſervation of the Reſt required by the fourth Commandment on the* Sabbath-*day.*

2ly. *That He, or any of his Brethren preached the Goſpel in the* Jewiſh Synagogues *upon that day, can be no evidence that they eſteemed the Reſt required on that day obliging to the* Chriſtian, *but only that they prudentially complied with* Jews *and* Proſelytes *in coming to their* Aſſemblies *on that day, that ſo they might have more fami-*

liar acceſs unto them, and better opportunity to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian faith; and therefore in purſuance of the ſame good end, St. Paul, who was moſt free and vehement in declaring his and our freedom from the legal Ceremonies, ſaith, notwithſtanding that to
1 Cor. 9. 20. the Jew he became as a Jew, that he might gain the Jews; to them that were under the Law as under the Law, that he might gain them that were under the Law; and therefore his example in theſe caſes will as much prove that we are to obſerve the Law of Moſes, and the Jewiſh Cuſtoms, as that we are obliged to keep the Jewiſh Sabbath.

§. 17. Obj. 4. p 210. 1 Cor. 7. 19. Mr. M. farther adds, That St. Paul tells us that in Chriſt Jeſus neither Circumciſion availeth any thing, nor Uncircumciſion, but the keeping of the Commandments of God, of which the Sanctification of the ſeventh day was one.

Anſw. To which I anſwer that here he plainly begs the Queſtion, which is only this, Whether the Saturday under the Chriſtian Oeconomy, be ſtill, by God's Commandment, to be obſerved as a day of Reſt; and contradicts the plaineſt declaration of our Lord, and the whole Chriſtian Church, that it was Ceremonial, a ſhadow of things to come, a temporary precept, which laid no obligation on the Chriſtian.

§. 18. Obj. 5. p. 211. Mr. M. cloſeth with the common Sabbatarian Objection, That Chriſt foretelling the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, which was to happen forty years after his Reſurrection, when all the Ceremonial Laws belonging to the Jews were abrogated, bids his Diſciples pray their flight might not be in the Winter, or on the
Mat. 24. 20. Sabbath-day, that they might avoid the profanation of that day; whereas if that Commandment had been Ceremonial, and then abrogated, they might have fled upon that day as well as upon any other, and could not by ſo doing have profaned it.

Anſw. 1. To this I Anſwer, firſt, That theſe words of Chriſt cannot be rationally deemed to import that he adviſed them to pray their flight might not be on the Sabbath, becauſe he thought ſuch flying then a ſinful action, or a profanation of that day, ſeeing he ſo expreſly hath declar'd the contrary, ſaying, that it was lawful to
Mark 3. 4. ſave life upon the Sabbath-day, and that in all ſuch caſes God
Mat. 12. 7. would have mercy and not Sacrifice; that the Reſt of that day might be violated to preſerve the life of a Beaſt, and much more to preſerve the life of man; that the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath, and therefore man might wave the

Reſt

Reſt required on that day when it was for his good to do ſo. Having then ſo oft, and ſo expreſly taught his Diſciples *that it was lawful to fly for ſaving of their lives upon that day, he could not uſe theſe words to intimate the contrary.*

2ly. *Tho' it were lawful, even when the Fourth Commandment was ſtill in force, to flee upon that day from danger, and travel upon caſe of urgent neceſſity; yet many of the* Jews *thought otherwiſe, eſteeming this an intolerable profanation of the* Sabbath, *perſecuting, and condemning our Lord for teaching the contrary. If therefore his* Diſciples, *or other* Chriſtians, *ſhould have been compell'd to flee upon that day they might have been moleſted, and perſecuted by their own* Superſtitious Nation, *and ſo had cauſe to pray* their flight might not be on the Sabbath-day. *And,*

3ly. *The believing* Jews *adhered ſtiffly to the obſervance of the* Jewiſh *Rites (and conſequently to the obſervance of the Reſt commanded on the* Jewiſh Sabbath*) till the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem, *and thought themſelves obliged ſo to do, and therefore* Chriſt *might well adviſe them, knowing that they would ſtill retain theſe apprehenſions, to pray their flight might not fall out upon that day. And tho' it cannot be expected that we ſhould know the Reaſons of all his actions, yet might he ſtill permit the* Chriſtians *to continue under this apprehenſion of their obligation to obſerve the Law of* Moſes, *that ſo the unbelieving* Jews *might be the leſs offended at them, and ſo might be more ready to embrace the* Chriſtian *faith; and becauſe he knew the time would ſhortly come when the* Temple *ſhould be deſtroyed, and they ſhould thereby be convinced that the Rites confined to that* Temple *were aboliſhed.*

The PREFACE.

OF TRADITION.

CHAP. VI.

That there is no Evidence of Traditions for the Doctrines of the Church of Rome *is proved*; 1. *Because there is no mention of them in the ancient Councils, the* Codex canonum Ecclesiæ universalis, *the Discourses of the Ancients Church Government and Discipline, or in their Rituals*, §. 1. 2. *Because we find no mention of their Articles of Faith in the Creeds, Enchiridions, Compendiums of Christian Doctrine, and Ecclesiastical Opinions, or in the catechistical Discourses of the ancient Fathers*, §. 2. 3. *Because the Fathers of the first Ages were very careful and concerned to preserve the Traditions of the Apostles truly so called, and so esteemed by them, and had occasion to mention them, by reason of the pretences of the Hereticks of their Times to Tradition, and yet they have not been concerned to preserve the pretended traditionary Doctrines and Practices of the Church of* Rome, §. 3.

HAVING thus Stated the Question in these propositions, I come now to shew, that there is no Evidence of *Tradition* for any, much less for all those Doctrines of the *Church* of *Rome*, which she hath put into her *Creed*, and hath required all her *Clergy* to believe and teach, as that *true Catholick Faith without which no Man can be saved.*

For, *First*, Had they this Evidence concerning the Exercise of *the papal Jurisdiction over all Christians, the practice of auricular* §. 1.

Confession and Indulgences, of Prayer to Saints and Angels, of Veneration of Images, of performing the publick Services of Prayer, Singing, Reading in a Tongue not understood by the People; I say, had they that evidence of *Apostolical Tradition* for these things, it would be as notorious, that these Doctrines were handed down by the *Catholick Church* throughout all Ages to this present, as it is of other matters of continual practice, *viz. The Lord's Day Assemblies, the Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons by Bishops, the Government of the Church by them, the Observation of the* Easter *Festival, Baptizing by Trine Immersion, the mixture of Wine with Water in the Sacrament*, &c. For all these matters are therefore evident in the *Tradition* of the *Church*, because, being continually practised by her Members, they had continual occasion to speak of them in their Discourses of *Church* Government, and *Church Assemblies*, and of the Sacraments of the *Church*, and made numerous Constitutions about them; they all appear in their most *ancient Rituals*, in the Accounts they give us of their *Assemblies*, and of their practice when Assembled, and in their *ancient Councils*, the *Primitive Writers* mention them upon all Occasions; they draw Arguments and Conclusions from them, and shew the Reasons why such establishments were made by the *Apostles*. The like we see now practised in the *Roman Church*, touching the Novelties now mentioned; since they have obtained in that *Church*, we find them got into their *Rituals*, and Books of *S. Offices*: Their *Councils* do consult about them, make Canons and Decrees in favour of them. Having then so frequent mention of these matters in the *Councils*, *Liturgies*, the *Canons* and the *Constitutions* of the *Western Church* in these last Ages, why is it we have nothing of them in the *Canons* or *Constitutions Apostolical*, or in the *Code* of *Canons* of the *universal Church*, or of the *Church* of *Africk*, where we have so frequent mention of all the other received Practices and Customs of the *Church*, when *Tertullian* sets himself on purpose to enumerate those things which had obtained in the *Church*, Traditionis titulo, & consuetudinis patrocinio, *under the* specious *Titles of Custom and Tradition*, why is it that he doth not mention one of these *Romish* Practices? When St. *Basil*, if that be his Work which bears his Name, doth professedly discourse of the, τὰ ἄγραφα ἤθη, *unwritten Customs* which had obtained in the *Church*, why

De Cor. c. 3.

De Sp. Sancto, c. 25, 27.

why is he wholly ſilent as to all theſe practices, if equally owned by the *Church* as *Apoſtolical*? Surely theſe things give us juſt reaſon to ſuſpect, that they were not acquainted with them, and knew nothing of them.

§. 2. Again, had they the Evidence of *Tradition*, that thoſe points of Faith which in their *Councils* have been eſtabliſhed, and impoſed upon us under an *Anathema*, were handed down unto them from our *Lord*'s *Apoſtles*; had the *Apoſtles* and their *Succeſſors* ſtill taught all *Chriſtians* the Doctrine of *Concomitance, and the ſufficiency of one Species to make an entire Sacrament, and to conveigh the whole benefit of the Sacrament*; *Of the neceſſity of the intention of the Prieſt to make a Sacrament*; *Of the number of the Sacraments, that they are neither more nor leſs than Seven*; *Of Marriage, that it is a Sacrament properly ſo called, and that by virtue of our Lord's Inſtitution*; *Of the Tranſubſtantiation of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Chriſt*; *Of the Oblation of a true propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead and Living in the Maſs*; *Of a Purgatory, or place in which the Souls of Pious Men do ſuffer Puniſhment, and from which, being afterwards relieved by the Prayers and good Works of the Faithful upon Earth, they go to Heaven before the Day of Judgment*: had they informed all *Chriſtians*, That *a Power of Indulgences is left by Chriſt unto his Church*; That *Saints departed are to be Invoked*, and *Images to be Venerated*; That *the Church of* Rome *is the Catholick Church, the Mother and Miſtreſs of all Churches*; and, That *the Pope is the Vicar of our Lord Jeſus upon Earth, and that without the Belief of this Faith Salvation cannot be obtained*, and conſequently never was obtained by any *Chriſtian*. I ſay, had all theſe Articles deſcended to them from the *Apoſtles* through all Ages of the *Chriſtian Church*, they muſt be as notorious as any which have thus deſcended, and which we can run up from Age to Age till we come to the *Apoſtles*. For Inſtance, they muſt have been as obvious to be found in all the Writings of the *Fathers*, as the Tradition of the *Apoſtles Creed*, the *Canon* of the *Scripture*, the Writing of the *Four Evangeliſts*, *&c.* They alſo muſt have been as diligently taught, as frequently inculcated as thoſe things were, as being no leſs neceſſary to Salvation, than any Doctrine contained in the *Scriptures*, or in the *Creed* of the *Apoſtles*. We muſt have met

with them in all their *Summaries* of *Chriſtian Doctrine*, of *Eccleſiaſtical Doctrines*, and their Diſcourſes writ on purpoſe to inſtruct others in the Articles of Chriſtian Faith, they would have been inſerted into their *Creeds*, as other neceſſary Articles were, taught their *Catechumens*, required of their *Clergy* at their admiſſion to Holy Orders, ſent by their *Patriarchs* and *Biſhops* in their circular Letters, included in the *Paſchal Cycles*, as were the Rule of Faith, the *Chriſtian Symbol*; and yet by diligent peruſual of all theſe, we can find no ſuch matter in the *Creeds*, *Enchiridions*, *Compendiums* of *Chriſtian Doctrine*, the *catechiſtical Diſcourſes*, the Treatiſes of Faith, and *eccleſiaſtical Doctrines*, ſo frequent in the Writings of the five firſt Centuries; and therefore have good reaſon to believe they were not then received or owned as Articles of *Chriſtian* Faith.

The Wiſdom of the preſent *Church* of *Rome* yields a ſtrong confirmation of this Argument, for ſince their latter *Councils* have defined theſe Articles, we find them Inſerted into her *Creed*, and her *Trent Catechiſm*, contained in all the Writings of her *Doctors*, touching the Articles of *Chriſtian* Faith, and of *eccleſiaſtical Tradition*, required to be believed, profeſſed, and taught by all her *Clergy*. What therefore ſhall we think of all the *Fathers* of the five firſt *Centuries*, was it out of want of love to Souls, or care of their inſtruction, in the neceſſary Articles of *Chriſtian* Faith, that they were wholly ſilent in theſe matters? Why then may we not fear that they neglected to hand down unto Poſterity other neceſſary *Articles* of *Chriſtian* Faith? Or was it out of ignorance that they were then neceſſary, how then came *Romaniſts* to know by *Tradition*, that they are neceſſary now? Or, if they wanted neither knowledge to diſcern all neceſſary Articles of *Chriſtian* Faith, nor will, nor care to teach all they conceived to be ſuch, muſt it not follow, that thoſe Articles which in their numerous Diſcourſes and Inſtructions on theſe Subjects, are not ſo much as touched upon, were not then owned as neceſſary Articles of the *Chriſtian* Faith, and therefore ought not now to be impoſed or received as ſuch?

§. 3. Add to this, that the *Fathers* of the firſt Ages were very careful, and concerned to preſerve the *Traditions* of the *Apoſtles*,

ſtles, truly ſo called, or ſo eſteemed by them, and to commit them unto writing to be the Teſtimonies of their Faith againſt the importunity of *Hereticks*, to whom it was peculiar, for the three firſt *Centuries* to refuſe tryal by the *Scriptures* only, and to pretend unto ſome *ſecret Traditions* not contained in the *Scriptures*. For the Great *Ignatius* going to his *Martyrdom*, confirmed the *Churches* he arrived at with his Diſcourſes, requeſting them in the firſt place to avoid the *Hereſies* which were then ſpringing up. He exhorted them alſo, ſaith *Euſebius*, ἀπεὶξ ἔχεσθαι τ̃ ἡμῖν Ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως, *to ſtand firm to the Tradition of the Apoſtles*, ἣν, ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας, καὶ ἐγγεγράφως ἤδη μαρτυρόμενος διατυπῶσθαι ἀναγκαῖον ἡγεῖτο, *which, for the greater certainty, he, having teſtified concerning it, thought neceſſary to leave in writing*, and ſo endited his *Epiſtles*. *Papias*, often naming the *Apoſtles*, ſaith the ſame. *Euſebius*, πίθησιν αὐτῶν παραδόσεις, *puts down their Traditions*. And *Polycarp*, ſaith *Irenæus*, not only teſtified what was the truth which he received from the *Apoſtles*, and by that teſtimony converted many of the *Hereticks*, but he alſo writ an *Epiſtle* to the *Philippians*, from which they, who are willing and deſirous of their own Salvation, may learn, τ̃ χαρακτῆρα τ̃ πίστεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τ̃ ἀληθείας, *the Character of his Faith, and the Declaration of the Truth*, ſo plain and ſimple was the Faith of thoſe firſt Ages, that the whole Faith and Truth of *Chriſt* was thought to be contained there, where is not the leaſt intimation of one Article of the *Romiſh* Faith. The Faith received from the *Apoſtles*, ſaith *Irenæus*, *the Church*, ὀπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, *keeps with the greateſt care*, and *preaches, and teaches*, καὶ παραδίδωσιν, *and by Tradition hands it down*, as he himſelf there doth, by giving us a written Copy of all the *Articles* of Faith received by the univerſal Church from the *Apoſtles*, *beyond which the moſt learned Biſhop taught nothing, as being not above his Maſter; nor did the meaneſt Chriſtian believe leſs, the Faith, and Tradition of it being one and the ſame in all places*. Now, not to inſiſt upon the inference which plainly follows hence, that none of the *R. Articles* could be then eſteemed *Articles* of Faith received from the *Apoſtles Tradition*, there being nothing at all of them in the *Epiſtles* of *Ignatius* writ on purpoſe, ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας, *for confirmation of the Chriſtian Churches in the Tradition of the Apoſtles*, againſt the *Hereticks*, or in that of *Polycarp*, *though*, ἱκανωτάτη, *moſt*

Lib. 3. c. 35.

Ibid. c. 38.

Lib. 3. c. 3.

Lib. 1. c. 29.

most sufficient for declaration of the Truth; nor in *Irenæus*, when purposely laying down for confutation of the *Hereticks*,

Lib. 1. c. 1. p. 42. Cap. 2. Cap. 3. Τὴν μὲν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κηρυσσομένην ἀλήθειαν, *The Faith Preached by the Church, the exposition of the Truth, which the Church having received from the Apostles, keeps*, and of those things belonging, *ad Fidem & Traditiones, to Faith and Traditions*, in which the *Christian Church* unanimously doth consent, I say, not to insist at present on so plain an inference. Nothing can be more natural than to collect, that had they known of any other *Articles of Faith*, delivered to them from the *Apostles* only by word of Mouth, they would have taken at least equal care for the propagation of them also to posterity. Inasmuch therefore as the common Sense of Mankind agrees to this, That *Records* are a more certain means of conveighing Truth to posterity, than *Report*, and Men would be more apt to believe that the *Apostles* said what themselves wrote, than that they said what they did not write, and what only comes down by hearsay from them; surely the *Fathers* of the *Church*, had they known of these *Supernumerary* Traditions of the *Roman Church*, in compliance with the Example and Advice of St. *Ignatius*, would have committed them to writing, ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας, *for the better security of them*, and would have thought that very fit which he declared to be, ἀναγκαῖον, *very necessary, for conservation of Apostolical Tradition.* Surely they would have taken all the care imaginable, that these unwritten Doctrines might not lose their credit by being long unwritten, for they were not ignorant of that great truth of *Origen*,

Dial. contra Marcion. p. 59. Τὰ γὰρ ἀγράφως λεγόμενα παύεσθαι μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκ ἔχοντα ἀπόδειξιν, *That which only is delivered by word of Mouth quickly vanisheth, as having no certainty.* They therefore, had they known of such *Traditions* necessary to be believed, would not have left it to an half witted *Papias*, to run up and down to gather up these Hear-says from them who had conversed with the *Apostles*, and to digest them in a Book of which they were so careless as to preserve us nothing, but,

Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 38. τὰ μυθικώτερα, *some idle Fables* which he related, ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου εἰς αὐτὸν ἥκοντα, *as coming to him from* unwritten Tradition, and by which he deceived, πλείστους τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, *most of the Church Guides*; but would of purpose have written Books to secure the conveighance of them to posterity, and to prevent the future Cheats, that such bold and half witted Men

Men might have put upon them, with falſe pretenſions to *Antiquity* or to *Tradition*. Even *Eutropius*, the Heathen, could argue againſt *Marcion*, "That it was, σφόδρα ἰλίδιον, *exceeding Fooliſh* to conceive thoſe who were ſent to preach the "Goſpel ſhould do it, ἀγεάφως, *without committing what they* "*Preached to writing*; for it is probable, ſaith he, that they "preached or declared this Salvation to them only who heard "them, and had no care the Knowledge of it ſhould deſcend "to Poſterity; as had they only preached, ἀγεάφως, *without* "*writing*, they muſt have done. And may not we in like manner argue againſt theſe latter *Marcionites*, That had the Fathers of the Age following the *Apoſtles* obſerved and known, that ſome points of neceſſary Faith had not been touched in any of their Writings, it is highly probable, that they by handing of them down in writing, would have taken care the knowledge of them ſhould deſcend unto poſterity, and would have formally, and with one voice declared, that whereas the inſpired Preachers, and Publiſhers of their *Religion* had committed to Writing ſome *Articles* of the *Chriſtian* Faith, but had not in thoſe writings expreſſed others which were of equal neceſſity to be believed; it is therefore, to prevent all falſe pretenders to theſe *Traditions Apoſtolical*, declared, defined, and made known to future Ages, that theſe, and theſe alone are Doctrines of this kind, delivered orally by the *Apoſtles* to the *Church* to be preſerved and taught to future Generations. When even in the firſt Ages of the *Church* they had to do with *Hereticks*, who, when their Doctrines were confuted out of *Scripture*, as are the Doctrines of the *Church* of *Rome*, inſtead of anſwering the Arguments produced by the *Fathers* of the *Church* from *Scripture*, accuſed the Scriptures of *Obſcurity*, *and Inſufficiency*, ſaying, That *they were ſpoken variouſly, or ſo as to admit of divers Senſes, and that from them the Truth could not be known by them who were ignorant of Tradition*, non enim per literas traditam illam, ſed per vivam vocem, *this Truth being delivered, not by writing but by word of Mouth*. When theſe *Hereticks* pleaded for their Doctrines not found in *Scripture*, Apoſtolos non omnia omnibus revelâſſe, quædam enim palam & univerſis, quædam ſecreto, & paucis deman-

Dial. contra Marcion. *p.* 59.

Cum enim ex Scripturis arguuntur in accuſationem convertuntur ipſarum Scripturarum, quaſi non recte habeant, neque ſint ex Authoritate, & quia varie ſint dictæ, & quia non poſſet ex his inveniri veritas ab his qui neſciunt traditionem. *Iren. l.* 3. *c.* 2.

Tertull. de præſcript. *c.* 25.

demandàſſe, *That the Apoſtles revealed not all things to all Men, but ſome things they delivered openly, and to all, ſome things ſecretly, and to few.* When they vaunted that they were, *Filii ſapientum qui ab initio Doctrinam nobis Apoſtolicam tradiderunt, The Sons of the wiſe Men, who from the beginning delivered to them the Doctrine of the Apoſtles*, pretending to have received it as it were by *Tradition* from the *Apoſtles*. When they had the boldneſs to affirm, Τὰς μὲν πρεσβύτερους ἅπαντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀποστόλους παρειληφέναι, καὶ δεδιδαχέναι ταῦτα ἅπερ νῦν ἔτι λέγουσι, *That all the Ancients, and even the Apoſtles taught the ſame things which they did, and that what they delivered was afterwards corrupted by the Orthodox.* I ſay, that in their Diſcourſes againſt theſe *Hereticks*, they ſhould not once endeavour to ſtop their mouths by telling them what were indeed the Doctrines and *Traditions* received from the *Apoſtles*, what were the things revealed to them by the *Apoſtles*, but ſhould ſtill keep theſe neceſſary *Traditions*, which the *Church* of *Rome* now teacheth, as received from them, *ſecret*, not ſaying one word of them, no not when they, in confutation of theſe pretences of the *Hereticks*, declare what was *the Rule of Faith*, and the *Tradition* received from the *Apoſtles*, and preſerved by all the *Apoſtolick Churches*, is ſo incredible, as nothing can be more, except this vain Imagination, That theſe very *Fathers* ſhould concurr with theſe *Hereticks*, as do ſome others in this Aſſertion, That *ſaving Truth could not be known from Scripture by them who were ignorant of Tradition, as being not delivered down to Poſterity by writing, but by word of Mouth*, and yet at the ſame time ſhould ſay, as *Irenæus* doth in his Diſcourſe againſt them, That *the Apoſtles firſt Preached the Goſpel, and after by the Will of God delivered it unto us in the Scriptures, to be hereafter the Foundation and Pillar of our Faith.* And as *Euſebius* doth, That *the pretences of the Hereticks unto Tradition might be probable, εἰ μὴ πρόκειτον ἀνέκκλητον αὐτοῖς αἱ θεῖαι γράφαι, did not the Holy Scriptures contradict them.* And as St. *Jerom*, That *thoſe things which they feign to have received as Tradition*, abſque authoritate, & teſtimoniis Scripturarum, percutit gladius Dei, *without the Authority, and Teſtimonies of the Scripture, the Sword of God doth ſmite*; for what is this but to talk like us *Northern Hereticks*, for to quarrel with Men for appealing from *Scripture*, as obſcure, aud inſufficient to decide our Controverſies without the Suffrage of *Oral Tradition*, to alledge *Scripture* as a ſufficient

Hieron. in Eſ. 19. fol. 40. b.

Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 28.

Lib. 3. c. 1.

Lib. 5. c. 18.

In Hagg. c. 1. fol. 102. a.

ſufficient evidence, that others vainly did pretend unto it, to reject what others do pretend to have received from *Tradition*, becauſe it wanteth the *Authority* and Teſtimony of the *Holy Scriptures*, whatſoever it may paſs for in theſe *ancient Fathers*, is one of thoſe very things for which we are proclaimed *Hereticks*.

In a word, That there ſhould be unwritten Traditions neceſſary to be believed unto Salvation, and neither the *Creed* of the *Greek*, nor of the *Latin Church* make the leaſt mention of any of them. That a *Creed* ſhould be made perhaps at *Gentilly* in the Seventh *Century*, and to obtain the better credit ſhould be called the *Creed* of *Athanaſius*. That this *Creed* ſhould inform us in the beginning, That *whoſoever will be ſaved, before all things it is neceſſary that he hold the Catholick Faith*, threatning that *he ſhall periſh everlaſtingly* who doth not keep this Faith entire, and whole; that therefore in the next words it ſhould ſay, *and the Catholick Faith is this*, and ſhould conclude in theſe Expreſſions, *This is the Catholick Faith*; and yet leave out almoſt as many neceſſary *Articles* of *Chriſtian* Faith, as it contained.

That the principal written *Traditions* which in compariſon needed it not, ſhould be put together into a *Creed*, but that the unwritten ones, which needed it very much, ſhould be quite left out, and never thought of to that purpoſe, till about *Fifteeen hundred* Years after; and that the *Ancients*, *Tertullian*, St. *Baſil*, *Euſebius*, and others, ſpeaking expreſly, and profeſſedly of *Traditions* not contained in Holy *Scripture*, ſhould reckon up many unneceſſary things, and never mention in their *Catalogues* one of theſe neceſſary Traditions. That in their *Treatiſes* of *Chriſtian* Faith and *Chriſtian* Doctrine, and of *Eccleſiaſtical Opinions*, and their Inſtructions of the *Catechized*; the *Fathers* ſhould ſay nothing, the Perſons who were to be inſtructed in all the Doctrines of the *Chriſtian* Faith, ſhould hear nothing of all theſe *Articles*, and yet they ſhould be throughout all Ages of the *Chriſtian* World ſo neceſſary that no *Salvation* could be had without them; theſe, I confeſs, are truly *R. Catholick*, that is, *incredible Aſſertions*; and if we muſt give credit to them, we muſt do it upon *Tertullian*'s Ground, *Becauſe it is impoſſible they ſhould be true.* Credo, quia eſt impoſſibile.

CHAP. VII.

The Novelty of the R. Doctrines farther proved, First, *from the general Tradition of the Church; that the Four Gospels and the Scriptures comprized all that was necessary to be believed or done by Christians; this proved,* 1. *in general,* §. 1. 2. *From the particular account Tradition gives us of the Writings of the Four Evangelists,* §. 2. *Inference; this Tradition shews, That to preserve a Doctrine safe to Posterity, 'twas not sufficient to receive it by Oral Tradition, unless it were written,* §. 3. Secondly, *This is proved from the general Tradition of the whole Church of Christ; that the Apostles, or the* Nicene *Symbol was a compleat summary of all things necessary to be believed by Christians,* §. 4. *Where it is shewed, that the Apostles delivered to their Converts a System, or a form of Words,* Ibid. *That this form was delivered to all Churches, and was for substance the same with that, which afterwards was stiled the Apostles Creed,* §. 5. *That Christians were received into the Church by Baptism on the profession of this Faith,* §. 6. *That it was taught as the entire System of things necessary to be believed,* §. 7. *That it was esteemed a Test of Orthodoxy, by which they prescribed to Hereticks,* §. 8. *That this whole Summary of Christian Faith was evidently contained in Scripture,* §. 9. *And that notwithstanding they unanimously stiled it a Tradition,* §. 10.

MOreover, That the Articles of Faith owned by the *Church* of *Rome*, and imposed upon all who hold Communion with her to be believed, and owned as such, under the penalty of *Anathema* to him who doth *believe*, or *say* the contrary, were not received from *Christ*, or his *Apostles* either by unwritten Tradition, or by traditional Interpretation of the *Holy Scriptures*, or any portion of them, to that sence from whence it may be certainly concluded, that they were in the *Scriptures* mentioned, or owned by the *ancient Church* as *Articles* of *Christian* Faith, or as things necessary to be believed, or practised by all *Christians*, will be exceeding evident from these Considerations, *v. g.*

First, From

§. 1. *First*, From that plain and *general Tradition* of the *Church* of *Christ*, that all which the *Apostles* preach'd, and taught their Converts by word of mouth, as either necessary to be believed or practised, they afterwards, at their desire, committed unto writing, and deliver'd to them in the *Gospel*, and the Holy *Scriptures*. This, in the general, the *Fathers* do expressly say, declaring, That *the Apostles first preached the Gospel, and afterwards, by the Will of God, delivered the same Gospel which they preached to us in the Scripture, to be for future Ages the Pillar and the Ground of Truth.*

Postea per dei voluntatem in Scripturis nobis tradiderunt fundamentum & columnam fidei nostræ futurum. *Iren. lib.* 3. *cap.* 1.

The *Marcionites* owned the Writings of St. *Paul*, but rejected the *Evangelists*, St. *Matthew* and St. *John*. Against them therefore *Origen* doth in the person of *Eutropius* dispute after this manner, *Did these Apostles preach the Gospel with writing, or without writing what they preached?* Marc. *Without writing.* Eutrop. *Is it probable they preached Salvation only to them that heard them, and had no regard to them that were to come after, as must be supposed if they writ not that Doctrine of Salvation which they preached, for those things which are spoken, and not written, do presently vanish?*

Ἐγγράφως ἐκήρυξαν ἢ ἀγράφως ἐυηγγελίσαντο, ἢ ἀγράφως. Dial. contra Marcion, p. 59.

Εἰκὸς ἦν ὅτι τοῖς τότε μόνον ἀκούσι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐκήρυσσον, τοῖς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀδημίαν ἔννοιαν παρέχον. Ibid.

St. *Austin* is express for the same Doctrine, for having told us, That our *Lord Jesus*, according to the saying of St. *John*, *Did many things which were not written.* He adds, *Electa sunt autem quæ scriberentur ea quæ saluti credentium sufficere videbantur*, That *they chose out of them those things to be written which they conceived sufficient for the Salvation of Believers.* Tr. 49. in Joh. Tom. 9. p. 355.

Again, *He*, saith the same St. *Austin*, *who sent the Prophets before his descent, sent also the Apostles after his Ascention, of all whom he was the Head, wherefore it must not be said that he writ nothing, seeing his Members writ that which they knew by the Dictates of their Head, for whatsoever he would have us read concerning what he did, or said, he commanded his Apostles, as being his Amanuenses to write down.* Now seeing all they were to teach was only his Sayings and Commands, they who stood thus engaged to write *all that he would have us read of his Sayings*, must write all that was needful to be known in order to Mens Salvation; for all this, sure, the *Saviour* of the World would have us read; all this 'twas there-

Quicquid enim ille de suis factis & dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis, tamquam suis manibus, imperavit. *De consensu Evangelist. lib.* 1. *cap.* 35.

therefore necessary for them to write that we might read.

Εὐδόκησε γεγραφῆναι τὰ εὐαγγέλια, ἵνα ἐκ τόπων διδασκόμενοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, μὴ παρασυρῶμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψεύδους τῆς αἱρέσεων, &c. Proem. in Matth.

Because that Heresies would afterwards break in upon the Church, and the Manners of Christians would be corrupted, saith *Theophylact, it pleased the Apostles to write the Gospels, that from thence being taught the Truth, we might not be perverted by the Falshood of Heresie, nor be corrupted in our Manners.* Now sure what is sufficient to preserve us *from Heresie in Doctrine, and from Corruption in Manners,* must plainly and fully contain all things necessary to be believed, that we may not be *Hereticks,* and to be done, that we may not be wicked.

§. 2. To proceed to the particular accounts the *Ancients* give us of the inditing of every Gospel in particular.

Τὸ λεῖπον τῇ αὐτῆ παρεσκεύασε τόπους ἀφ' ὧν ἐξέλεσο διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπλήρωσε. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 24.

Eusebius informs us of St. *Matthew*, that the Tradition was, That *he was necessitated to write*; for *having first preached to the* Hebrews, *as he was about to go to others, commiting his Gospel to writing in his own Language, he supplied by writing their want of his Presence from whom he went.* St. *Chrysostom* saith, They had it by *Tradition*, that the believing *Jews* desired St. *Matthew* to *leave those things in writing which he had delivered by word of mouth to them*, and that in compliance with this request he writ his *Gospel* in the *Hebrew* Tongue. The *Author* of the imperfect Comment on St. *Matthew*, who passeth under the same name, delivereth the Tradition thus, That *St.* Matthew *was compelled to write his Gospel* upon this account, That *when a* grievous *Persecution arose in* Palæstin, *so that they were in danger to be separated from each other; that wanting Teachers, they might not want the Doctrine of Faith, they desired* Matthew *to write for them the History of all the Words and Works of Christ, that so, wherever they should be hereafter, they might have with them,* totius fidei statum, *the whole form of Faith.*

Ἆρ' εἶπε διὰ ῥημάτων, ταῦτα ἀφεῖναι διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτοῖς. In Matth. Hom. 1. pag. 3.

Sicut referunt Matthæum conscribere Evangelium causa compulit talis, cum facta fuisset in Pal. persecutio — ut carentes forte doctoribus fidei, non carerent doctrina, petierunt Matthæum ut omnium verborum & operum Christi conscriberet eis Historiam, ut ubicunque essent futuri totius secum haberent fidei statum. *Præfat.*

The

The Tradition concerning the *Gospel* of St. *Mark* runs thus, That when the Hearers of St. *Peter*, had been illuminated by his Doctrine: *They were so affected with it, as not to be contented with hearing of it all at once, or with the unwritten Teaching, or oral Tradition of the heavenly Word; but with all manner of Exhortations did entreat St.* Mark, *the Follower of St.* Peter, *that he would leave them in writing a digest or memorial of the Doctrine delivered to them by word of Mouth*, and that *they never ceased till they had obtained their requests*; and that thus they were the causes of writing the *Gospel* of St. *Mark*.

Ὡς μὴ ἀρκεῖσθαι τῇ ἀγεάφῳ τῦ θεῖα κηρύγμα] & διδασκαλία. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 15.

Ὡς ἂν χ) διὰ γεαφῆς τὸ μνημα τ διὰ λόγε παραδοθείσης αὐτοῖς καλαλείφοι διδασκαλίας. Ibid.

This *Eusebius* relates from the Tradition of *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, and *Papias*, *Bishop* of *Hierapolis*. The words of *Clemens* he gives thus, Clemens *in the same Book puts down the Tradition of the ancient Presbyters, touching the Order of the Gospels, which is to this effect*, —— Peter *preaching the Word publickly at* Rome, *and speaking the Gospel by the Spirit, many that were present intreated* Mark *to write what he spake, as being one who had long followed him, and remembred the things spoken, and that thereupon* Mark *having writ the Gospel, gave it to those who desired it.* And of the same *Mark*, *Papias*, saith *Eusebius*, relates, That *he took especial care to say nothing that was false, and,* τὸ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκεσε παραλιπεῖν, *to leave nothing out of his Gospel he had heard from* Peter.

Ἀναγεάφαι τὰ εἰρημένα. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 14.

L. 3. c. 38.

Moreover *Eusebius* farther informs us, from the same Authors, that *St. Mark* going afterwards to *Alexandria*, preached there, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ δὴ χ) συνεγεάφατο, *the Gospel which he had written.* And that the first Successors of the *Apostles* leaving their Countries, did the work of *Evangelists* to them who had not as yet heard of the *Christian* Faith, to whom they preached Christ, *and delivered the Writings of the Holy Evangelists,* αὐτὸ μόνον καταβαλλόμενοι, *laying this only in those places as the Foundation of the Faith, and so going on to other Countries to convert them*; and surely then the Successors of the *Apostles* did not doubt, but that these *Gospels* did, with sufficient fulness and perspicuity, contain the necessary Articles of *Christian* Faith.

Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 16.

Τὴν τῆ θείων εὐαγγελίων παράδοσιν γεαφήν. l. 3. c. 37.

Thirdly, Of St. *Luke*, the Follower of St. *Paul*, *Irenæus* informs us, That he *writ in a Book that Gospel which was preached by him*, he adds, That *St.* Paul *neglected not to teach the whole Counsel*

Lucas quod ab illo prædicabatur Evangelium in libro condidit. l. 3. c. 1

Cap. 14. *Counsel of God*, and that *St.* Luke *neglected not to write what St.* Paul *had taught*; and thence inferrs against the *Hereticks*, that *they could not pretend to know what was not taught by* Paul, *or was not written by St.* Luke.

Fourthly, St. *John*, saith the *Tradition* of the *Ancients*, was importuned by all the *Asiaticks*, and by the *Embassies* of many others, to write his *Gospel*, and his great care in Composing it, say they, was *to speak of those necessary things which they had pretermitted who writ before him*; or of the Deity of Christ, which *Ebion*, *Cerinthus*, and other *Hereticks* denied, and the other *Evangelists* had not so fully spoken to. The *Martyrology* of *Timothy Bishop* of *Ephesus* adds, That the other *Evangelists* were brought to him, containing, Τὰ σωτήρια τοῦ Κυρίου πάθη τε καὶ θαύματα, καὶ διδάγματα, *The salutary Passion, the Miracles and Doctrines of our Lord, and that he digested them in order, and added his own to them.* Here then from this Tradition it is plain and obvious to observe.

Περὶ τῆς ἀναγκαίων εἰς αὐτὸν κηρυγμάτων κεκλεφθένων. Epiph. Hær. 51. §. 6. Theoph. proem. in Joh.

Apud Phot. Cod. 254. p. 1403.

§. 3. *First*, That it was constantly supposed, and looked on by all *Christians*, as a thing most certain, that to preserve a Doctrine safe unto posterity, to keep it sure and certain, 'twas not sufficient for them to hear it by the Ear, or to receive it by *Tradition*, though from the mouth of an *Apostle*, but that 'twas requisite in order to that end, that what they heard should be committed to writing, that so it might be both to them and others, *the Pillar and the Ground of Truth.* Why else do they declare, that those things which are only spoken, and not written, *quickly vanish*, and thence inferr, That if the *Evangelists* intended the Salvation of Posterity, they must have written what they preached? Why do they say, it was necessary for the *Apostles* when they were about to leave their Converts to commit what they taught in writing to them? Why was it that they could not be contented, τῇ ἀγράφῳ τοῦ θείου κηρύγματος διδασκαλείᾳ, *with the unwritten teaching of the divine Doctrine*, or in the *Romish* phrase, with *the infallible way of oral Tradition*, but did, παρακλήσεσι παντοίαις Μάρκον λιπαρῆσαι, *desire with all earnestness St. Mark* to give them a Digest or Memorial in writing of that Doctrine they had received by word of mouth? And why was *Peter* so delighted, τῇ τῆς ἀνδρῶν προθυμίᾳ,

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 15.

προθυμία, *with this deſire of the Chriſtians*, which was a plain renouncing of *oral Tradition*, and a preferring of the *written word* before it.

Secondly, Hence it is obvious to obſerve, That *oral Tradition* being thus ſubject to failure and miſcarriage, the Wiſdom of our *God* and *Saviour* thought fit, that what was preached by the *Apoſtles* ſhould be committed unto writing, that it might be unto poſterity the *Pillar and the Ground of Truth*. Hence, Lib. 3. c. 1. ſaith *Irenæus*, they *by the Will of God* writ the Scriptures for this end. They ſaith St. *Auſtin*, writ what they knew by the dictates of their Head. *He commanded* the *Apoſtles* to write, and what things ſhould be written, were choſen, doubtleſs, by the *Holy Ghoſt*, whoſe Pen-men the *Apoſtles* were. Εὐδόκησε γεγραφῆναι τὰ εὐαγγέλια, *It was the pleaſure of Chriſt*, or his *Apoſtles*, ſaith *Theophylact*, that the *Goſpel* ſhould be writ, ἵνα ἐκ τούτων διδασκόμενοι τ ἀλήθειαν, *that Chriſtians being taught the Truth* from them, *might neither be perverted by Hereſies, or corrupted in manners*. Proem. in Matth.

Thirdly, Hence alſo it is evident, That the things choſen by our *Lord* and his *Apoſtles*, and by the Holy Spirit to be written, were ſuch as ſeemed to their Wiſdom ſufficient for the Salvation of Believers, that they contained all which our *Lord* would have us read concerning what he did, or ſaid, all that truth which was needful to preſerve us from *Hereſie* in Doctrine, or Corruption in Manners, the whole ſtate or ſyſtem of the *Chriſtian* Faith, which whoſoever did retain could not want Faith, even when he wanted Teachers, all that St. *Peter* preached; the Foundations of Faith; the whole Council of God; the ſalutary Doctrines of our *Lord*; all that was neceſſary to be known.

2. This will be ſtill more evident from that unqueſtionable Tradition of the whole *Church* of *Chriſt* for many *Centuries*, that the *Apoſtles Creed*, as it was firſt delivered, and as it was afterwards explained by that of *Nice*, was a compleat and perfect Summary of all things ſimply neceſſary to be believed by *Chriſtians*. §. 4.

That the *Apoſtles* and firſt Preachers of the *Chriſtian* Faith, comprized the Fundamentals of their Doctrine in ſome *Creed*, Syſtem, or form of words we learn not only from the *Tradition*.

dition of the *Church*, but also from many passages of *Scripture*, which mention, λόγος τ κατηχήσεως, *the words of their Catechism*; Luk. i. 4. τὰ στοιχεῖα τ ἀρχῆς τ λογίων τ Θεοῦ, *the elementary Principles of* Heb. v. 12. *the Oracles of God*; ὁ τ ἀρχῆς τ Χριστ λόγον, *the word of the* Heb. vi. 1. *beginning of Christ*, or the Foundation upon which *Christians* grew up unto perfection; τ ἀναλογίαν τ πίστεως, *the Analogy of* Rom. xij. 6. *Faith*, according to which all the Dispensers of the word must frame their Doctrine; τὸ τ εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, *the mystery of* 1 Tim. iij. 15, 16. *Godliness* to be preserved in, and by the *Church*, *the Pillar and* 2 Tim. i. 13. *the Ground of Truth*, ὑποτύπωσιν ὑγιαινόντων λόγων, *a form of sound words* which was delivered to, and must be held by all *Chri-* verse 14. *stians in Faith and Love*; or a brief Summary of the things which were to be believed by all; τ καλὴν παραθήκην, *the good depositum*, or Summary of *Christian* Doctrine, committed to the trust of others, or agreed on by the *Apostles* to be taught 2 Tim. ij. 2. by all, and which also was by them to be *committed to faithful Men, able to instruct others in it*: Τῇ πίστει ἅπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς Jud. iij. ἁγίοις, *The Faith once*, and at once, *delivered to the Saints*, which Philip. i. 27. they must hold in a good Conscience, and earnestly contend for.

§. 5. 2. That this *Creed*, System, or Summary of Faith, was by the *Apostles* delivered to all *Churches*, and was for substance that which is now called the *Apostles Creed*, is also evident from the Tradition of the *Church* of *Christ*. *Irenæus* saith, Lib. 1. c. 2. It is the Faith which the *Church* received, παρὰ τ Ἀποστόλων καὶ τ ἐκείνων μαθητῶν, *from the Apostles and their Disciples. The true and life-giving Faith*, quam ab Apostolis Ecclesia percepit, & distribuit filiis suis, *which the Church received from the* Lib. 3. c. 1. *Apostles, and distributes to her Sons.* *It*, saith *Tertullian*, *is the Rule* Apol. c. 47. *of Truth*, quæ venit à Christo transmissa per comites ejus, *which came from Christ, and was by his Companions handed down* De præscrip. *to us. The Institution of Christ, which all Nation ought to believe*: Cap. 9. Regula à Christo instituta, *The Rule prescribed by Christ*; and Cap. 14. *which the Churches received from the Apostles, the Apostles from* Cap. 21. *Christ.* This, saith *Athanasius*, is, πίστις θεία καὶ Ἀποστολική, *the* Epist. ad Jov. *Divine and Apostolical Faith, which was preached from the beginning*: Tom. p. 246, 247. It is, saith *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, *the Tradition*, ἁγίας καὶ ἀποστολικῆς Pag. 501. πίστεως, *of the Holy and Apostolick Faith. Is is*, saith *Ambrose*, Epist. 81. *the Symbol of the Faith of the Apostles*, which *Symbol the Church*

of

of Rome *keeps undefiled.* *Ruffinus* in his Exposition of this Symbol, saith, That *their Ancestors left to them this Tradition, that the Apostles being to depart one from the other, did first agree upon this as the Rule of what they afterwards should preach; and determined*, hanc credentibus dandam esse regulam, *this should be given as a Rule to Believers, and as an Index of their Faith, by which he should be known*, qui Christum vere secundùm Apostolicas regulas prædicaret, *who preached Christ truly according to the Rules of the Apostles.* *It is*, saith *Austin*, certa Regula Fidei, *the sure Rule of Faith, which the Apostles delivered.* And then he proceeds almost in the very words of *Ruffinus*, to declare, That *this was the Tradition of the Ancients.* *Isidore Hispalensis* saith, *Tali ratione institutum majores nostri dixerunt, Our Ancestors have said, that the Apostles Creed was instituted after this manner*; and then he goes on in the very words of *Ruffinus* to the end of that Chapter. *Rabanus Maurus* also hath transcribed the same words, and in them brought down the Tradition to the Ninth Century. And to return to the Age following *Ruffinus*, *Pope Leo* tells us, *This is the short and perfect Confession of the Symbol which is signed with the twelve Sentences of the Apostles.* *Venantius Fortunatus* in the Sixth Century informs us, That *this is the Symbol which they among themselves wholesomely made by the assistance of the Holy Spirit.* It is, saith *venerable Bede*, *the Symbol of Faith delivered by the Apostles.*

Apud Hieron. Tom. 4. f. 46.

De Temp. Serm. 181. To. 10. p. 984.

De Off. Eccles. l. 2. c. 22.

De instit. Cler. l. 1. c. 27. l. 2. c. 56.

Ep. 96.

Præfat. ad Expos. Symb. Apost.

Apud Ivon. decret. part. 1. c. 35, 36.

3. It is also evident from Tradition, that *Christians* were received into the Church by *Baptism* on the profession of this Faith, or that this only was the Faith which they required them to believe and to profess at *Baptism.* *Justin Martyr* saith only in the general, That *as many as believed,* ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα, καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, *that the things which were said, and taught by Christians were true, were admitted by Baptism among the number of Christians.* But *Irenæus*, his Cotemporary, gives us the Creed delivered by the *Apostles*, and says it was *the undeclinable Rule of Truth,* ὃν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἔλαβε, *which the Christian received by Baptism*, and *the preaching of that Truth by which,* φωτίζει πάντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς βουλομένους εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν, *the Church illuminates all that are willing to come to the knowledge of the Truth.* The *Apostolical Constitutions* tell the

§. 6.

Apol. 2. p. 93.

L. 1. c. 1. p. 40.

L. 7. c. 40, 41.

Priest what the *Catechist*, who is to be Baptized, must renounce, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Χειστῶν, and *the things which concern his being Listed among Christians.* Now they are these, *I rank my self among the Souldiers of Christ, and I believe I am Baptized into the one unbegotten only true God*, &c. And after he hath made profession of this *Creed*, he is to be Anointed, and *Baptized.* The Council of *Laodicea* saith, That they who are to be Baptized must first, τῷ πίστιν ἐκμανθάνειν, *learn the Faith, and recite it to the Bishop, or his Presbyter.* The Seventy eighth *Canon* of the Sixth *General Council* saith the same thing. Now what it is *to learn the Faith*, we know from all the *Fathers* of those times, who do with one consent inform us, that the *Catechists* were prepared for *Baptism* by being taught the *Creed*, the *Symbol*, or the *Rule of Faith*, delivered and taught by the *Apostles*, and afterwards explained by that of *Nice*, or of *Constantinople*, and that they were Baptized into the profession of this Creed. *Sozomen* and *Gelasius* inform us that a plain Lay-man, and Confessor undertook to confute a Philosopher in the *Council* of *Nice.* And that he did this by repeating of his Creed, saying to the Philosopher, *There is one God, who having made all things, sustained them by his Word and holy Spirit. This word, O Philosopher, we adore, knowing him to be the Son of God, and believing that for our Redemption he was incarnate of a Virgin, and was born, and was made Man, and that by his Death and Passion on the Cross, he delivered us from eternal condemnation, and by his Resurrection he purchased for us Life eternal, whom, being ascended into Heaven, we hope that he will come again to be judge of all our Actions.* And that the *Philosopher* answering, He believed this, the *Confessor* bid him then follow him to the *Church* to be *Baptized*, at which, ἡ σύνοδος ἐχάιρεν, *the Nicene Synod rejoiced.* From both which Instances we learn, what was the *Symbol* into which *Christians* were Baptized, when that *Council* met, and which they owned as sufficient for that end. *Eusebius Cæsariensis* speaks thus of his own *Creed*, approved by the *Nicene* Council, *As we have received from the Bishops that were before us, καὶ ἐν τῇ κατηχήσει, καὶ ὅτε τὸ λοῦτρον παρελάβομεν, both when we were Catechized, and when we received Baptism; and as we have learned from the Scriptures, and as we have*

Can. 46.

Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 18.

Gelas. Cyz. l. 2. c. 13.

Τῶν τιν. παλαιῶν συναχθέντων καὶ τῶν Νικαέων φησὶ, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως καὶ ὁμολόγων, καὶ ἐκφωνησάντων εἰς ὃ καὶ ἐβαπτίσθημεν καὶ βαπτίζομεν. Syn. Const. sub Menna Act 5. Bin. Tom. 4. p. 78, 82.

Socr. Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 8. p. 24.

have both believed and taught when we were made Priests and Bishops, so believing at present we declare this our Faith unto you. The Council of *Constantinople* confirms the *Nicene* Confession of Faith, as, πρεσβυτάτω ἔθος καὶ ἀκόλουθον τῷ βαπτίσματι, *being most ancient, and annexed to Baptism.* The *Synod* of *Jerusalem* says it was, Τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον εἰς ὃ ἐβαπτίσθημεν καὶ βαπτίζομεν, *The Holy Symbol into which we were Baptized and do Baptize.* The *Synod* at *Tyre* saith the same thing. The *Council* of *Constantinople* under *Menna* stiles it, Τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον ἐν ᾧ πάντες ἐβαπτίσθημεν, *The holy Symbol into which we were all Baptized.* *Basilicus* and *Maurus* in two several Edicts confirmed the same *Nicene Creed* with these words, Εἰς ὃ ἡμεῖς τε καὶ πάντες οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πιστεύσαντες ἐβαπτίσθημεν, *That it was the Creed into which they, and all the Believers before them were Baptized.* St. *Jerom* writing against the *Luciferians*, calls the Apostles Creed *the Faith of the Church*, which *Lucifer*, se die Baptismatis servaturum promiserat, *had promised to keep at the day of his Baptism.* *Theodoret* saith, We require those who come every Year to Baptism, τῶν ἐκτεθεῖσαν ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστιν ἐκμανθάνειν, *to learn the Faith expounded at* Nice. *Pope Leo* saith of it, That it is *the Confession, which pronouncing before many Witnesses*, Sacramentum Baptismi suscipimus, *we receive the Sacrament of Baptism*, and that it was *the Symbol*, quod per totum mundum omnium regenerandorum voce depromitur, *which was pronounced by all that were Baptized throughout the World.* After this time we find one of these two *Symbols* required to be rehearsed in the *baptismal Offices*, either by those who came to be Baptized, or by their *Sureties*, as is evident from the *Ordo Romanus*, were it is required to be pronounced at Baptism in *Greek* and *Latin*. From the Treatise of *Isidore Hispalensis*, where it is called the Symbol, *quod competentes recipiunt, which they who were prepared for Baptism received and learn'd.* From the Treatise of *Rabanus Maurus* of the *Institution* of the *Clergy*, which saith, That *before the Catechumen was brought to Baptism*, Apostolicæ fidei ei ostenditur Symbolum, *the Apostles Symbol was shewed to him, and he was asked whether he believed it.* From the Degrees of *Ivo*, which say, That *Baptizandis traditur salutare symbolum, the wholesome Symbol is delivered to those that are to be Baptized.* From the *Canon Law* compiled by *Gratian*, were we find many *Canons* to the same effect. And lastly from the form of *Baptism* still retain'd in the *Roman Church.*

Theodor. Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 9.
Con. Constant. sub Menna Act. 5. Bin. Tom. 4. p. 78. 87, 85. & 91, 96.
Evagr. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 4, 7.
Ep. 145. Tom. 3. p. 1023.
Ep. 97. ad Mon. Palæst. c. 8. p. 637.
Ep. 24. ad Flav. c. 1. & 2.
Pag. 39.
De Eccles. Off. l. 2. c. 21, 22.
Lib. 1. c. 27.
Part. 81. —90. & c. 223.
De consecr. Dist. 4. c. 155, 156, 158, &c.

§. 7. 4. The same Tradition teacheth, That the *Creed* used in the *Church* till the *Nicene Council*, and that of *Nice*, as the true Explication of it, were by the whole *Church* of *Christ*, for many *Centuries*, esteemed and embraced, and taught to others as the whole system of all things necessary to be believed by Christians in order to Salvation, or as a perfect Summary or Rule of the meer Articles of *Christian* Faith.

Irenæus in the second *Century*, having cited the *Creed* of the whole Church, which, with unanimous consent, *she preached,*
L. 1. c. 1. p. 42. *taught* and *delivered, as having but one Mouth,* πᾶσι ἀπὸ τ ἐκκλησίας κηρυσσομένην ἀλήθειαν, the truth preached by the Church, and
Cap. 2. which the *Church dispersed through the World, received from the*
Cap. 4. *Apostles* and their *Disciples, the one and the same Faith which the Church retained throughout the whole World.* The Tradition of
Lib. 3. cap. 3. the *Apostles* manifested in the whole World, and *to be seen in*
Ibid. p. 234. *every Church,* μίαν καὶ μόνην ἀλήθειαν, *the one and only truth* which she received from the *Apostles* and delivered to others. I say, he speaking of this *Creed*, this Faith, this κήρυγμα ἀληθείας, this *preaching of the truth*, declares, That *he, who*, among the *Governors* of the Church, *was the most able Speaker could say no other things; for none of them was above his Master, nor could he who was infirm in Speech, lessen the Tradition, for the Faith being one and the same; neither did he who was most able to speak of it exceed, nor he who spake least of it diminish it.*

Μιᾶς γὰρ καὶ αὐτῆς πίστεως οὔσης οὔτε ὁ πολὺ περὶ αὐτῆς δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν ἐπλεόνασεν, οὔτε ὁ τὸ ὀλίγον ἐλαττόνησε. Lib. 1. cap. 2.

And as a farther Witness of this matter, he brings
Lib. 3. c. 3. in *Polycarp* attesting, Μίαν καὶ μόνην ταύτην ἀληθείαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων παραδεδόσθαι, *That he received this truth from the Apostles, and* this only.

De præscrip. Hær. cap. 37. *Tertullian* producing a like *Creed* of his times, which he declares to be that Rule which the Church received from
De Resur. Car. cap. 18. the *Apostles*, and the *Apostles* from *Christ*, the *unum apud omnes edictum Dei, the one Edict of God, which hangs up among all Christians*; that is, saith *Rigaltius* on the place, *The Symbol*
De Virg. Velland. cap. 1. *of the Christian Faith.* I say, having produced this *Creed*, he stiles it, *Regulam fidei unam omnino, solam immobilem, & irreformabilem, That Rule which is entirely one, and which alone is unmoveable, and not to be reformed*; that is, which admits not, *novitatem correctionis, of any new Correction*, as other things belonging to the *Church*'s *Discipline* might do. This Rule,

Rule, ſaith he, we, having once believed, *nihil deſideramus ultra credere, hoc enim prius credimus, non eſſe quod ultra credere debeamus, deſire to believe nothing more, for this we firſt believe that we ought to be believe nothing more*; that knowing this, *there is no need of ſeeking after other things*, quia quod debeas noſti, *becauſe*, in it, *we know all that we ought to know*; the only *Article* to be believed beſides it being this, *aliud non eſſe credendum, that nothing elſe is to be believed*; this being *regula fidei quæ ſalvum facit, the Rule of Faith which brings Salvation.* De præſcrip. Hær. c. 8. Cap. 14. Cap. 9. Cap. 14.

Origen in his Book of *Principles* lays down this Rule; *Let the eccleſiaſtical Preaching delivered by order of Succeſſion from the Apoſtles, and to this preſent time continuing in the Churches, be obſerved.* Adding, That *we ought to know this, that the Holy Apoſtles preaching the Faith of Chriſt, did manifeſtly deliver even to thoſe who were moſt ſlow in Inquiſition of divine Knowledge*, quæcunque neceſſaria crediderunt omnibus credentibus, *all things which they believed neceſſary for all Believers*; and then he runs over the Articles of the *Apoſtles Creed*, as they were then received in the *Church* of *God*, and ſaith, *Theſe are the form of thoſe things*, quæ per prædicationem Apoſtolicam manifeſte traduntur, *which are manifeſtly delivered by the Preaching of the Apoſtles.* Proem. in libr. περὶ ἀρχῶν,

St. *Cyril* calls this *Creed*, Τὸ περὶ δογμάτων μάθημα ἢ τῆς πίστεως διδασκαλία, *The teaching of the Faith, and the inſtruction of the Catechiſt in the Doctrines of the Church.* Adding, That the *Church* had in few words comprized, τὸ πᾶν δόγμα τῆς πίστεως, *the whole Doctrine of Faith*, and adviſing his *Catechiſt*, μόνην ταύτην τὴν ἐκκλησίας νυνί σοι παραδιδομένην πίστιν τηρεῖν, *to keep the Faith alone, delivered to him by the Church. It is*, ſaith *Hilary*, *the ſafeſt courſe to retain that firſt and only Evangelical Faith confeſſed in Baptiſm, and to innovate nothing in it.* And this he affirms in oppoſition to the *New Creeds* ſo frequent in his Days. The *Creed* of *Nice*, ſaith *Nazianzen*, *is a ſhort Boundary and Rule of Chriſtian Wiſdom. It is*, ſaith *Athanaſius*, *ſufficient for the deſtruction of all Impiety*, σύσασιν ἢ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως, *and for the confirmation of the true Faith in Chriſt, for the deſtruction of every wicked Hereſie*, καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διδασκαλίας, *and for confirmation of the eccleſiaſtical Doctrine.* The *Synod* held at *Sardis* defined, That nothing farther ſhould be written of the Faith, but that all Men ſhould reſt contented with the Catech. 4. p. 24. Catech. 5. p. 44. Ad. Conſt. Aug. p. 342. 343. Ἔστιν ὅρος καὶ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθοῦς φρονήματος. Orat. 52. init. Ep. ad Epictet. Tom. 1. p. 582. a. Epiſt. ad Afric. Epiſc. p. 932.

Athanas. Ep. ad Antioch. p. 576. the Faith confessed at *Nice*, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν αὐτῇ λείπειν, *because it was in nothing defective*; and *because if any other Faith should be composed, that might be looked upon*, ὡς ἀτελὴς ἔσται, *as imperfect.*

De tempore Serm. 115, 119, 131, St. *Austin* saith, That the *Catholick Faith is made known to the Faithful in the Creed*; that this Creed is, *Comprehensio fidei nostræ atque perfectio*, *The comprehension and perfection of our Faith*; that it is, *Plenitudo credentium, totum continens compendio brevitatis, & confirmans omnes perfectione credendi*, *The fulneß of Believers, comprising the whole of their Faith in a compendious brevity, and confirming all in perfect Faith.*

Ep. 84. Tom. 3. p. 961. *Theodoret* writes to the *Bishops* of *Cilicia*, that they would require their People *to keep the* Nicene *Faith entire and undefiled*, ἅτε ὂν πλὴν εὐαγγελικὴν καὶ Ἀποστολικὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ διδάσκουσαν, *as compendiously teaching the Evangelical and Apostolical Doctrine.*

Apud Hieron. Tom. 4. f. 44. *Damasus* closeth his *Symbol*, which for substance is the same with that of *Nice*, in these expressions, *Hæc crede, hæc retine, believe and retain these things. Subject thy Soul to this Faith, and thou shalt obtain Life, and a reward from Christ*; which shews he thought this Faith sufficient for that end.

Ibid. f. 46. *Ruffinus* informs us, that according to the request of *Pope Laurence*, he was to compose something, *de fide secundum Symboli traditionem*, *of the Faith delivered in the Symbol*: And of this he declares, That it was, *norma prædicationis*, *the Rule of the Apostles preaching*, the Rule which they composed, *credentibus dandam*, *to be delivered to Believers*, fidei suæ indicium, *the index of their Faith.*

Serm. 57, 58, 59, 60, 61. *Petrus Chrysologus* saith, That it is *salutis symbolum, vitæ symbolum, forma fidei, credulitatis norma, fides quam credimus & docemus*, *the symbol of Life and Salvation, the Rule of Faith, the Faith which we believe and teach.*

Ep. 27 ad Pulcher. c. 4. p. 492. *Pope Leo*, That it is *a short*, & perfecta confessio, *and perfect Confession of the Catholick Faith.*

Act. 5. in fine. The *Great Council* of *Chalcedon* saith of the Faith of *Nice*, That it sufficeth, εἰς ἐπέλεια τ εὐσεβείας ἐπίγνωσιν, *to the perfect knowledge and confirmation of Piety.*

Theodor. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 15. The *Synod* of *Ariminum*, That it was, ὁ ἀκριβὴς κανὼν τ πίστεως, *an exact Rule of Faith*; that of *Sardis*, That *nothing was to be added to it*, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν αὐτῇ λείπειν, *because nothing was wanting to it*; that of *Sirmium* adds, That there was *no need of running to Synods*; *that of* Nice, *Having done all things for the Catholick Church*, a *Synod* to which συνεψηφίσαντο πάντες, καὶ ταύτῃ πάντες ἐκείναν ἀρκεῖσθαι, *all Men assented, and all Men judged it sufficient.*

Apud Athanas. Ep. ad Antioch. p. 576.

Id. de Synod. Arim. & Selsach. p. 876, 878.

The

The *Ordo Romanus*, or old *Roman Liturgy* ſaith, *This is that Faith*, qua credentes juſtificati ſumus, *by which believing we are juſtified*; ſalutaris fides, *the ſaving Faith, which the Holy Spirit dictated to the Maſters of the Church.* The ſumm of our Faith, which, as they had received, ſo they delivered it unto them. *Iſidore Hiſpalenſis* ſaith of the *Apoſtles Creed*, That *they appointed it to be given to Believers as a Rule*, that it contained *few words, but in them were contained* omnia Sacramenta, *all the Articles of Faith*; that they *who could not read the Scriptures, retaining in their Heart theſe things, might have ſufficient and ſaving knowledge*, that it contains *the Confeſſion of the Trinity and the Unity of the Church*, & omne Chriſtiani dogmatis Sacramentum, *and the whole Chriſtian Doctrine*; that this *Symbol* of Faith and the *Lord's Prayer*, parvulis Eccleſiæ ſufficit ad cœlorum regna capeſſenda, *ſufficed to bring the little ones of the Church to the Kingdom of Heaven.* And of the *Nicene Creed* he adds, That it ſpeaks, *de omni parte fidei, of every part of Faith.*

Apud Hittorp. p. 38, 39.

De Eccl. Officiis. l. 2. c. 22.

Orig. l. 6. c. 19.

Sentent. l. 1. c. 21.

De Eccleſ. Off. l. 1. c. 16.

Rabanus Maurus, in his Book of the *Inſtitution of the Clergy*, tranſcribes the forecited words of *Iſidore*. *Regino* in the ſame Century ſaith, That *all who come to Penance, or to receive the Sacrament, muſt be able to recite the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer; for in the one is contained the Chriſtian Faith, in the other we are taught what we are to pray for*; and that *no Man in theſe matters muſt pretend the ſlowneſs of his Underſtanding, or defect of Memory, for theſe things are ſo ſhort, as that the dulleſt Man may learn them, and yet they are*, tam magna, ut qui eorum ſcientiam pleniter capere potuerit ſufficere ea ſibi credatur in ſalutem, *ſo great that whoſoever fully underſtands them will find them ſufficient for his Salvation.*

Lib. 2. c. 56.

De Eccl. Diſcipl. l. 1 c. 272.

Moreover, *Ruffinus*, *Iſidore*, and *Rabanus Maurus* do inform us, that the *Apoſtles* made this the ſign by which he ſhould be known who preached Chriſt truly, *ſecundum Apoſtolicas literas, according to the directions of the Apoſtles, from thoſe deceitful Workers who did not preach him*, integris traditionum lineis, *according to the integrity of Tradition.* Accordingly,

§. 8.

5. Obſerve, That theſe *Fathers* do conſtantly aſſert this *Symbol* to be a Teſt of *Orthodoxy*, and that by which they did preſcribe againſt all *Hereticks*, proving their Doctrines to be new,

new, and ſuch as ought to be rejected, as being not contained in this *Symbol*, or this *Rule* of Faith. *Irenæus* in his
Lib. 3. cap. 3. Book againſt *Hereſies* declares, that it is, *ſola vera & vivifica fides, the only true and life-giving Faith, which the Church received from the Apoſtles, and diſtributes to her Children.* That even, without arguing, we might exactly diſcern the firm-
Lib. 1. c. 1. neſs of the Truth preached by the Church, and the falſeneſs of the *Heretical* perſwaſions, there being nothing of them,
Cap. 4. ἐν τῇ τῆς πίστεως ὑποθέσει, *in the inſtitution of Faith delivered to the Church*, and that, *hanc tenentes regulam, holding to this Rule,*
Ibid. c. 19. *how many and various ſoever were their Doctrines*, we might eaſily
Cap. 3. ſhew their deviation from the truth. In his Third Book he confutes them from the ſame *Topick*, *viz.* this *Tradition* of the *Rule* of Faith, *viſible in all Churches*, and preſerved in all the *Biſhops* of them ſucceeding the *Apoſtles*, declaring, That *nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt quale ab his deliratur*, in their account of the Tradition received from the *Apoſtles*, and the Faith preached to Men, *they taught no ſuch thing as the deliriums of theſe Hereticks.* And he informs us, that *Polycarp* had converted many of theſe *Hereticks* to the *Church*, by declaring this was *the only Truth* which he received from the *Apoſtles.* And in his Fourth *Chapter*, repeating again this *Creed*, he ſaith, It is that which even the *Barbarians*, who had not the *Scriptures*, preſerving in their Hearts, *would ſtop their Ears againſt, and ſufficiently repel*, ea quæ ab Hæreticis adinventa ſunt, *the Inventions of the Hereticks.*

Tertullian alſo lays down this Creed as the Foundation of the *Chriſtian* Faith, and confutes all the *Hereticks*, becauſe their Doctrines were later than this *Creed*, and were not contained in it. He begins his Diſcourſe of *Preſcription* againſt
Nobis nihil ex arbitrio noſtro inducere licet. *cap.* 6. the *Hereticks* with this Foundation, That *Chriſtians could induce no new thing, that they had the Apoſtles for the Authors of their Doctrines, who themſelves induced nothing of their own,* ſed acceptam à Chriſto diſciplinam fideliter nationibus adſignaverunt, *but faithfully delivered to the Nations the Doctrine*
Cap. 8. *they received from Chriſt.* And whereas the *Hereticks* objected that Saying of our *Lord*, *Seek and ye ſhall find*, and thence pretended that they, by ſeeking, had found their Doctrines in the *Scripture*, though they pretended alſo to *Tradition* for them, and eſpecially for the interpretation of *Scripture*, as

Irenæus

Irenæus hath informed us; to this *Tertullian* answers, That true it was they were to search the *Scriptures* for their Rule of Faith, and prove it thence, but then they also were to believe, that when they had found that there, *aliud non esse credendum ideoque, nec requirendum, that nothing more was to be believed, and therefore nothing more was to be inquired after,* besides those things which they believed were the matters of their Faith, and that otherwise there would be no end of seeking, *nec statio credendi, nor any boundary of Faith*; *Let us seek therefore,* saith he, idque duntaxat quod salva regula fidei potest in quæstionem devenire, *but that only which may be inquired after, so as that the Rule of Faith be safe.* Then he lays down the *Creed* as that Rule, and declares, That *knowing this we need seek no more,* because *we know all that we need to know.* He adds, that the *Apostles* receiving a command to teach, and to baptize, planted Churches in all *Cities*, whence other *Churches*, Semina Doctrinæ mutuatæ sunt, *borrowed the Seeds of their Doctrine*, and that all these *Churches* were *one*, *first*, and *Apostolical*, not by virtue of any Roman Unity, but by the Union of Peace, and brotherly Affection; and, *per ejusdem Sacramenti unam traditionem, by shewing the same Creed*, which when they journeyed to any other *Church*, was, *Contesseratio Hospitalitatis, the League of Hospitality.* And then he adds, *Hinc igitur dirigimus præscriptionem, Hence therefore we direct our prescription, i. e.* From the very Faith and *Symbol* which the *Apostles* preaching to the *Churches* delivered to them, in which Rule we find nothing of the *New Doctrines* of the *Hereticks*, and so are sure they belong not to the Faith, but are to be rejected, *ob diversitatem Sacramenti, as being different from our Creed.*

Unum utiq; & certum aliquid institutum esse a Christo quod credere omnino debeant Nationes & idcirco quærere ut possint cum invenerint credere. *Cap.* 9.

Cap. 8, 9.

Cap. 12, 13.

Cap. 14.

Cap. 20.

Cap. 21.

Cap. 33.

And by these Examples we may learn by the way what *Dionysius Bishop* of *Corinth* did, when, as *Eusebius* informs us, He combating the *Heresie* of the *Marcionites*, πρὸς τὴν ἀληθείας παείσαν Κανόνι, *stuck to the Canon of Truth*; *viz.* that he confuted them, as doth *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*, by appealing to the *Apostles Symbol*, or Rule of Faith left to the *Churches.*

Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 23.

Now here I appeal to any indifferent Reader, whether the Arguments of *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* against the *Hereticks* of their Times be not to this effect. The *Tradition* of the Faith

is manifest to all the World, you may see, and hear it in all *Christian Churches* where this Symbol is recited, in which, *nihil tale docuerunt, they taught nothing like to those New Heresies*; they therefore are to be rejected. And I desire any Man to tell me whether this Argument be not stronger in the mouth of *Protestants*. The *Apostles Symbol*, the *Rule of Faith* here mentioned by *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*, contain nothing of the *Romish Articles*, therefore they are to be rejected; whether this be not our way of *prescribing against the Church of* Rome, that her *Creed*, as distinct from ours, is *new*, not a tittle of it, not any thing like it was delivered in the *Rule of Faith*, the *Symbol*, the *Tradition of Christian Doctrine*, taught, say these men, by *Christ*, by his *Apostles*, received from the beginning by all *Apostolical Churches*, and for Ten *Centuries* at least declared to have been *the whole*, and *perfect Rule of Christian Faith*; and by our *Catechism* said to contain, *All the Articles of the Christian Faith.*

§. 9. 6. Let it be noted, that all these *Fathers* do unanimously teach, That this whole *Symbol*, *Summary*, and Rule of Faith was most apparently contained in *Scripture*, that it was gathered out of *Scripture*, and when they taught it to their *Catechists* they proved every *Article* of it from the holy *Scriptures*. *Ire-*

Lib. 3. c. 3. *næus* saith expressly, That *they who would might learn the Apostolical Tradition of the Church*, ex ipsa Scriptura, *from the Scripture it self*; the *Doctrine* which the Apostles preached, *being afterwards delivered in the holy Scriptures, to be the Pillar and the*

Apol. c. 47. *Ground of Faith*. *Tertullian* saith of it, That it is *antiquitas præstructa divinæ literaturæ, antiquity built upon the divine Scriptures.* That as for this Rule of Faith, we are to search the *Scriptures*

De præscript. for it, *and seek until we find it there*; That, *quærendum est donec*
c. 9. *inveneris & credendum ubi inveneris, and that no man can speak*
Cap. 15. *of Matters of Faith*, nisi ex literis fidei, *but from the Holy Scriptures.* St. *Cyril* adds, that it is the Faith, ἐκ πάσης γραφῆς ἐχυρωμένην, *confirmed by all the Scripture*, and gathered out of them,

Catech. 4. p. and that he would, ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν, *from the Holy Scri-*
44, 45. *ptures give them the proof of every Article of it.* Δεῖ γὰρ φησὶ τῶν
Pag. 30. θείων καὶ ἁγίων τῆς πίστεως μυστηρίων μηδὲ τὸ τυχὸν ἄνευ τῶν θείων παραδίδοσθαι γραφῶν; *For*, saith he, *we must not deliver one tittle of the Mysteries of Faith, without proof from the holy Scriptures; nor would*

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I have you to believe me barely saying these things, ἐὰν δὲ ἀπόδειξιν τῶν καταγγελλομένων ἀπὸ τῶν θείων μὴ λάβῃς γραφῶν, *if you receive not a demonstration of them from the Holy Scriptures;* οὐ γὰρ σωτηρία ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν, *for the safety or security of our Faith is not to be had,* ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀποδείξεων τῶν θείων γραφῶν, *but from the demonstrations of the holy Scriptures. Athanasius* saith, *It is a vain thing for men to run about, pretending to desire Synods for the Faith;* ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ἱκανωτέρα πάντων ἡ θεία γραφὴ, *for the holy Scripture is more sufficient than all Synods; but if they must have Synods, that of* Nice *is sufficient, so that he who sincerely reads their Writings, may by them learn,* τὴν ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς καταγγελλομένην εἰς Χριστὸν εὐσέβειαν, *that Religion towards Christ which is declared in the holy Scriptures.* And elsewhere he adds, That *the Faith of* Nice *was confessed,* κατὰ τὰς θείας γραφὰς, *according to the holy Scriptures. Ruffinus* confesseth, That *the Articles of the Creed ought to be proved,* evidentibus divinæ Scripturæ testimoniis, *by evident Texts of Scripture. Eucherius Lugdunensis* saith, That *the Apostles Creed was gathered,* ex diversis voluminibus Scripturarum, *out of divers Volumes of the Scripture. Isidore Hispalensis,* and *Rabanus Maurus,* That *the Apostles briefly did collect it from the holy Scriptures: That they who could not read the Scriptures, retaining these things in their Hearts, might have knowledge sufficient to Salvation.* And,

De Syn. Arim. & Seleuc. p. 873.

Ep. ad Epictet. p. 582.

Apud Hieron. To. 4. f. 48. b. Hom. 1. de Symb.

De Eccl. Off. l. 2. c. 22.

De instit. Cler. l. 2. c. 56.

§. 10.

Lastly, It is observable, That although they conspired to declare that this *Creed,* and *Rule* of Faith was entirely contained in, and gathered from the *Scriptures,* yet did they as unanimously concurr to call it *a Tradition delivered* viva voce, or *by word of Mouth,* and written *not in Paper,* but *on the Tables of the Christian's heart,* because they generally required all that were to be Baptized to commit it to their *Memory. The* Barbarians, saith Irenæus, *keeping diligently this Old Tradition, have this Doctrine written without Paper and Ink, by the Spirit in their Hearts. This the Apostles preached,* saith *Tertullian,* tam vivâ voce, quam per Epistolas postea, *as well by oral Tradition, as afterwards by their Epistles. It is the Rule,* saith *Cyril, which you must studiously keep,* οὐκ εἰς χάρτας ἀπογεγραμμένοι, *not writing it in Paper, but keeping the remembrance of it in your Heart, and in your Meditation. Our Fathers left it by Tradition,* saith *Ruffinus,* that *these things were required to be written, not in Paper,* sed in credentium

Lib. 3. cap. 4.

De præscript. c. 21.

Catech. 4 p. 44.

Symb. apud Hieron. To 4. p. 16. vide Crysol. Serm. 62.

tium cordibus, *but in the Hearts of Believers. It is the Symbol,* saith the *Ordo Romanus, which is not to be written in any matter*
Orig. l. 6. c. 19. *subject to corruption,* sed paginis vestri cordis, *but in the pages of your Hearts*; in tabulis cordis carnalibus, *in the fleshly Tables of the heart,* says *Isidore Hispalensis, Rabanus Maurus,* and innu-
Concil. Brac. 2. can. 1. merable others. Hence, as the Councils of *Laodicea, Trullo,* and of *Braga* have determined, *it was to be learnt by all that came to be Baptized, before the great Solemnity of* Easter; and they required a publick *Repetition* of it by the People as oft as they
Concil Mogunt c 45. received the Holy *Sacrament:* And lastly hence *St. Cyril* doth
Catech 5 p 45. 2 Thess. ij 14. press upon his *Catechist, the keeping of it in his Memory from that of the Apostle,* κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις, *hold the Traditions which you have been taught.*

CHAP. VIII.

The Corollaries from these propositions touching the Creed are these, 1. *That these Symbols must contain all that the Apostles delivered as simply necessary to be believed of all Christians, and all that the whole Catholick Church judged needful to be held in point of Faith,* §. 1. 2ly. *That these Creeds must be a perfect digest of all things necessary to be believed now, and throughout all succeeding Ages of the World,* §. 2. 3ly. *That no Man who doth heartily believe these Creeds and the immediate Doctrines plainly contained in them, or evidently deduced from them can deserve to be Anathematized, or to be excluded from the Communion of Christians, for not believing any other simple Article of Faith,* §. 3. 4ly. *That all those Councils which have Anathematized their fellow Christians for such Doctrines as are not in these Creeds, nor can be evidently inferr'd from any thing contained in them have actually erred,* §. 4. 5ly. *That all the necessary Articles of Christian Faith are fully and perspicuously contained in Scripture according to the Doctrine of the whole Church of Christ,* §. 5. *Mr.* M.'*s Objection from* Tertullian *answered and retorted,* Ibid. 6ly. *That the Faith of Protestants in all their necessary Articles is most certain,* §. 6. 7ly. *That in this Sence the Faith was handed down to us by Tradition,* viz. *That this Creed which contains*

contains all the Essentials of it, hath been thus handed down by it, though by the same Tradition it was declared to be also fully contained in the Scripture, §. 7. 8ly. *That the Romanists impose upon us when they argue for Traditions neither contained in Scripture nor the Creed, from the Sayings of* Irenæus *and* Tertullian, *and other Fathers, which evidently relate to the Tradition of the Creed*, §. 8. 9ly. *That here is a full Answer to the Catalogue of Fundamental Articles of Faith so oft demanded*, §. 9. *And to that other Question, Where was your Religion before* Luther? §. 10. *The Reason why we still judge the Church of* Rome *a true Church*, §. 11.

NOW the Consequences which naturally result from this *Tradition*, are sufficient to confirm the most important *Articles* of the Faith of *Protestants*, to clear up the most considerable Objections which are made against it, and to confute, and wholly overthrow the Doctrines of the *Romish Church*. For,

First, If, according to the Second Observation, the *Apostles* delivered that which we call the *Apostles Creed*, or something like it to all *Churches*, if all the *Christian Churches* received such standing Rule of Faith from the *Apostles* and their *Successors*; if, according to the Third Observation, all *Christians* were received into the *Church* by *Baptism*, upon profession of this Faith, and were admitted to the participation of the *Eucharist* upon the like profession; if, according to the Fourth Observation, the *Fathers* of the *Church* have always owned these *Creeds* as perfect digests of all the necessary Articles of *Christian* Faith; if, according to the Fifth Observation, these *Symbols* were always owned as a sufficient Test of *Orthodoxy*; and it was thought a clear and a convincing proof, that the additional Doctrines of all kind of *Hereticks*, were on this sole account to be rejected, because they were not mentioned or contained in this *Creed*. I say, if all these things are so, then it demonstratively follows, both from the nature of the thing, and the *Tradition* of the *Church* of all these Ages, that in these *Symbols* were contained all that the *Apostles* delivered as simply necessary to be believed of all *Christians*, and all that the whole *Catholick Church* judged needful to be held in point of Faith. For is it reasonable to think that the *Apostles*, the *Apostolick Churches*, §. 1.

Churches, or the four firſt *General Councils* were ſo forgetful as to omit any fundamental point in that *Creed*, which they delivered to be believed by all *Chriſtians* as the Rule of Faith? What account can be given why any ſuch ſummary of Faith ſhould be made at all by the *Apoſtles*, or their *Succeſſors*, but for this end, that in them all the neceſſary Articles of *Chriſtian* Faith might be comprized; if a *Creed* were ſuitably to this *Tradition*, delivered by the *Apoſtles* to the *Church*, either we muſt think theſe *Apoſtles* unfaithful in their Work, or the *Creed* an unfaithful account of their Doctrine; or that all which they eſteemed ſimply neceſſary to be believed is comprized in it; for to imagine otherwiſe is in effect to ſay this is not the *Apoſtles Creed*, but a part of it; but the *Apoſtles*, and the *Church* of the ſucceeding Ages giving it that name, ſeem plainly to inform us that the ſumm, and ſubſtance of their *credenda* was comprized in it. To deny this is in effect to ſay they dealt deceitfully, and were a ſnare to *Chriſtians* in compoſing of it; for to call it a *Creed*, and to leave out of it that which was neceſſarily to be believed, what had it been but to deceive the World, it being in effect to think that they had given us a Symbol which was indeed no Symbol, as being no diſtinctive mark betwixt the ſound Believer and the *Heretick*, or one that errs in Fundamentals, which yet the notion of the word *Symbol* doth import, and which the *Ancients* tell us this Apoſtolick Symbol was deſigned to be. In fine, it is to believe that the Compilers of this *Creed* would put in ſome things unneceſſary to be believed in themſelves, only as being circumſtances of things neceſſary, as that our Saviour's Crucifixion happened under *Pontius Pilate*, his Reſurrection was on the *Third Day*, and yet would leave out ſome things which were ſimply to be believed of all Chriſtians. Moreover could the *Apoſtles* agree upon this as the Rule of what they afterwards ſhould preach, and as a Rule to be given to Believers, if it contained not *the whole Council of God* in things ſimply neceſſary to be believed; if ſo, it follows, that either they obſerved not their own Rule in Preaching of the *Goſpel*, or if they did, they kept back from the knowledge of the Faithful ſomething neceſſary to be believed unto Salvation. It is well known that in the Notion of the *Fathers*, a Rule importeth fulneſs and perfection, even ſuch a fulneſs, ſay *Varinus* and St. *Baſil*, as

as, πᾶς προσθεσιν ϗ ἀφαίρεσιν ἁπλῶς οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται, *by no means doth admit of any Diminution or Addition*; that it is, εὐθύτητος ὅρος μηδενὸς προσδεόμενος, *a boundary of what is right, wanting nothing.* So *Theodoret*, *Chrysostom*, *Oecumenius*, *Theophylact*. And could the Fathers then so constantly have stiled any of these *Creeds* the Rule of Faith, had they conceived them deficient in any necessary Points of Christian Doctrine? Could they have stiled either of them *a perfect Confession, comprizing the whole Doctrine of Faith, the whole of Christian Doctrine, the comprehension and perfection of the Christian Faith, a compriſal of all the Articles of Faith, a Symbol that speaks of every part of Faith, the Faith sufficient for Salvation, the Life-giving, the saving Faith, the saving Knowledge, the only Truth which they received from the Apostles, the only Rule which admits of no Correction, no Addition, and no Diminution, the only Faith delivered by the Church to be kept by her Children?* Could they have told us, that *the most Learned could believe no more, and the meanest Christian did believe no less*; that *they need know no more*, that *they desired to believe no more*, that *they believed this first*, that *nothing more was to be believed*, that *in it nothing was to be innovated?* Could they have said expressly, that *the Apostles delivered in it whatsoever they thought necessary for all Believers*, and that they indited it *to be a mark by which he should be known, who preached Christ truly according to the Rules of the Apostles*; *and by producing of which it might be known*, saith *Ruffinus*, *whether he were an Enemy or a Companion?* And lastly, could their Great and *General Councils* have defined so often, That *it should be lawful for no Man*, ἑτέραν πίστιν προφέρειν, ἤγουν συγγράφειν, ἢ συντίθεναι, *to introduce, write, or compose another Faith besides that which was defined by the* Nicene *Council.* These are the words of the Third *General Council*, where presided that *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, who, in his letter to *John* of *Antioch*, saith, We by no means permit the Faith defined, ἤτοι τὸ τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον, or *the Symbol of Faith made by the Holy Fathers met at* Nice, *to be shaken by any*; *nor do we suffer our selves or others to change one word, or transgress one Syllable of what is there contained.* This Epistle, saith *Mark* Bishop of *Ephesus*, was read, and approved by the *Fourth General Council*, which also decreed, Μηδενὶ μηδόλως ἐξεῖναι προτείναι τῷ συμβόλῳ τούτῳ, ἢ ἀφελεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, *That it should be lawful for no Man to add any thing to this Symbol, or take any thing from it, or to change it at all, or transform-*

Contr. Eunom. l. 1. p. 701.

In Philip. iij. 16.

Concil. Ephes. Can. 7.

Apud Concil. Florent. Sess. 5.

Theodoret. H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 18. *transform it into another Symbol.* *Athanasius* speaking of the *Synod* of *Ariminum*, saith, That the *Orthodox* and true Servants of the Lord defined, that *Men should be contented with that Faith alone which was held at* Nice, καὶ μηδὲν πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον παρ' ἐκείνην ζητεῖν καὶ φρονεῖν, *and mind, and seek for nothing more, or less,* and that *they deposed them who taught the contrary.* And again, That *they should,* μηδὲν πλέον ζητεῖν, *seek for nothing more than what was confessed by the Fathers at* Nice. In the Fifth *General Synod*, *John*, *Patriarch* of *Constantinople* saith, *We have taken care,* τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τῆς πίστεως καὶ τὴν ἁγίων πατέρων παράδοσιν ἀῤῥαγῆ διαμεῖναι, *that the foundation of Faith might remain inviolate according to the Tradition of the Holy Fathers.* And this determination they declared was made,

Ibid. Syn. Constant. Sub Menna Act. 5. p. 87. apud Bin. T. 4.

Apud Concil. Flor. Sess. 5. Bin. Concil. Tom. 8. p. 591. *Ibid.* Athan. Epist. ad Afric. Episc. p. 932. Orat. de Div. Christi p. 165. Syn. Sard. apud Athan. Ep. ad Afric. Episc. p. 941.

1*st.* Because this venerable *Symbol*, saith the *General Council* of *Chalcedon*, Ἀρκεῖ εἰς ὑπόγνωσιν ἐντελῆς τῆς ἀληθείας, *sufficeth to the perfect knowledge of the Truth*; and as the *Bishop* of *Ephesus* well notes upon that place, *It is manifest,* ὅτι τῷ τελείῳ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπει, *nothing is wanting to what is perfect*; they also said, there was no need of adding any thing to it, *because it was sufficient,* εἰς ἀναίρεσιν πάσης ἀσεβοῦς αἱρέσεως, *for the Subversion of every wicked Heresy,* πᾶσαν ἀσεβεστάτην αἵρεσιν ἀνατρέψαι, *to overthrow all the most ungodly Heresies,* and that it was, ἐπιγραφὴ κατὰ πάσης αἱρέσεως, *an Inscription as upon a Pillar against all Heresies.*

Apud Concil. Flor Sess. 5. Bin. Ibid. p. 589.

2*dly.* Because they would not alter the *Tradition* they had received from their *Forefathers*. *We*, saith *Cyril* in the *General Council* of *Ephesus*, have taken this care that nothing should be added to, or altered in the *Nicene* Symbol, *as being mindful of him, that said,* Μὴ μέταιρε ὅρια αἰώνια ἃ ἔθεντο οἱ πατέρες σου, *Remove not the ancient Bounds which thy Fathers have set.*

Apud Athan. Ep. ad Antioch. p. 576.

3*dly.* Because they would not give occasion to any to suspect their Faith imperfect, or that any Article of Faith was wanting in the *Creeds* already made. Thus the *Synod* of *Sardis* decreed, Μηδὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πίστεως γεγράφθαι, That *nothing more should be written touching the Faith, but that all should rest satisfied with the Faith confessed by the* Nicene *Fathers,* διὰ τὸ μηδὲν αὐτῇ λείπειν, *because it was deficient in nothing*; and, ἵνα μὴ ἡ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γεγραφυῖα ὡς ἀτελὴς ἔσα νομισθῇ, *least that of* Nice *should be esteemed imperfect, and a pretence should be given to as many as will to write, and define touching the Faith.* The *Orthodox Fathers* in the *Council* of *Ariminum* professed, That they were Children of the *Nicene Fathers*,

Theodoret H. Eccl. l. 2. c. 15.

thers, but if, say they, *we should dare to take away any thing from what they have written,* ἢ προσθεῖναί τι, *or add any thing to it, we should be spurious Children,* καὶ ἤγουν τῶν γεγεννηκότων γενόμενοι, *as being Accusers of what they did, who delivered,* τὸ ἀκριβὲς κανόνα τῆς πίστεως, *an exact Rule of Faith.* And again, they declare it, *Ibid.* ὀπικίνδυνον, *a dangerous thing to add any thing, or take any thing from the* Nicene Creed, *because if either of these things should be done,* ἔσται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἄδεια τὸ ποιεῖν ἃ θέλουσι, *the Enemies would have liberty to do what they would.* And *Athanasius* in his Epistle Pag. 951. to *John* and *Antiochus* his *Presbyters,* commands them, τὸς πλέον τι τούτου ἢ ἔλαττον λαλεῖν θέλοντας ἀποτρέπειν, *to reject them who would say more or less than was contained in that Creed.* And the *Bishop* Apud Concil. *of Ephesus* well argues, That we *can suffer nothing by keeping to* Flor. Sess 8 Bin. *the same Faith which the divine Fathers confessed and believed, since* Ibid. p. 627. *none but mad Men can accuse it of imperfection.*

Secondly, Hence it demonstratively follows that these Creeds §. 2. must be a perfect digest of all things necessary to be believed now, and throughout all succeeding Ages of the World; for how can it be necessary for any Christian to have more in his *Creed* than the *Apostles,* and the *Christians* of the Four first *Centuries* had? May the *Churches* of after-Ages make the narrow way to Life more narrow than our *Saviour,* his *Apostles* and the *Fathers* left it? When the whole *Church* hath so expressly taught that this Faith was sufficient for the perfect knowledge of the Truth, that in it nothing was deficient, may others yet come after them, and by adding as many more *Articles,* no way pretending to be explications of the former Faith, remove the ancient Bounds which our *Fathers* have set? Yea when the *Apostles,* who profess that they revealed *the whole* Πᾶσαν τὴν βουλὴν *Council of God* unto the *Churches,* and *kept back nothing needful* τοῦ Θεοῦ, Act. for Salvation, delivered this as the only Rule of Faith, and xx. 27. their *Successors* handed it down unto posterity, as that to Οὐδὲν τῶν συμ- which nothing was to be added, beyond which nothing was φερόντων, v. 20. to be believed as an Article of Faith, shall after Ages come, and add as many more Articles, as necessary to be believed unto Salvation, as those which they delivered, and damn all those who do refuse to own them as such? Moreover, what reason can any Man give why any person should not be saved now by the same Faith which was sufficient for Salvation in the days

of the *Apoſtles*, and the firſt four Centuries? Are we wiſer than they? or are our *Doctors* more Learned, or more Faithful? Is there another Covenant made with the *Church* ſince their Days? Are other terms of Salvation ſince made? or is God leſs merciful to us than he was to them? Is not the famous Rule of *Lirinenſis* this, *Quod ab omnibus, quod ubique, quod ſemper, That which was always and every where believed of all, that is the Rule of Faith*? And muſt it not hence follow, that there can be no New Article, no Declaration obliging us to believe any thing which was not always matter of the *Chriſtian* Faith?

If you would palliate the matter by this ſpecious pretence, That *though the Church can make no Articles of Faith which never were revealed by the Apoſtles, ſhe may declare thoſe that want ſufficient Declaration*; is it not Nonſenſe to ſay, What always was believed wanteth ſufficient Declaration? that is, it wanteth what is neceſſary to render it an *Article* of Faith, or a thing fit to be believed. Did the *Apoſtles* know that Article which you ſay wants ſufficient Declaration, to be a neceſſary *Article* of Faith, or no? Did the Compilers of the *Nicene* or *Conſtantinopolitan Creed*? did all thoſe Ages who aſſerted the perfection of theſe *Creeds*, as to all matters of the Chriſtian Faith know it, or no? If not, then muſt they teach they knew not what, or their *Succeſſors*, without a new Revelation, could not know it: if they did know it, and declare it, What farther Declaration could it need, unleſs the Church, after that Declaration, loſt a neceſſary Article of Faith delivered to her? If they knew it, but did not declare it, they muſt be charged with concealing ſome neceſſary part of the Goſpel; or if it were unneceſſary, why may not others ſtill conceal it, and not afflict and clog the Faith of *Chriſtians* with unneceſſary things?

Apud Bin. Concil. To. 8. p. 649.

If you ſay with the *Latins* in the *Council* of *Florence*, that, Ἐι πάντες ἕτερον τὼ ὀρθῇ πίστιν, ὐκ ἂν ἦν χρεία περὶ ἄλλε μνείμνᾶν, παρὰ τὸ ἐν Νικαίᾳ, *If all Men would acquieſce in the Faith defined, there would be no need to be concerned for any other, beſides that of* Nice; *but by reaſon of Mens deviation from the Right Line, to bye, and crooked, falſe, and erroneous ways, it is neceſſary,* ἀναλόξαι καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι κρεῖττον τὼ αὐτὼ πίστιν, καὶ σαφηνίσαι τὼ ὁδὸν τ ἀληθείας, *to unfold and interpret better the ſame Faith, and to make plain the way of Truth.*

To

To this I reply, That here the Cause is given up to *Protestants*, for hence it follows, that the *Supremacy of the Pope*, the *Celibacy of Priests*, *the Invocation of Saints*, *the Veneration of Images and Reliques*, *the true and proper Sacrifice of the Mass*, *the Doctrine of Transubstantiation*, *of Concomitance*, *and Communion in one Kind*, *of Purgatory*, *Indulgences*, *Reading the Service in a Tongue unknown*, *the Seven Sacraments*, *the Necessity of the Priests Intention to the validity of a Sacrament*, must be so far contained in the *Nicene Creed*, as to be only *Explications* and *Interpretations* of the same Articles of Faith; or it must be confessed that they are no necessary Articles of *Christian* Faith, and since the *Greeks* did in that *Council* plead that nothing was to be added by any after-Councils to the *Nicene* Faith, and the *Latins* in effect did own, that nothing should be added to it, but only, ἑτέρα ἔκθεσις σύμφωνος τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐν τῇ πίστει, *another Exposition suitable to the Truth contained in it*, which was not so much an Addition, as, ἤ τὸ ταυτότητος ἔκθεσις, *an Explication of the same thing*; they both exclude the Addition of these Articles, unless that can be proved, which never can be rationally attempted, That they are only Explications of the *Nicene* Faith, as the Addition of *Filioque* to it was declared to be. And since we *Protestants* do acquiesce in the *Nicene* Faith, it follows by the concession of the *Latins*, that in respect to us, there was no need for after-*Councils* to be concerned for any other Faith. P. 644, 645.

2*dly*. The *Fathers* who made, or who embraced this boundary of *Christian* Faith expresly add, That there is no necessity of adding any thing unto it with respect to *Hereticks*, because it is sufficient of it self, *for the aversion of all Heresies*. Thus in that great dispute which was between the *Arians* and the *Orthodox*, about adding something to the *Nicene* Faith, or making other *Creeds* besides it, *Athanasius* gives his Judgment, That *the vain talk of all the Hereticks that ever were*, *was baffled*, *and made to cease by the Faith confessed at* Nice, *according to the Holy Scriptures*, and that *this Faith was sufficient*, πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν μὲν πάσης ἀσεβείας, *for the overthrow of all Impiety*, and that *no other Synod ought to be named in the Catholick Church*, *but that*, *for the Confusion of them*, *it being*, τέρμαιον πάσης μὲν αἱρέσεως ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τῆς Ἀρειανῆς, *the mark of victory over all Heresie*, *and especially over that of* Arius. And this demonstratively follows from their constant Doctrine, that these *Creeds* fully do contain all Epist. ad Epict. Tom. 1. p. 581, 582.

Doctrines of Faith necessary to be believed by all *Christians*, for seeing *Heresie* must be an Error of Faith in matters necessary to be believed, because it otherwise could be no damnable Error, there can be no *Heresie* which is not a denial of something necessary to be believed, that therefore which sufficiently instructs me in all things necessary to be believed must also fortifie me sufficiently against all *Heresie*.

3*dly*. This *unfolding*, *making plain*, *better interpreting* the Faith, being that which only can be done by farther Declaration of the Sence of some Article of Faith than formerly was made unto the *Church*, it is already baffled by the Refutation of the former Plea; and it is plainly inconsistent with the Pretences of our new *Patrons* of *Tradition*, for either the *Father* taught the Son this better Interpretation, and made plain this Sence of the Article, or he did not, if he did, there was no need of doing this by any *Council*, if he did not, then it is evident that *the Son*, if he believes this Sence, and this Interpretation, believes somewhat which he received not by *Tradition* from his *Father*, and so it must be certain that he may believe another sence of that Article, than his *Father* taught, and so in any other *Article*, *viz.* another sence of the *Real Presence*, of the *Pope's Supremacy*, *&c.*

§. 3. *Thirdly*, Hence it must follow, That *no Man who doth heartily believe these Creeds, and the immediate Doctrines plainly contained in them, or evidently deduced from them, can deserve to be anathematized, or be excluded from the Communion of Christians, for not believing any other simple Article of Faith*, for then he must deserve to be excluded for a thing unnecessary to be believed by *Christians*. He may indeed deserve to be excluded upon other Grounds from the external Communion of the *Church*, as, *v.gr.* for irregularity of Life, or violating the *Church*'s Peace, but cannot justly be excluded for want of *Christian* Faith.

§. 4. *Fourthly*, Hence it must follow, That *all those Councils which have anathematized their fellow Christians for such Doctrines as are not in these Creeds, nor can be evidently inferred from them, have been so far from being Infallible, that they have actually erred. And all those Churches who have rejected others from Communion*

tion with them upon the same account, have acted Schismatically, because they excluded others from Communion without just Ground. It being therefore manifest that the *Church* of *Rome* hath added to the *Nicene Creed* these following Articles:

I. That *the Pope of* Rome *is the Successor of St.* Peter, *and the Vicar of Jesus Christ.*

II. That *the Roman is the Holy, Catholick, and Apostolick Church, the Mother and Mistress of all Churches.*

III. That *to her* therefore *doth belong to judge of the true Sence, and Interpretation of Scripture,* and that *the Sence which she imposeth on them is to be received as true.*

IV. That *there be Seven Sacraments of the New Law instituted by Jesus Christ, and which conferr Grace,* viz. *Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extream Unction, Orders, Matrimony.*

V. That *in the Mass a true, proper, and propitiatory Sacrifice is offered for the Living and the Dead.*

VI. That *in the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist there is made a Conversion of the whole Substance of Bread into Christ's Body, and the whole Substance of Wine into his Blood, and so the Body and the Blood of Christ is there substantially present, together with his Soul and his Divinity.*

VII. That *under one Species only whole and entire Christ, and a true Sacrament is taken.*

VIII. That *there is a Purgatory, and that the Souls detained there are helped by the Prayers of the Faithful.*

IX. That *the Saints reigning with Christ are to be Prayed to, and their Reliques to be Venerated.*

X. That *the Images of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and of other Saints are to be Honoured, and to have due Veneration given to them.*

XI. That *Christ left a Power of Indulgences to his Church, and that their use is most wholesome to Christian People.*

XII. That *all the Rites used by the Roman Church in Administration of her Sacraments are to be admitted.*

And lastly, That *this is the true Catholick Faith, without which no Man can be saved.* I say, It being manifest that the *Church* of *Rome* hath added all these Articles of Faith unto the *Creeds* forementioned, and by the *Church* declared to be a perfect digest of the Articles of *Christian* Faith; it follows that they must all be evidently proved to be contained in the *Apostles,* or the

the *Nicene Creed*, or that the *Church* of *Rome* muſt be *Schiſmatical*, in excluding from her Communion thoſe who do not believe, or yield aſſent unto them.

And thus, I hope, I have ſufficiently ſhewed how this Tradition overthrows, and fully doth confute the New Doctrines of the *Church* of *Rome*. It now remains to ſhew how it confirms the Cauſe of *Proteſtants*, and clears up the Objections which are made againſt it. Now;

§. 5. *Firſt*, Seeing, according to this *Tradition*, theſe *Symbols*, as they are a perfect Summary of *Chriſtian* Faith, ſo are they fully and perſpicuouſly contained in *Scripture*; hence it demonſtratively follows, that according to the Doctrine and *Tradition* of the whole *Church* of *Chriſt*, the ſumm of all the neceſſary Articles of Chriſtian Faith, muſt fully and perſpicuouſly be contained in Holy *Scripture*, and may be proved thence to the ſatisfaction of the meanest *Catechiſt*. And conſequently, the Holy *Scripture* was by them eſteemed a full and perſpicuous Rule of Faith, according to our *Sixth Note*, in reference to all things neceſſary to be believed, which is the *Fundamental Article* of *Proteſtants*.

Object. But doth not *Tertullian ſpeak in General*, NB. *of never diſputing with Hereticks out of Scriptures only, becauſe this Scripture combate availeth for nothing but to the making either ones Stomach, or ones Brains to turn,* —— and *conclude generally, We muſt not therefore appeal to Scriptures, nor in our combate rely upon them, in which either no Victory is to be obtained, or a very uncertain one.*

Q. of Queſt. p. 258, 259.

Anſw. *Tertullian* here propoſeth this Objection, That *the Hereticks ſpake of the Scriptures, and perſwaded their Doctrines from the Scriptures*, and this he is ſo far from reprehending, that he holds it a thing abſolutely neceſſary to be done by all who would diſcourſe of divine Matters; *It being impoſſible*, ſaith he, aliunde de rebus fidei loqui, quàm ex literis fidei, *to ſpeak of Matters of Faith, but from the Scriptures.* And therefore he not only owns that the Rule of Faith he pleaded for was *firſt delivered by word of Mouth*, and *after by the Writings of the Apoſtles*; but alſo to that Objection of the *Hereticks*, *Seek and ye ſhall find*, he anſwers by granting, that *the Scriptures are to be ſearched and ſought into, for finding out the Truth contained in the Rule of Faith, and that then nothing more reſpecting Faith is needful to be*

V. c. 7. §. 8.

De præſcript. cap. 15.

Cap. 9.

be ſought, becauſe they had found what they ſought for; then he proceeds to ſhew, *non admittendos eos ad ullam de Scripturis diſputationem*, that *the Hereticks were not to be admitted to diſpute from Scriptures*; and that, *non ſit* cum illo *diſputandum, he was not to be diſputed with from Scripture*, for theſe following Reaſons.

1. *Becauſe*, iſta Hæreſis non recipit quaſdam Scripturas, *thoſe Hereticks received not ſome Scriptures, viz.* the *Ebionites* and *Encratites* rejected all St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, and embraced only the *Goſpel* of the *Nazarens*. *Cerinthus* allowed *only the Goſpel of St.* Mark. *Valentinus* only that of St. *John*, *Marcion* only that of *Luke*, *Ebion* only that of *Matthew*. Iren. l. 1. c. 26. L. 3. c. 11. p. 258, 259.

2. *Becauſe*, ſi quas recipit non recipit integras, *thoſe Scriptures which they owned, they received not entire*, but with additions and detractions, as their cauſe required, cutting off from them what moſt clearly made againſt their *Hereſies*. Thus of the *Marcionites*, and the *Lucianiſts*, and the *Valentinians*; *Origen* confeſſeth, That they did μεταχαράττειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, *change and pervert the Goſpel*. Contra Celſum l. 2. p. 77.

3. Becauſe, if they admitted any Scriptures entire, yet *they corrupted them*, per diverſas expoſitiones, *by adulterating the Sence of them, and miſerably diſtorting them*, to the upholding of their idle Dreams; for, ſaith *Irenæus*, they ſaid their Doctrines were not perſpicuouſly revealed in Scripture, μυστικῶς δέ, *but by our Lord were myſtically couched in Parables*, even ſo myſtically, that, as you may ſee from the firſt, to the *Nineteenth Chapter* of the Firſt Book of *Irenæus*, it is enough *to turn a Man's Stomach* to read ſuch Fooleries; as, *v. gr.* They prove their thirty *Æones*, becauſe our *Saviour* was Baptized when he was *Thirty Years Old*, and from the Parable of the *Labourers* ſent into the *Vineyard*, ſome at the 1ſt, 3d, 6th, 9th, 11th. hour of the Day, which numbers put together make up Thirty. Thus, ſaith *Irenæus*, they endeavoured to adapt ſome of our *Lord's Parables*, and ſome *Prophetical Expreſſions* to their Doctrines, that they might not ſeem ἀμάρτυρα, *without any Teſtimony from Scripture*; but then, ſaith he, *they miſerably pervert the Order, and the Series of Holy Scripture, and deal with it as if one ſhould take the Image of a King excellently made in Jewels, and ſhould deform it into the Face of a Dog or a Woolf*. They pretended alſo that ſome of their Doctrines were received, ἐξ ἀγράφων, *from unwritten Traditions*; and to prove them *they* L. 1. c. 1. p. 14. C. 1. p. 10. Pag. 32. C. 1. p. 32.

produced

produced a multitude, ἀποκρύφων, καὶ νόθων γεγραφῶν ἃς αὐτοὶ ἔπλασαν,
Lib. 1. c. 17. *of Apocryphal and adulterated Scriptures which they had feigned,* pretending for their recourse unto *Tradition* this Accusation of
Lib. 3. c. 2. the Holy Scriptures, *That they were not right, nor of Authority sufficient, because they were spoken variously, and that from them the Truth could not be found out by such as were ignorant of Tradition,* non enim per literas traditum illum, sed per vivam vocem, *it being not delivered in writing, but by* Oral Tradition; that is, they were plain *Papists* as to this pretence. Against such Men as these, saith *Tertullian, the most skilful in the Scriptures will dispute in vain from Scripture,* cum nolunt agnoscere ea per quæ revincuntur, his nituntur quæ falso composuerunt, & quæ de ambiguitate ceperunt, *since they will not own that for Scripture by which they are refuted, they will insist upon their Apocryphal Writings, and those things which they ambiguously have conceived.* Ergo non ad Scripturas provocandum est, *and therefore we are not to provoke them to dispute out of Scriptures, nor place our combate in those things in which no victory is to be obtained, or a very uncertain one.* Let now any indifferent Reader judge whether *Tertullian* speaks *in general against disputing with Hereticks out of Scripture,* as Mr. *M.* here confidently saith; and not only of disputing against *hanc Hæresin, that very Heresie* which had these Arts to delude what was brought against them from *Scripture,* and appealed from it, with the *Papists,* to *Oral Tradition.*

And yet against these slippery Men, *Irenæus,* and other of the *Fathers* first argued from *Scriptures,* & cum ex Scripturis arguebantur, *and when they had baffled them there,* and made them fly, as *Romanists* now do, unto *Tradition,* they followed them at that Weapon; and by producing the *Tradition* of their *Creed* and Rule of Faith, containing nothing of their New Doctrines, they stopp'd their Mouths, giving them nevertheless to understand, That
Lib. 3. c. 1. *the Rule of Faith was by the Will of God not only preached to, but afterwards delivered to them in the Scriptures, to be the Pillar and the Ground of Truth,* and that the
Lib. 2. c. 46. *Parables* which they by their ridiculous Interpretations adapted to their purposes, were to be understood *according to this Rule of Truth,* and according to those things which were *perspicuously revealed in Scripture,* and that then they would not be Interpreted to a dangerous Sence. From which things thus explained we learn,

1. That

1. That *no Man can diſcourſe of Matters of Faith but from the Scriptures.*

2. That *theſe Scriptures were written by the Will of God to be the Pillar and the Ground of Truth to following Ages.*

3. That *if we do interpret the ambiguous Places of them by the plain, and with Analogy to the Rule of Faith contained in the Creed, we cannot dangerouſly erre.*

Secondly, Hence it is eaſie to demonſtrate the certainty and full aſſurance which the *Proteſtant* hath for all his neceſſary *Articles* of Faith. He having for his *Creeds*, which, ſaith his *Catechiſm*, contain *all the Articles of Chriſtian Faith*, all the ſame Grounds of aſſurance which any *Roman Catholick*, or any *Chriſtian* can pretend to, *viz.* preſent acknowledged Profeſſion, and *Tradition Oral* of the preſent Church; and, 2*ly.* of all the *Churches* of the *Roman Communion*, and of all other Chriſtian Churches. 3*ly.* The Profeſſion and *Oral Tradition* of all Churches throught all Chriſtian Ages, Times and Places, and even of all the *Apoſtles*, who were, ſaith this *Tradition*, the Authors jointly of that *Creed* which bears their name. 4*ly.* The Writings of the *Fathers* and of *General Councils*, who aſſure us that the *Creeds* they handed down unto us, contained the *Apoſtolical* Faith, the *one* and *ſame Truth*, they had been taught, the *only*, *the entire*, *the perfect Faith of all Chriſtians*, to which *nothing was to be added*, as well as nothing to be taken from it. Laſtly, the written word of God in which they ſay this whole Faith is *expreſly*, *and in words contained*, in which it may be found, and from which it may be proved to the capacity of the meaneſt *Catechiſt*. Whereas nothing of this nature can be ſhewed in Confirmation of the Faith of *Romaniſts.* §. 6.

Thirdly, Hence alſo we may learn how *Chriſtianity* was handed down the ſame for *Subſtance* and *Eſſentials*, as it was from the beginning by *Tradition*, as the *Ancients* underſtood the word, *viz.* by the continual practice of the *Church* delivering the Summary and Rule of Faith, which ſhe received from the *Apoſtles* to all her Members to be learnt by heart, or to be written not in Ink, but *in the fleſhly Tables of their Hearts*, and then confirming all the *Articles* contained in §. 7.

See Ch. 7. §. 7, 8, &c. it by the holy *Scriptures*, and ſending her Members to it to learn the Truth of what the *Church* had taught them. *This is*, ſaith *Irenæus*, *the Tradition which we have received from the Apoſtles, the Summary of Faith*, the preaching of the Truth, the immoveable Rule of Truth, delivered to *Chriſtians* at their *Baptiſm*, and by which the Church enlightens all who come unto the Truth. And this, ſaith he, the *Apoſtles* firſt preached, and afterwards delivered in the Holy *Scriptures*, and ſo they ſay all.

§. 8. *Fourthly*, Hence it is eaſie to diſcern how the *R. Doctors* impoſe upon their *Readers*, when they urge the Sayings of *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* for the eſtabliſhing of their *Traditions*, or the aſſerting ſuch *Traditions* as the *Rule* of Faith, which neither are contained in *Scripture*, nor the *Apoſtles Creed*, when it is evident beyond exception that the *Tradition* which they ſpeak of is that of the *Apoſtles Creed*, and of the neceſſary Articles of the Chriſtian Faith contained in *Scripture*. Thus Mr. *M.* triumphs in thoſe words of *Irenæus*, *What if the Apoſtles had not left us the Scriptures, muſt we not have followed that Order of Tradition which they delivered to thoſe to whoſe charge they left the Churches to be Govern'd? To this Order of Tradition many Barbarous Nations do aſſent, who have believed in Chriſt without any Writings, keeping diligently the ancient Tradition*, (not Traditions, as Mr. *M.* deceitfully Tranſlates.) Now let it be obſerved, That the *Tradition* here mentioned is only, *vetus Apoſtolorum Traditio, the old Tradition of the Apoſtles, the belief of one God, maker of Heaven and Earth*, and ſo on to the end of the *Apoſtles Creed*; and this will be the cleareſt Demonſtration againſt the *Roman Church* imaginable, for if we muſt have followed this Order of *Tradition*, had we been diſtitute of *Scripture*, we muſt have abſolutely rejected all the *Articles* of *Romiſh Faith*. That *Irenæus did believe that the Tradition left by the Apoſtles, was a ſufficient Ground of divine Faith*, is true; but then it is as true that he believed that this *Tradition* was entirely contained in the *Rule* of Faith he there lays down, that it was, *μόνη καὶ αὐτὴ ἀλήθεια, the ſame, and only Truth*, which was delivered by the Apoſtles; that it rendered them who believed this only, *Wiſe, and acceptable to God*, and fully armed againſt all *Hereſies*. *Tertullian* doth indeed put the Queſtion,

Q. of Queſtions p. 345.

Lib. 3. c. 4.

Mr. M. *Ibid.*

L. 3. c. 3, 4.

De præſcrip. c. 28.

How

How is it likely that ſo many, and ſo great Churches, ſhould erre in one Faith. Among many events there is not every where one iſſue. The Errors of the Churches muſt needs have varied, but that which amongſt many, is found one, is not miſtaken, but delivered. Q. of Queſt. p. 400.

Audeat ergo aliquis dicere eos erraſſe qui tradiderunt? *Dare then any one ſay they erred who delivered that one and the ſame thing?* De præſcrip. c. 28, 29.

But then this is ſo far from being *plain Popery*, as *Mr. M.* vainly boaſts, that it effectually, and at one blow, deſtroys it; for having laid down his *own Rule, immovable, and admitting no Novelty, no Addition*, and delivered this Rule in words at length, *ut hinc quid defendamus profiteamur, as a profeſſion of that entire Faith he undertook to defend againſt the Hereticks*, and beyond which *nothing was needful to be known*; he proceeds to ſhew that the *Apoſtles* in delivering this, as the entire Rule of Faith, were not *deficient in teaching any thing which was needful to be believed.* This he proves Chapter the Twenty-ſixth, becauſe *Chriſt commanded that what they heard in Secret they ſhould publiſh in the Light, and on the Houſe top, and that they ſhould not hide the Light under a Buſhel, but ſet it on a Candleſtick, that it might ſhine to all in the Houſe; theſe Precepts either the Apoſtles underſtood not or neglected, if they did not fulfil them, but hid ſome of the Light, that is, of the Word of God, and*, Sacramenti Chriſti, *of the Doctrine of Chriſt.* Whereas, ſaith he, it was, *incredibile vel ignoraſſe Apoſtolos plenitudinem prædicationis, vel non omnem ordinem Regulæ nobis edidiſſe, that eitheir the Apoſtles were ignorant of any thing they were to preach, or that they did not perfectly reveal the Rule of Faith to all.* He alſo ſhews, That the *Church* did not alter what ſhe had received from the *Apoſtles*; becauſe the Rule of Faith was one and the ſame in all *Churches* of *Chriſt*, they being all one, *ejuſdem Sacramenti una traditione, by having the ſame Tradition of the ſame Rule of Faith*; and becauſe they did, *in eadem fide conſpirare, agree in the ſame Faith*, this Rule, this *Creed*, mentioned Chapter the Thirteenth, muſt therefore be according to *Tertullian*, the fulneſs of the Apoſtles preaching, the entire Rule of Faith they preached to all; or elſe, according to him, the *Apoſtles* muſt be ignorant or unfaithful, and his enſuing Argument, That all ſucceeding *Churches* agreed in this Rule as in the *Teſſera Hoſpitalitatis, the Signal of Friendſhip*, that it was one and the ſame among them all, and that they who were

Ibid. De Virg. Veland. c. 1. De præſcrip. c. 13.

Chap. 20.

Ibid.

not by *Original Apoſtolical Churches*, were yet *Apoſtolical*, becauſe they did conſpire with them that were ſo in the Belief of this Faith, is a farther demonſtration, that this *Creed* was the entire Faith delivered by the *Apoſtles*, and taught by all *Churches*; ſince otherwiſe, *Tertullian*'s Argument muſt be falſe; for he expreſly undertakes to prove that the *Apoſtles* delivered to the Churches the entire Rule of Faith, and that the *Churches* did faithfully tranſmit to poſterity the whole Faith they received from them; and that becauſe they all tranſmitted the *Apoſtles Creed*, mentioned Chapter the Thirteenth, had not then that contained the whole *Chriſtian Faith*, owned then by all the *Orthodox* as ſuch, *Tertullian* had given up the Cauſe unto the *Hereticks*; for they might have replied upon him, as do the *Romaniſts* to us, that the Apoſtles delivered many other *Traditions*, as neceſſary to be believed as thoſe contained in the *Creed*; and that theſe were the Doctrines which they owned, and *Tertullian* rejected. Hence then our Demonſtration from theſe words of *Tertullian* is invincible; All *Chriſtians* conſpired in this, that this Rule of his contained the whole Faith received from the *Apoſtles*, beyond which nothing was neceſſary to be believed; whoſoever could produce this *Creed* they received into Communion, *pro conſanguinitate doctrinæ, becauſe agreeing with them in the Faith*; and whoſoever pretended to any *Articles* of Faith, not mentioned in this *Creed*, they confuted them, by ſaying, they had no ſuch Article in the *Creed*,
Chap. 32, 33. and therefore the *Apoſtles*, nihil tale docuerunt, *taught no ſuch thing*, and rejected them, *ob diverſitatem Sacramenti, as holding a Faith different from that of the Church.* Now *how is it likely that ſo many, and ſo great Churches ſhould erre in one Faith? The Errors of the Churches, had there been any, in delivering their entire Rule of Faith, muſt needs have varied, but that which amongſt them all was one and the ſame, muſt be a ſure Tradition*; and then the Doctrines of the *Roman Creed* muſt be rejected as not taught by the *Apoſtles*, and as different from
Mr. M. *Ibid.* the *Churches* Faith. Lo here [*plain Proteſtantiſm*] *in the higheſt point, proved* and *approved by all Chriſtians within Two hundred Years after Chriſt.*

The ſame Doctrine is delivered Chapter the Nineteenth and
Pag. 429, 430. the Twentieth, on which *Mr. M.* inſiſts, *Sect.* 20. *Num.* 4. for there he tells us, That *our Lord ſent his Twelve Apoſtles*, eandem doctrinam

doctrinam ejuſdem fidei nationibus promulgare, *to preach the ſame Doctrine of Faith to the Nations, and ſo to plant Churches in every City, from which other Churches received,* traducem fidei, & ſemina doctrinæ, *the Tradition of their Faith, and the Seeds of Doctrine*; and embracing of it, *became all Apoſtolical, by receiving the ſame Rule of Faith. Hence therefore,* ſaith he, *we preſcribe againſt the Hereticks; for if our Lord ſent his Apoſtles to preach, we muſt receive no other Preachers of the Faith, than he appointed; now what they preached, ought not to be otherwiſe proved, than by the ſame Churches which they planted,* eis prædicando, tam vivâ quod aiunt voce, quam per Epiſtolas poſtea, *by preaching to them by word of mouth, and afterwards by their Epiſtles: And if ſo, 'tis manifeſt,* ſaith he, *that Doctrine is to be accounted true which conſpires with the Apoſtolical Churches, whence Faith had its Original, and that is to be rejected which contradicts that Faith; it remains therefore,* uti demonſtremus an hæc noſtra doctrina cujus Regulam ſupra edidimus de Apoſtolorum traditione cenſeatur, & ex hoc ipſo an cæteræ de mendacio veniunt, *that we demonſtrate whether our Doctrine, the Rule of which we have laid down, Chapter the Thirteenth, derives from the Tradition of the Apoſtles, and conſequently whether all others be not falſe.* He therefore doth again declare, That the *Creed* mentioned by him there, is the *entire Rule* of Faith, and that by which we may diſcern who hold the Truth, and who teach Falſhood: And argues thus, All the *Apoſtolical Churches* have delivered this *Creed* as that entire Doctrine which they received from the *Apoſtles*, and all the *Hereticks* ſay the contrary, therefore their *Doctrine* muſt be rejected, and that of the *Apoſtolick Churches* be received as the Truth. *Mark here,* to uſe the words of *Mr. M. how the firſt ground on which we are to ſtand, as upon a ground moſt advantageous for gaining the victory againſt Error, and purchaſing triumph to Truth,* is the *Tradition* of this *Creed* of the *Apoſtles*, as the entire Rule of Faith, *for by that alone we aſſuredly know* whether our Doctrine, of which the Rule is given, Chapter the Thirteenth, came from *Apoſtolical* Tradition, from this Rule of Faith delivered by the *Apoſtles* by word of Mouth, and by their Writings, and *then by Tradition delivered down by ſucceſſive practice of all Churches, to which Churches* Tertullian here *expreſly ſends us, will be diſcovered that only Tradition* of the Rule of Faith, *in which* totum Chriſtianæ fidei

Hinc igitur dirigimus præſcriptionem. *Cap.* 21.

Pag. 429.

fidei Sacramentum, *all the Myſteries of Chriſtian Faith are contained.* And thus *Tertullian* goes on preſſing his Adverſary meerly by the *Tradition* of this *Creed*, as the entire Rule of Faith; and this way, and only this way he *preſcribes*, that we ought to ſhew what *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles* taught.

§. 9. *Fifthly*, Hence we return an Anſwer to that demand ſo often but ſo vainly made, *What Catalogue have you of Fundamental Articles of Faith?* For here is a *Catalogue* of them recommended to the whole World of *Chriſtians* by ſo great *Authority* as may well be eſteemed ſufficient to ſatisfie the curioſity of this inquiry; here being *Symbols* delivered as the entire *Summary* of *Articles* of *Chriſtian* Faith by the Conſent of the *Apoſtles*, the four firſt *General Councils*, received by all *Orthodox Chriſtians* of all Places, and Ages as ſuch, for at leaſt *Six hundred* Years; here is, as *Irenæus* ſaith, Ὁ Κανὼν ἀκλινὴς, as *Tertullian*, *Regula immobilis, & irreformabilis*, as the *Greeks* in the *Council* of *Florence*, Σύμβολον ἀσάλευτον καὶ ἀμεταπόιητον, *A Rule invariable, unmovable, unchangeable, not to be ſhaken, or reformed*; *a Rule*, which ſay the *Fathers*, *admits of no diminution or addition*, this being, ὥσπερ τις θεμελιῶδης τῆς πίστεως διάτεξις, *a ſecondary Foundation of Faith* after the Symbol; *that it was not to be changed in the leaſt*, ſaith the *Biſhop* of *Epheſus*. Whereas the *Catalogue* of *Fundamentals* in the *Roman Church* is ſtill variable and increaſing, every new *General Council* having it in their power by defining any new Thing diſputed in the Schools, to advance it into a *New Article* of Faith.

Concil. Flor. Apud Bin. Seſ. 5. Tom. 8. p. 590.

§. 10. *Sixthly*, Hence alſo we return a ſatisfactory Anſwer to that Queſtion ſo captiouſly put unto us, *Where was your Church before* Luther? by ſaying that our *Church* was in all places of the World where theſe *ancient* Foundations were retained, and not ſubverted by introducing Doctrines plainly oppoſite unto them, our *Church* exactly is the ſame with that in *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*'s days, and could undoubtedly have had with them free Communion by virtue of her *Symbol*, yea, if that which always was profeſſed to be the *entire Summary* of Faith be ſufficient, when owned, and Baptized into, to render us of the ſame *Church* with them who ſo profeſſed, they may here find our *Church* where they will ſcarce find their own

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in all the Ages from the *Apostles* to the Tenth *Century*, in the *West*, and till the *Reformation* in the *East*. For though our first *Reformers* in the *Church* of *England* differ'd a little from the *Greek* and *Eastern Churches* in some Rites and Practices, yet were we one in Faith; and so, as far as it is needful for *Sister Churches* to be, of one *Church*. For they maintained stiffly in the *Council* of *Florence* that the *Nicene* or *Constantinopolitan Creed* contained all the *Articles* of *Christian* Faith necessary to be believed, or which were to be imposed on *Christians*, and that it was lawful for no Man to add to, or take from it, or to propose another Faith; that this was the *Catholick* Faith which ought to be, μία παρὰ πᾶσι Χειστιανοῖς, *one, and the same among all Christians*, that in this *Symbol* of Faith nothing was by the *Fathers* permitted, nothing put defectively, nothing that wanted Correction or Addition. In their Censure of the *German Churches* they set down the *Constantinopolitan Creed*, as that Treasure of the true incorrupted Faith, sacredly sealed by the Holy Ghost, that nothing should be taken from it, nothing alien or adulterine added to it, as that *Divine*, *most Holy*, Perfect, *and universal Tessera of the Christian People diffused over all the World*, the most common Confession of all the Holy *Fathers*, the most certain boundary of the whole *Christian* Faith; and they declare, That τότο ἔστι μάλιστα τὸ τῦ σχίσματος αἴτιον, *this was the chief cause of the Schism* betwixt them and the *Western Churches*, that the *Romans* had added to the *Nicene Creed*; there therefore was at that time no real difference betwixt them and us in the *Symbol* of our Faith, and therefore nothing which could hinder our Affection to Her, or Hers to us as a *Sister Church*, with which was maintained, and ought to be maintained the Union of Peace and Charity, by reason of this *universal Tessera* of *Christian* People, owned by both parties as the *perfect Summary* of their Faith.

Concil. Flor. apud Bin. To. 8. Sess. 5.

Sess. 5. p. 586. Pag. 580.

Censura Orient. Eccles. Edit. per Stanisl. Socolovium. c. 1.

Atque hic quidem est ille veræ & incorruptæ fidei thesaurus, ab ipso spiritu sancto, ne quid ex eo aut auferatur, aut aliquid alienum & adulterinum illi addatur, sancte obsignatus; hæc est illa divina, sanctissima, perfecta ac universalis per orbem terrarum confusi populi Christiani tessera; hæc est illa communis confessio omnium sanctorum patrum; hic est certissimus universæ Christianæ fidei limes, quem in utrisq; manibus complectentes, quem ubique magna libertate & alacritate confitentes velut quoddam cœleste, integrum, & incorruptum, nullaque parte contaminatum sanctorum, divino numine afflatorum, hominum depositum ad extremum usque finem vitæ

nostræ conservabimus. *Censur. Orient. Eccl. Edit. per Stanislaum Socolovium. Cap.* 1. Apud Bin. *Ibid.* p. 580, 577.

Lastly,

§. 11. *Lastly*, Hence you may see why the Divines of the *Church* of *England* acknowledge the *Church* of *Rome* still to continue a true *Church*, and those in Communion with her, as true parts of the *Catholick Church* visible, though far from being only so, because they are Baptized into this Faith alone, and it is delivered to them even by the *Church* of *Rome* as the whole *Catholick Faith*, the *whole Faith necessary to Salvation.* For through the wonderful Providence of God it hath so happened, that the *Trent Catechism* hath declared suitably to the *Tradition* of the *Ancients*, that *the Apostles made the Symbol*, which now bears their Name, *to be a form of Christian Faith to those whom they should call*, ad fidei unitatem, *to the Unity of Faith, and to be a mark of distinction betwixt false Brethren, and those who*, verè Christo militiæ Sacramento se obligarent, *truly did oblige themselves to Christ by the Sacrament of their Warfare.* And the *Trent Council* in prejudice to all her following *Decrees* hath also taught, That *Symbolum Apostolorum est principium illud in quo omnes qui fidem Christi profitentur necessario conveniunt*, ac Fundamentum Ecclesiæ firmum ac unicum, *the Symbol of the Apostles is that Principle in which all who profess the Faith do necessarily agree, and it is* the firm and only Foundation of the Church. And at their Baptism of *Infants* and *Adult* Persons, the *Questions* and *Answers* run thus; Pr. *What askest thou of the Church of God?* to which the *Adult Person*, or the *God-Father* of the *Infant* replies, *I desire Faith.* Pr. *What will Faith procure for thee?* Godf. *Life eternal*: And yet the *God-Father* of the *Child*, or the *Elect* with the *Adult Baptized*, when they come to repeat this Faith, only recite the *Apostles Creed*, and so they still retain the *Ancient* and *Apostolick* way of admitting Members into the *Church*, as to matters of Faith required of them to be believed.

Part. 1. c. 2. p. 13.

Sess. 3. p. 7.

Ritual. Rom. de Bapt. parvul. p. 13. de Baptismo Adult. p. 28.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The Novelty of the Romish Doctrines proved farther, First, *from the Instructions given by the Church-Rulers to their Clergy, what they should teach the People, in which they profess that they comprized the whole Faith and all things necessary to be believed, taught and done, and yet make not the least mention of the Romish Doctrines,* §. 1. Secondly, *From the Examination of a Bishop at his Ordination, who though he was not examined touching one of the Roman Articles, yet was he upon his belief of other Articles approved as one fully instructed in the Documents of Christian Faith,* §. 2. *The full agreement of the* Eastern *Churches with the* West *in this Matter,* §. 3. Thirdly, *From the Ancient way of confuting Hereticks, by producing the Apostles and the* Nicene *Creed, and declaring touching other Doctrines not contained in them, that they are of Curiosity, not of Faith,* §. 4. Fourthly, *From the ancient Treatises written on purpose to instruct Christians in the Articles of Christian Faith, which contain none of these New Articles,* §. 5.

A Farther Demonstration that the pretended Traditions of the *Church* of *Rome* were not received anciently as Articles of *Christian* Faith, or as things necessary to be believed or practised by all *Christians*, may be taken from the instructions given to the *Clergy* concerning what they were to teach the People committed to their *Charge*. For amongst these things we find all the *positive Articles* of the Faith of *Protestants*, the whole *Symbol* of the *ancient Church*, our whole Duty towards God and to our Neighbour, all that we are to believe, and pray, and hope for, but not one tittle of *Romish* Faith. In their Instructions, *quid sit a Presbyteris prædicandum, what the Priests are to teach the People*, The (*a*) *Capitular* of *Charles* the *Great*, (*b*) *Regino*, and (*c*) *Ivo* tell us from the *Councils* of *Rouën* and *Challon*,

(*a*) L. 1. c. 82.
(*b*) De Discipl. Eccl. l. 1. c. 102.
(*c*) Decret. part 6. 155.—161.

1. That they are to preach to all in General, *That they believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God Omnipotent who made all things; and that the Deity, Essence and Majesty of* §. 1.

the Three Persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is one.

2. *That the Son of God was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin* Mary, *for the Salvation of Mankind; that he suffered, was buried, rose again the Third Day, ascended into Heaven, and is to come in the end of the World to judge all Men according to their Works; that the Wicked, with the Devil, shall be sent into eternal Fire, and the Just, with Christ, shall possess everlasting Life.*

3. *That all Men shall rise again in their own Flesh.*

4. He is to teach them *for what Crimes Men shall be deputed with the Devil, which the Apostle thus Enumerates; Fornication, Uncleanness, Lasciviousness, Idolatry, Witchcraft, Hatred, Variance, Emulations, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Heresies, Envyings, Murthers, Drunkenness, Revellings, and such like. They who do such things shall not inherit the Kingdom of God, and therefore let all these things with all care be prohibited.*

Gal. v. 19,20, 21.

5. *He is to teach of the Love of God, and our Neighbour, of Faith and Hope in God, of Humility, Patience, Chastity, Kindness, Mercy, of Alms, Confession, and Forgiving our Brethren from the Heart; for he that doth these, and the like things, shall inherit the Kingdom of God.*

Moreover they tell us from the *Councils* of *Gangra*, *Reims* and *Challon*, that every *Priest* must teach all his *Parochians*, Symbolum, & orationem Dominicam, *the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer*, and cause them to repeat them when they come to *Confession* at *Lent*, and not administer the *Sacrament* to them till they can rehearse them, *because none can be saved without the knowledge of them*; in uno enim fides & credulitas Christiana continetur; *for in the one is contained the Faith of Christians, in the other is expressed what we are to ask of God*; and *these things are so great, that he who can fully understand them*, sufficere sibi credatur ad salutem æternam, *understands what is believed sufficient to eternal Salvation.* And secondly, Because *in the Lord's Prayer are comprized all things necessary for humane Life; and in the Apostles Symbol*, fides ex integro comprehenditur, *the Catholick Faith is entirely contained, and by learning it they would rightly learn*, fidem Catholicam, *the Catholick Faith.*

Ivo *Ibid.* c. 158.

Cap. 159.

Hence then the Argument runs thus, If the Faith of *Christians* was equally contained in many other Doctrines, why did not the *Church* equally require her *Clergy* to teach them also to the People? Why do these *Councils* say, That *her Faith*,

her

her Catholick Faith is entirely contained in this *Creed* of the *Apoſtles*, and that the belief of theſe things is *ſufficient for the Salvation* of him who fully underſtands them? Sure there is ſome great Reaſon of that ſignal difference betwixt the *Church* of thoſe *Ages*, which ſay, the *Apoſtles Creed* alone is that Faith without which, *nemo ſalvus eſſe poteſt, no man can be ſaved*; and the *preſent R. Church*, which ſaith of all her new Articles added to the *Creed*, Hæc eſt vera fides Catholica extra quam nemo ſalvus eſſe poteſt, *This is the true Catholick Faith, without which no Man can be ſaved*, betwixt that *Church* which only inſtructs her *Prieſts* to teach the *Apoſtles Creed*, and that which maketh all her *Clergy* ſwear to hold all the *Articles* contained in the *Creed* of *Pius* the Fourth. And alſo to take care that they be held, taught, and preached by all who do belong to their Care.

Ab illis quorum cura ad me in munere meo ſpectabit teneri, doceri, & prædicari quantum in me erit curaturum. *Bull. Pij 4ti.*

§. 2.

3*dly*, That none of the Doctrines contained in the *New Creed* of *Pius* the *Fourth*, and added to the *Nicene Creed*, are *ancient Articles* of Faith, will farther be made evident from the *Examination* which the *ancient Canons* of the *Church* required of him who was to be ordained *Biſhop*: For by the *Canon* of the *Fourth Council* of *Carthage* he was firſt to be examined, *ſi fidei documenta verbis ſimplicibus aſſerat, Whether in plain words he aſſerted the Doctrines of Faith*, that is, *Whether he held the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt to be one God, and the whole Trinity to be Co-eſſential, Conſubſtantial, Co-eternal, and Co-omnipotent; whether he held that every Perſon in the Trinity was perfect God; and that neither the Father, nor the Holy Ghoſt, but the Son only was incarnate, as being, as to his Divinity the Son of the Father, and as to his Humanity, the Son of an humane Mother, true God of his Father, and true Man of his Mother, receiving true Fleſh from his Mother, and having an humane rational Soul, ſo that both Natures were in him; that is, he was God and Man, one Perſon, one Son, one Chriſt, one Lord, Creator of all things which are; and with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, the Author, Lord, and Ruler of all Creatures; who ſuffered truly in the Fleſh, died a true bodily death, roſe again with a true Reſurrection of his Fleſh, and a true reſuming of his Soul, in which he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead.* It alſo is to be enquired of him, *Whether* Can. 1. Concil. Tom. 2. p. 1199.

he believes one and the same God to be the Author of the Old *and* New Testament, *that is, of the Law, Prophets and Apostles, and that the Devil was not made wicked by Nature, but by his own Will; whether he believes the Resurrection of that Flesh which dies, and not another; whether he believes a future judgment, and, that every one shall receive according to the things which they have done in the Flesh, Punishments or Glory; whether he doth not disapprove of Marriage, nor condemn Second Marriages, nor condemn eating of Flesh; whether he Communicates with reconciled Penitents, and believes that all Sins both Original and Actual, are remitted in Baptism, and that no Man can be saved out of the Catholick Church.* Cum in his omnibus examinatus inventus fuerit *plene instructus, When by Examination, he is found fully instructed in all these things, let him be ordained Bishop,* &c. These were all the Doctrines of Faith required to be known, or held by the *Bishop* in the *4th. Century.* And this continued to be the Rule of his *Examination,* and the whole Faith required to be professed by him at his *Ordination* till the *Thirteenth Century,* as you may learn from the, *interrogatio de credulitate Episcopi, question touching the Faith of a Bishop* in the *Ordo Romanus,* which form of *Examination* they profess to have received from the *ancient Institution of the Holy Fathers,* and especially from the *Council* of *Carthage.* From the *Council* of *Nantes, Can.* 11. and from *Regino* in the Ninth Century, who transcribe this *Canon* of the *Council* of *Carthage,* as containing the form, *qualiter Episcopus ordinandus examinabitur, How a Bishop, that is to be ordained, shall be examined.* As also doth *Ivo* in the Eleventh, *Barchardus* in the Twelfth, and *Gratian* in the Thirteenth *Century.* These therefore from the Fourth to the Thirteenth *Century* were reputed all the *Articles* of *Christian* Faith, in which it was thought necessary that a *Bishop* should be instructed, and if he did assert these things, he was thought *fully instructed in the Documents of Christian Faith.*

Pag. 97, 98.

De Disc. Eccl. lib. 1. cap. 443.

Decret. part. 5. c. 62 l. 1. c. 8. Dist. 23. c. 2.

§. 3. And to shew the Concord of the *Eastern* with the *Western Churches* in these matters, let it be considered, that *Theodoret* having given an account of *Heretical* Fables in Four Books, he proceeds, Book the Fifth, to Discourse, ὥδε τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δογμάτων, *of the Doctrines of the Church,* and to lay before us, τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν διδασκαλίαν, *the Evangelical Doctrine,* that *by comparing*

Cap. 4 p. 262.

paring it with that of the Hereticks, we may discern the difference betwixt Light and Darkness, perfect *Health,* and *mortal Sickness*; and then he proceeds to give us all the Doctrines contained in this Form of *Examination,* but not one of the *Articles* which they of *Rome* have added to the *Nicene Creed.* In his First Chapter he speaks *of God the Father, the Creator of all things, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.* In the Second, *Of his only begotten Son, co-essential and co-eternal with the Father.* In the Third, *Of the Holy Spirit, of the same Nature and Substance with them both.* In the Fourth, *Of the Creation of all things by the Father, with the Son, and Holy Ghost.* In the Eighth, *Of the Devil asserting that he had not his wickedness from his Creator, but his own perverse will.* In the Eleventh, *Of the Incarnation of our Lord,* that *he took flesh of the Virgin* Mary, *had a reasonable Soul united to it, and so became God and Man in one Person. That he took a true Body,* chap. 12. *A true Soul,* ch. 13. *A perfect humane Nature,* ch. 14. That *he raised up the same Flesh in which he suffer'd,* ch. 15. That *the same God was Author of the* Old *and* New Testament, ch. 17. That *Baptism procures the Remission of all our old Sins,* ch. 18. That *there would be a Resurrection of that very Body which was corrupted and dissolved,* ch. 19. And *a future Judgment, where every one shall receive according to what he hath done in the Body,* ch. 20. That *this shall be at our Lord's Second coming to judge the quick and the dead,* ch. 22. That *Matrimony was to be allowed,* ch. 25. *yea Second Marriages,* ch. 26. That *the wounds received after Baptism might be healed,* ch. 28. That *the Church forbids not the use of Flesh,* ch. 29. And here concluding his Discourse concerning *Ecclesiastical Doctrines, respecting Faith and Manners,* he saith, Ταῦτα τῆς Θείας πνεύματος δόγματα οἷς ἔπεσθαι προσήκει διηνεκῶς καὶ τῶν τούτων ἀκλινῆ φυλάττειν κανόνα, *These are the Doctrines of the Holy Spirit which we must always follow, preserving this Rule of them immovable.* And that you may be sure that *Scripture* was the *Church*'s Rule, that taught her all these things, he doth not only call these Doctrines, εὐαγγελικὴ διδασκαλία, *the Doctrines of the Gospel,* and often say in his Discourse upon them, Ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς θείας γραφῆς ἐδιδάχθημεν, *These things we have been taught by the Holy Scriptures*; *the Holy Scripture is,* ἡ εἰρημένων διδάσκαλος, *the Teacher of these things*; but concludes his Discourse of the *Doctrinals* of the *Church,* thus, Ταῦτα παρὰ τῆς θεοφόρων ἀνδρῶν Περιπλῶν P. 249, 250, 259, 262, 275, 304. P. 304.

Περφήσῶν φημὶ, καὶ Ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνους διαδεξαμένων παρείληφεν ἡ ἐκκλησία τὰ δόγματα, *These Doctrines the Church hath received from divine Men, the Prophets, and Apostles, and their Successors,* these then were in his Age reputed all the Doctrines of *Christian* Faith, and they were all conceived clearly to be contained in, and proved from the *Holy Scriptures*; their Faith then did not differ in one *Article* from that of *Protestants*, nor did they differ from them in assigning *Scripture* as the *Rule of Faith.*

§. 4. And 4*ly*. This will be farther evident from the consideration of the most Eminent *Fathers* of the *Church*, who have employed their Time and Labour in refuting *Hereticks*. For they still lay down the *Apostles*, or the *Nicene Creed*, as the Foundation of their Faith, and the entire belief of *Christians*; and speak of other Doctrines as such in which they were at liberty to exercise their parts and curiosity, but were by no means to obtrude them as Articles of *Christian* Faith. Thus

Lib. 1. cap. 4. *Irenæus* having given us the Faith which the *Apostles* delivered to the *Church*, and which she did, *through the whole World profess without Addition or Diminution*, he proceeds to shew, That, ἡ ἐκκλησία πάσης μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν πίστιν ἐχούσης εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον, *the Church retaining one and the same Faith throughout the World, they exercised their knowledge about other matters, to explain the dispensation of God towards Men, his long suffering both towards Men, and fallen Angels, to enquire why one and the same God made some things Temporal, others Eternal, some Heavenly, and some Earthly things? why, being invisible, he appeared to the Prophets in divers Shapes? why many Covenants were made with Man, and what was the Character of every Covenant? why God concluded all Men under Unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all? why the Word of God was made Flesh, and suffered? why Christ came only in the last times, and of the end of all things, and of things to come,* ὅσα τε κεῖται ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ἀναπτύσσειν, *and to explicate other things mentioned in the Scripture:* But notwithstanding all these Enquiries, the *Churches* Faith was still the same, as being comprized in the forementioned Articles of the *Apostles Creed.*

Cap. 13, 14. *Tertullian* having laid down the same Rule in his Prescription against *Hereticks*, he reduceth all enquiries beyond this Rule, *libidini curiositatis*, *to the lust of Curiosity*, and saith, That *we may better be ignorant in other things, than Curiously concerned*

cerned to know them; whereas had there been as many more *Articles* of *Christian* Faith delivered by the *Apostles*, and as necessary to be believed by all *Christians*, as those which were contained in their *Creed*, and Rule of Faith, what *ignorance*, or what unfaithfulness to Souls must they be guilty of who mention none of all these necessaries, but virtually, and in effect exclude them all from being so, by thus declaring that all beyond this *Rule* did only serve to *exercise our Wit*, *our Curiosity*, our Knowledge concerning profound Mysteries, which were no part of Faith, and of which, without detriment to the *Christian* Faith, we might be ignorant.

Epiphanius having discoursed at large of all the *Heresies* of his time, he closes his Discourse with an exposition of the *Catholick* Faith, in which he speaks, *Of one God over all*, §. 3. *Of the Consubstantial Trinity, by which all things were created*, §. 14. *Of the Birth of Christ of the Virgin* Mary, *from whom he received a true Body and true Flesh. Of his humane Soul, and of the union of both to his Divinity*, §. 15. *Of his Sufferings on the Cross in his humane Nature; of his descent into Hell; of his Resurrection; of his Ascention into Heaven, whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead*, §. 17. *Of the Resurrection of the same Body that died; of the future Recompence according to what we have done in the Flesh; of the Damnation of the Wicked, and the future Happiness of the Just*, §. 18. *This*, saith he, *is the Faith of the Church*; Αὐτὴ ὄζὶν ἡ πίστις, τῦτο τὰ ἑῤῥσμα τ ἀληθείας, §. 19. Vid. etiam, §. 25. ἃ μὲν ὦδὲ πίστεως ἔχει αὐτὴ ἡ μονὴ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, *these are the things which the one Catholick Church holds touching the Faith*, §. 21. *These things we have discoursed with as much brevity as we could, of the Consubstantiality of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, of the incarnation of Christ, and of his final coming*, καὶ ἄλλων μέρων τ πίστως, *and of the other Articles of Faith.* These therefore in his time comprised all the *Articles* of the *Christian* Faith, the Doctrines of the *Catholick Church*, and therefore the *New Roman Articles* could be no parts of *Christian* Faith, no Doctrines of the *Church Catholick* when *Epiphanius* flourished in it. And upon account of this *Symbol* of Faith it is that he calls the *Church*, and the way of Truth, Ὁδὸς βασιλικὴ, *The Kings High-way*, and calls them *the Servants of* God, *who do*, τ καιρὸν ἀσφαλῆ γινώσκειν, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τ ἀληθείας βαδίζειν, *know this firm Rule or Canon, and walk in this way of Truth.* Hær. 59. §. 12, 13.

5*ly*, This

§. 5. 5*ly*. This will abundantly appear from an impartial reflection on those Treatises which have been written by the *Ancient Fathers*, at the request or the desire of others, to be instructed in the Articles of *Christian* Faith. Thus when the *Emperor Jovianus* desired to learn of *Athanasius*, τὴν τ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας πίστιν, *the Faith of the Catholick Church*, *Athanasius* tells
To. 1. p. 245. him expressly, That *it was that Faith which was*, παρὰ τῶν Πατέρων ἐν Νικαίᾳ ὁμολογηθεῖσα, *confessed by the* Nicene *Fathers*; and that he might the better know it, he sets down their *Creed* at length, telling him moreover, like a true *Protestant*, That *the*
Pag. 246. *true and pious Faith in Christ was manifest to all*, ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν γινωσκομένη τε καὶ ἀναγινωσκομένη, *being known, and read from the Holy Scriptures.*

De vera & pia fide p. 385. a. When some *Monks* had desired St. *Basil* to send to them, τ εὐσεβοῦς πίστεως ἔγγραφον ὁμολογίαν, *a written confession of the holy Faith.* In answer to this demand St. *Basil* lays down this as his Foundation, That *it is the property of a Faithful Minister to*
Ibid. B. *preserve those things*, ἀνοθεύτως καὶ ἀκαπηλεύτως, *pure, sincere, and unadulterated, which are commited to him by his Good Lord, to be distributed to his fellow Servants. I therefore*, saith he, *according to the Will of God, will lay before you those things*, ἅπερ ἔμαθον ἐκ τ θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν, *which I have learnt from the divinely inspired Scripture.* This Fundamental position, that it is *the property of a Faithful Steward to deliver nothing to his fellow Servants*, as part of Holy Faith, *but what he hath learned from the Holy Scripture*,
Ibid. C. D. he confirms in these words; *For if our Lord himself, in whom were hid all the Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge* —— *said thus, He* (the Father) *gave me a Commandment what I should say and speak*; and again, *The things which I speak, as the Father hath told me, so I speak. And if the Holy Spirit spake nothing of himself, but only spake those things which he had heard from him, how much more is it as well safe as pious for us*, τοῦτο φρονεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν, *to do, and mind the same thing in the Name of the Lord Jesus. Indeed*, saith he, *when I conflict with Hereticks, whose Footsteps I*
Ibid. E. *must follow, I am compelled sometimes to use*, ἀγράφοις, *Expressions not found in Scripture, though neither are they alien from the pious*
P. 386. a. *sence of Scripture, but now I have thought it most convenient to the common Scope of us, and you, to fulfil your command in the simplicity of the sound Faith*, εἰπὼν ἃ ἐδιδάχθην παρὰ τ θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν, *by saying those things which I have been taught from the divinely inspired*

spired Scripture, abstaining from those Names and Words, ἃ λέξεσι μὴ αὐταῖς ἐκ ἐμφέρεται τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ, *which are not to be found expresly in the Holy Scripture. For,* saith he, *if the Lord be Faithful in all his words, if all his Commandments are Faithful, and established for ever, and done in Truth and Righteousness.* Φανερὰ Ibid. c.
ἔκπτωσις τῆς πίστεως καὶ ὑπερηφανίας κάλλιστον, ἢ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων, *It is a manifest falling from the Faith, and a manifestation of Pride, either to reject any thing that is written, or to superinduce any thing that is not written, our Lord having said, My Sheep hear my Voice.* —— And *the Apostle by an Example taken from Men,* viz. *That if it be but a Man's Testament, yet if it be confirmed, no Man rejects, or adds any thing unto it,*
σφοδρότερον ἀπαγορεύει τὸ προσθεῖναι ἢ ἀφελεῖν τι ἐν ταῖς θεοπνεύστοις γραφαῖς, Ibid. d.
most vehemently forbids that any thing should be added to, or taken from the divinely inspired Scriptures. And therefore, *though we have used other words in our controversial Discourses against Hereticks,*
νῦν δὲ τὴν ὑγιαινούσης πίστεως ὁμολογίαν τε καὶ φανέρωσιν ἁπλῆ προκεῖται, Ibid. e.
yet now, that a Confession of the sound Faith, and simple manifestation of it lies before us, we will temper our stile accordingly,
ἁπλοϊκώτερον καὶ οἰκειότερον αὐτῷ ἐξηγούμενοι, *explaining it more simply* Pag. 387. c.
and properly, and doing only that which may instruct you, according to that saying of the Apostle, To give a reason of your Faith. Now, Pag. 389. b. c.
saith he, in doing this we neither have ability nor leasure to collect all that is said in *Scripture* of the *Father, Son,* and *Holy Ghost*; but we hope, saith he, to satisfie your Consciences as to the manifestation of our knowledge in the holy *Scriptures,* καὶ τὴν ὑμῶν αὐτῆς πληροφορίαν, *and your full assurance of Faith, by those few things we shall select out of the Holy Scriptures.* And after this long *Protestant* Preface comes a Creed owned by all *Protestants* in these words, "We be- P. 389. d. e.
"lieve therefore, and confess one only true, and Good
"God, and Father Almighty, of whom are all things, the
"God and Father of our Lord and God Jesus Christ: And
"we believe one only begotten Son of God, our Lord and
"God Jesus Christ, the only true (God,) by whom all things
"both visible and invisible were made, and by whom all
"things consist, who in the beginning was with God, and
"was God, and after was according to the *Scriptures* seen on
"Earth, and conversed with Men, who being in the Form
"of God, coveted *not to be* (in the World) *like to God,* but

"emptied himself, and taking upon him the Form of a Ser-
"vant, by his Nativity of a Virgin, and being found in fashion
"as a Man, he fulfilled all things which were written of,
"and concerning him, according to the command of the *Fa-*
"*ther*, being Obedient even to Death, the Death of the Cross,
"and being raised again the Third Day from the Dead, ac-
P. 390. a. "cording to the Scriptures, he was seen by his holy *Disciples*,
"and the rest, as it is written; and he ascended into the
"Heavens, and sitteth at the Right-hand of the Father, from
"whence he comes at the end of the World to raise up all,
"and to give to every one according to his Work, when the
"Righteous shall be taken up into Life Eternal, and the King-
"dom of Heaven, but the wicked shall be condemned to ever-
"lasting Punishment, where their Worm dieth not, and the
"Fire is not quenched; and we believe one Holy Ghost and
"Comforter, by whom we are sealed unto the Day of Re-
"demption, the Spirit of Truth and of Adoption, in whom
"we cry *Abba* Father, who distributeth and worketh in
"us the Gifts given of God to every one to profit withal, as
"he willeth, who teacheth and brings to our Remembrance
"all things which he hath heard from the Son. The Good
"Spirit who Guides us into all Truth, and confirmeth all
"Believers in true and exact Knowledge, in pious Worship,
"and spiritual Adoration, and in the true Confession of God
"the Father, his only Son our Lord and God, Jesus Christ,
"and of himself: τοῦτο φρονοῦμεν, *This we think, this is,* ὁ Κανὼν
P. 392. τῶν ἁγίων, *the Rule of Holy Men. And I beseech you, laying aside*
P. 391. *all curious Questions, and indecent strifes about words,* ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς
ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου εἰρημένοις, *to rest contented with the*
things spoken by Holy Men, and by the Lord himself; and to with-
draw your selves from them that are alien from the Evangelical and
Apostolical Faith, the Apostle having said, That if an Angel from
Heaven preach to you any other Doctrine, besides that which we have
preached unto you, let him be accursed; and having warned you to
withdraw from every one who walks disorderly, and not according to
the Tradition which you have received from us. So that, according
to St. *Basil*, this *Creed* is the Tradition received from the *Apo-*
stles, the *Evangelical* and *Apostolical* Faith, the *Rule* of Faith, to
which nothing is to be superadded, besides which nothing to
be preached as any portion of the *Rule* of Faith, and this
whole

whole Faith expresly is contained in *Scripture*, and is delivered in the words of *Scripture*.

Laurentius sends an Epistle to St. *Austin* to know of him, *Quia sequendum maximè, quid propter diversas principaliter Hæreses, sit fugiendum? What was chiefly to be followed, and what, by reason of the diversity of Heresies, was principally to be avoided, quod certum, propriumque fidei Catholicæ fundamentum, what was the sure, and proper Foundation of the Christian Faith?* In Answer to this Enquiry he receives a Treatise from St. *Austin* containing 122. Chapters, in which he undertakes to teach him, *what he was to believe, to love, and hope for*, and in the general he tells him, that it is easie to instruct him in these three particulars, *nam ecce tibi Symbolum & dominica oratio, in his duobus tria illa intuere, for behold the Symbol and the Lord's Prayer, in these two see these three things, Faith believes, Hope and Charity prays*; and then he goes on to a particular Discourse on all these Heads, not speaking throughout all those numerous Chapters of one *Article* of the *Romish* Faith, excepting only when Chapter the 69. he speaks of *Purgatory* Fire, as of *a doubtful and uncertain thing*; and Chapter 109. he utterly confounds it, by laying down for certain, That *during the time betwixt the Death of Christians and the last Resurrection of their Bodies, their Souls are kept in hidden Receptacles, as they, by reason of the Actions done in their Life time, became worthy of Rest or Misery*.

Enchir. c. 4. Cap. 3. Cap. 6. Cap. 7.

One thing there is still more considerable, that when the *Arian Heresie* sprung up, and even in the time, and at the Session of the *Nicene Council*, this was still produced as the Faith of the *Apostolick Church*, the Rule of Faith, the Faith which they had learned from the *Scriptures* and had received at *Baptism*, and on account of which they challenged to be owned as *Orthodox* by all their *Christian* Brethren. *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria* in his *Epistle* to his Namesake of *Constantinople* recites his *Creed* with this Preface, Οὕτως πιστεύομεν ὡς τῇ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δοκεῖ, *so we believe, as it seemed good to the Apostolick Church*, viz. "*We believe in one only unbegotten Father*, — "*and in one Lord Jesus Christ his only begotten Son.*—— Besides this pious Faith of the *Father*, and the *Son*, *We confess, as the Holy Scriptures teach us, one Holy Ghost, the Sanctifier of Holy Men under the Old Testament, and of the divine Teachers of the*

Apud Theodor. Hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 3.

New, and one only Catholick and Apostolick Church inexpugnable by the World, and triumphing over all the wicked Insurrections of the Heterodox; after this we confess the Resurrection of the Dead, of which our Lord Jesus Christ was the first fruits, who indeed, and not in appearance only, took his Body from the God-bearing Virgin, and who, in the end of the Ages, conversing among Men for the abolishing of Sin, was Crucified, and dying —— rose again from the Dead, ascended into the Heavens, and sitteth at the Right-hand of Majesty. These things we teach and preach. Ταῦτα δ ἐκκλησίας ἀποστολικὰ δόγματα, *These are the Doctrines of the Church received from the Apostles.* Whereas, had the *Apostles* delivered any other Doctrines of Faith, 'tis evident, these were but some of them, and therefore that those others ought to have been mentioned by one who says these things on purpose to declare his *Orthodoxy*, and satisfie all other *Christians*, that he entirely embraced the true *Christian* Faith.

Gennadius hath a Treatise in which he doth designedly discourse of *Ecclesiastical Doctrines*, omitting nothing, that I can remember, which then obtained in the *Latin Church*, and yet in that whole Treatise he hath not given the least hint of one of the *New Articles* contained in the *Creed* of *Pius* the Fourth; but, on the contrary, he in the General declares, That the Faith received in Baptism is, *fides Ecclesiæ, the Church's Faith.* And whereas in the *Church* of *Rome auricular* and secret *Confession* is made necessary to the Receiving of the Sacrament. He, speaking not one word of that, doth say expresly, *If any Person, after Baptism, hath committed mortal Sins, I exhort him first to make satisfaction by* publick Penance, *and so being reconciled by the Judgment of the Priest to Communicate; if he would not receive the Sacrament to his own Condemnation.* And whereas they now teach, That *pious Souls go hence to Purgatory*, to suffer for their *Venial Sins*, he positively declares, That *since the Ascension of our Lord into Heaven, the Souls of all Saints are with Christ, and departing from the Body, go to Christ.* Moreover he declares, That a *Clerk* is not to be Ordained who hath had *Two Wives after Baptism*, or who hath had one who was a *Concubine*, and not a *Matron*, or who was married to a *Widow*, to one *Divorced*, or a *Whore*, or who hath *Maim'd* himself, or received *Usury*; but he saith not one word of

Cap. 52.

Hortor prius publica pœnitentia satisfacere, *Cap.* 53.

Omnium sanctorum animæ cum Christo sunt, & exeuntes de corpore ad Christum vadunt, *c.* 78.

Cap. 72.

of not receiving him to *Ordination* who is not a *Virgin*, or doth not promise to *contain*, or who is not Divorced from his *Matron*. 'Tis therefore evident, that then none of these *New Articles* had obtained in the *Latin Church*.

CHAP. X.

That Romanists have in the General confessed the Novelty of many of their Doctrines, §. 1. *And in particular*, 1st. *Of the Integrity and sufficiency of Holy Scripture, as to all necessary Articles of Christian Faith*, §. 2. 2dly. *Of their Canon of the* Old Testament, §. 3. *As is proved from the Sixth to the Sixteenth Century*, Ibid. 3dly. *Of the Right of Princes to call General Councils*, §. 4. 4thly. *Of the Fallibility of Councils*, §. 5. *Of Purgatory*, §. 6. *Of Indulgences*, §. 7. *Of the Veneration of Images*, §. 8. *Of Invocation of Saints*, §. 9. *Of* Latin *Service*, §. 10. *Of the Seven Sacraments in general*, §. 11. *Of the Sacrament of Confirmation*, §. 12. *Of auricular Confession*, §. 13. *Of Extream Unction*, §. 14. *Of Marriage*, §. 15. *Of Transubstantiation*, §. 16. *Of Communion in one Kind*, §. 17. *Of the true propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass*, §. 18. *Of the Celibacy of Priests*, §. 19.

TO these clear Evidences of the *Novelty* of the pretended *Apostolical* Traditions of the *Church* of *Rome*, I proceed now to add the plain, and the ingenuous Confession of some of the most able and learned Members of that *Church*, who either in the General have owned that many of these *Traditions* were not *Apostolical* and *Primitive*, or handed down to them throughout all Ages of the *Church* of *Christ*, or in particular confess that many of those Doctrines which by that *Church* are now imposed as *Articles* of *Christian* Faith, either began to be asserted, or imposed in after-Ages, or were disputed and questioned, denied or condemned, or at the least not mentioned in some of the preceeding *Ages* of the *Church*. And,

First, In

§. 1. *First*, In the General this hath been tacitly confessed by the Learned and Ingenuous *Author* of the *Nouvelle Bibliotheque*, or the New *Library* of the *Ecclesiastical Writers* of the first three *Centuries*. For when he gives us the *Abridgment* of the *Doctrine* of those Ages, he mentions not among them any, or scarcely any of the present and contested Doctrines of the *Church* of *Rome*. (He saith indeed, *Ils n' ont point douté que l' Eucharistie ne fut le Corps, & le sang de J. C. They doubted not that the Eucharist was the Body and the Blood of Christ, and they called it by that Name.* But he durst not say as in his Abridgment of the Doctrine of the Fourth *Century*, he doth, *Ils ont enseigne clairement que le pain & le vin de l' Eucharistie étoient changez au Corps, & au Sang de Jesus Christ; They clearly taught that the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist were changed into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ*, much less that they believed that this was such a change as did annihilate the substance of the Bread and Wine.) He therefore in effect confesseth, that during these Three Ages he could find no Footsteps of the R. Doctrines. The Author of the Book stiled *Onus Ecclesiæ* saith, the Doctrines of the *Wickleviists* were these,

To. 2. p. 949, 950.

1. *That the Pope was not Superior to other Bishops.*
2. *That there was no Purgatory Fire.*
3. *That it was a vain thing to Pray for the Dead.*
4. *That auricular Confession was not necessary.*
5. *That the Communion was to be received in both Kinds.*

Quæ plerique Scholastici secuti sunt, *cap.* 18. §. 7.

And these, saith he, are *Sophisms, which most of the Schoolmen delighting in logical Tattle, and loving strange Opinions, followed.* He further adds, that *Huß* and *Jerom* of *Prague* held, That *the universal Church consisted not in* Rome, *or in the Pope, but in the body of the Elect*, and that *Men might be saved who were not subject to the Church of* Rome; concluding thus, *Whether these, or other of their Doctrines were new Vanities, or of Evangelical Antiquity, I know not.* *Erasmus* in his Epistle to *Martin Luther* gives him to understand, That there were in *England Men of the greatest Note who esteemed very well of his Writings, and Men at* Loven, *who bore the same Affection to them.* In his Epistle *Cardinali Moguntino*, *This*, saith he, *I observe, that the better any Man is, the less he is offended with* Luther's *Writings.* In his Letter to *Cardinal Campejus*, he speaks

An hæc, vel alia eorum dogmata fuerint novæ vanitatis vel Evangelicæ Antiquitatis, nescio, *Ibid.*

Epist. l. 6. p. 245.

Ut quisque vir est optimus, ita illius Scriptis minime offendi, *Ep. l.* 12. *p.* 400.

speaks thus, *I heard excellent Men of approved Doctrine and Religion, rejoice that they met with that Man's Books; and I saw, that as any man was more upright in his Life, or nearer to Evangelical purity, he was the less offended with* Luther. And in the same *Epistle* he adds, that he conceived it not convenient *presently to be incensed against a Man with whose Writings so many excellent Governors, so many Learned and pious Men were delighted.* In his *Epistle* to *Godeschallus*, he saith, That he did not defend him even then, *cum non deessent maximi Theologi qui non vererentur affirmare nihil esse in Luthero, quin per probatos Authores posset defendi, when the greatest Divines were not afraid to affirm, that there was* nothing *in* Luther *which might not be defended by approved Authors.* And lastly he himself declares, That *Luther* gathered *most of his Tenets from the Ancients*, and that *had he named the Ancients from whom he had them, he would have avoided much of that envy which then lay upon him.*

Videbam ut quisque esset integerrimis moribus & Evangelicæ puritati proximus, ita minime infensum Luthero. *Lib.* 14. p. 446.

Pag. 448.

L. 15. P. 492.

Hausit pleraq; ex veteribus. *Epist. l.* 14. *p.* 447.

To proceed to the particular *Controversies* in the Order in which they are mentioned in the *Articles* of *Religion* subscribed by our *Clergy*.

§. 2.

Holy Scripture, saith our Sixth Article, *containeth all things necessary to Salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not required of any Man that it should be believed as an Article of Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to Salvation. So that besides the same, the Church ought not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of Salvation.*

Art. 21.

Agreeably to this *Article* the *Bishop* of *Rhodes* disputing with the *Greeks* in the *Council* of *Florence* speaks thus in the behalf of the *Western Bishops*, *I desire you* Greeks *to satisfie me in this Question, Doth not the Gospel perfectly contain the Doctrine of Christian Faith? Surely*, saith he, *the Reverence you bear to it will not permit you to affirm that the Faith is not perfectly contained there.* And *that is true, and not denied by us, which the Bishop of* Ephesus *said, That the Fathers had inclosed the Gospel and the Holy Scripture, so that it should by no means be lawful to add to them.* And whereas the the *Bishop* of *Ephesus* had said, That *the Evangelists did not*

Περιέχει τελείαν διδασκαλίαν τῆς ἡμῶν πίστεως τὸ ἱερὸν εὐαγγέλιον; Bin. Tom. 8. Concil. Florent. Sess. 7. p. 609.

Ὅτι μὴ πᾶν τελείαν πίστιν ἐκεῖσε περιέχεσθαι. Ibid.

Οἱ πάτερες συνέκλεισε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ πᾶν θείαν γραφὴν ὥστε μηδένι ἐξὸν εἶναι προσθεῖναι. Ibid.

forbid

forbid that any thing should be added to what they had written, This, saith he, with his leave, cannot be said of Holy Scripture, for the Apostle Paul saith, If any Man preach any thing besides what you have received, let him be Anathema. And St. John in the end of his Revelations saith, If any one add to these things, God shall add to him the Plagues which are written in this Book: Nicenus also on the part of the Greeks saith, We draw all divine Doctrines from the Fountains of the Holy Scriptures, which are the principles and the foundations of our Faith, to which nothing ever was, or ever shall be added by us or any other Christian. Time was, saith the Archbishop of Nice in his Oration made at that time and place, when the Church, the Spouse of God, was without spot or wrinkle, viz. when we made more account of the simple and not curious Faith delivered as it lay in the Gospel, and regarding that superfluous and talkative Divinity which is the fruit of our own Reasonings, less than the Sacred Oracles, μόνοις τοῖς γεγραμμένοις προσέχομεν τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀγαπῶντες, καὶ εἰς ἓν ὑπ' αὐτῶν συναγόμενοι, we attend only to what was written, delighting in the things spoken by the Holy Spirit, and being compacted in one by them. So that it seems by these plain words, that both the East and West were then of the same Judgment with the Church of England in this Article.

Παρ' ὃ παρελάβετε. Gal. i. 9.

Πάντα τὰ θεῖα δόγματα ὑπὸ πηγὴν τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἀρυόμεθα, αἵτινες εἰσὶν ἀρχαὶ καὶ θεμέλια τῆς ἡμῶν πίστεως. Ibid. Sess. 8. p. 630.

Τὸ μὴ ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀπερίεργον τῆς εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πίστεως. Concil. Flor. Sess. 25. p. 783.

It is declared, saith John Gerson, by the Authority of Dionysius, That we must not dare to say any thing of Divine Things, but that which is delivered to us from the Holy Scriptures, of which the Reason is, That the Scripture is delivered to us as a Rule sufficient, and infallible for the Government of the whole Ecclesiastical Body, and Members of it to the End of the World.

Declaratur ex Authoritate Dionysii dicentis nihil audendum dicere de divinis, nisi quæ nobis a Scriptura S. tradita sunt, quoniam Scriptura nobis tradita est tanquam Regula sufficiens & infallibilis pro regimine totius Ecclesiastici corporis. *Lib. de Exam. Doctr. secunda parte princip. consid.* 1.

The Holy Scripture, saith Gabriel Biel, is, according to B. Gregory, as the Mouth of God, quia per eam loquitur Deus omnia quæ vult a nobis fieri, because by it God speaketh all things which he would have done by us.

In Can. Miss. Lect. 71. f. 200. Edit. 1510.

Gregory

Gregory the *Great*, ſaith *Molinæus*, *aſſerts, That they are infected with the filth of Hereſie who teach or produce any thing beyond the Holy Scriptures; I mean in thoſe things which appertain to the Subſtance of Faith and Doctrine.*

Aſſerit Hæreſeos labe inquinatos qui extra S. Scripturas aliquid docent aut proferunt, &c. *Lib. de Concil. Trid.* §. 17.

The *Sorbon Doctor*, who ſet forth the *French Teſtament* printed at *Mons*, *A. D.* 1672. informs us, That *St.* Auſtin *conſidered the Holy Scripture as the Treaſure of Divinity, and as the Source of* all thoſe Truths *which a Man ought to know, for the Edification of himſelf, or the Inſtruction of others.* And ſpeaking of the mixture of profound places with thoſe which are proportioned to the capacity of the moſt ſimple, he ſaith, *That which ought to comfort us in this obſcurity is, that according to St.* Auguſtin, *the Holy Scripture propoſeth to us all that is neceſſary for the conduct of our Life in a manner eaſie and intelligible, that it explicates and clears up it ſelf by ſpeaking that clearly in ſome places which it ſaith obſcurely in others.* Præface 1, 2.

The *Guide* of *Controverſies* ſaith, That *as for the ſufficiency or the entireneſs of the Scriptures, for the containing of all thoſe Points of Faith which are ſimply neceſſary of all Perſons, to be believed for attaining Salvation, Catholicks deny it not.* And for this he cites, among many other *R. Doctors*, this ſaying of *Aquinas*, *In doctrina Chriſti, & Apoſtolorum* (he means *Scripta*) *veritas fidei eſt ſufficienter explicata, In the* (written) *Doctrine of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, the Truth of Faith is ſufficiently explained.* In the ſame Article our *Church* having reckoned up the *Books* of the *Old Teſtament* which ſhe eſteemed *Canonical*, and which by both *Churches* are recieved as ſuch, ſhe adds the other Books, as *Hierom* ſaith, *The Church doth read for Example of Life, and Inſtruction of Manners, but yet doth not apply them to eſtabliſh any Doctrine. Such are theſe following.* Guid. Diſc. 2. §. 40. n. 2. 22. qu. 1. Art. 9. Art. 6.

The Third Book of *Eſdras.*
The Fourth Book of *Eſdras.*
The Book of *Tobias.*
The Book of *Judith.*
The reſt of the Book of *Eſther.*
The Book of Wiſdom.
Jeſus the Son of *Syrach.*
Baruch the Prophet.
The Song of the Three Children.
The Story of *Suſanna.*
Of *Bell* and the *Dragon.*
The Prayer of *Manaſſes.*
The Firſt Book of *Maccabees.*
The Second Book of *Maccabees.*

Of all which (excepting only *the Third and Fourth Books of Esdras*, and *the Prayer of Manasses*) the *Council* of *Trent* saith,
Sess. 4. *Whosoever shall not receive them as Sacred and Canonical, let him be Anathema.* And yet this Determination is so apparently repugnant to the Doctrine of the *Ancient Church*, that Mr. *Du Pin*, a *Doctor* of the *Faculty of Divinity in Paris*, and his *Majesty's Professor Royal in Philosophy*, hath entirely given up this Cause unto the *Protestants*. For,

1. Whereas it is confessed by all the Learned of both *Churches*, that we in this distinction betwixt Books of the *Old Testament Canonical* and *Apocryphal*, or not *Canonical*, exactly
Tom. 1. differt. prælim. p. 51. follow the *Canon* and the Judgment of the *Jews*, from whom the *Christians* received the Books of the *Old Testament*. He also saith, *The Christian Antiquity, for the Books of the* Old Testament, *hath followed the Canon of the* Jews, *that no others were cited in the* New Testament, *but those which belonged to the Canon of the* Jews. That *the first Catalogues of Canonical Books made by Ecclesiastical Authors, both* Greek *and* Latin, *comprehend no others*
P. 612, 613. *in the Canon.* In his *Abridgment* of the Doctrine of the Three first *Centuries*, he saith expressly, That *the Christians of those times owned no other Canonical Books of the* Old Testament, *but those which belonged to the Canon of the* Hebrews; and that *they sometimes cited the Apocryphal Books, but never put them in the number of Canonical Books.*

And whereas Mr. *M.* and *J. L.* have had the confidence
Mr. M. p 85, 86. to say, That *after the Declarations of the Council of* Carthage, *Pope* Innocent, *and* Gelasius, &c. *no one ever pertinaciously dissented from it, but such as Protestants themselves do confess to be He-*
J. L. c. xi. p. 23. *reticks*, until the days of *Luther*. Or that *no Catholick after the Church's Declaration in the Year* 419. *ever doubted of them.* Mr. *Du Pin* having produced the express words of *Gregory* the Great, after that time to the contrary, adds, in flat contradiction to them, these ensuing words; We ought to make the same reflection on all the other Ecclesiastical Authors, *Greek* and *Latin*, which we have produced, who, *After the Decisions of the* Council *of* Carthage, *and of* Rome, *and the* Declaration *of* Innocent the First, *have counted* only Two, or Four and twenty Books of the Old Testament; *which makes it evident that these Definitions were not*

Qui depuis les decisions des Conciles de Carthage, & de Rome, & la Declaration d'Innocent I. n'ont compte, que vingt deux, ou vingt quatre livres Canoniques de l'Ancien Testament. *Tom.* 1. *Diss. prælim. p.* 60.

not yet followed by all Authors, and by all Churches, till such time as this Matter was fully determined by the definition of the Council of Trent.

§. 3.

And indeed, the Truth of this Confession is as clear as the Light: For as *Mr. M.* and *J. L.* confess, That *the Canon of Scripture was not defined till the Fifth Century*: As *Bellarmine* acknowledgeth, That *Melito*, *Epiphanius*, *Hilarius*, *Hieronymus*, *Ruffinus*, in expounding the *Canon* of the Old Testament, *followed the Hebrews, not the Greeks*: As *Canus* excuseth *Ruffinus* for rejecting with us the *Apocrypha*, *because he did it*, in eo tempore quo res nondum erat definita, *when this thing was not defined*; *on which account*, saith he, *we also do excuse the rest*; and so all these men virtually confess, that there was no Tradition of the *Church* against us during those Ages. So in the following *Centuries*, even till the time that the *Trent Council* met, approved *Authors* do declare the Doctrine of the *Church* to have been still according to the Doctrine of this *Article*, and contrary to the Definition of the *Trent Council*. For,

Vid c. 3. §. 13. Lib. 1. de verbo Dei. c. 20. S. ad alterum. De locis Theol. l. 2. c. 11. Sect. Quid Ecclesiasticum.

In the *Western Church Primasius* a Bishop of the *African Church*, saith, *The Books of the Old Testament of Canonical Authority which we receive*, N. B. *are Twenty-four, which St.* John *insinuated by the Twenty-four Wings.*

Cent. 6. In Apocalyps. cap. 4.

Leontius Bizantinus having said, *Let us reckon up the Books received by the Church*, he adds, That *the Books of the Old Testament are Twenty-two*, and concludes thus, *These are the Books Canonized in the Church*, —— *of which they that belong to the Old Testament are all received by the* Hebrews.

Ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κανονιζόμενα βιβλία ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὧν τὰ παλαιὰ πάντα δέχονται οἱ ἑβραῖοι. De Sectis, Act. 2.

In the Ninth Century *Nicephorus*, *Patriarch* of *Constantinople*, undertakes to reckon up the divine *Scriptures*, which were received and *Canonized* in the *Church*, and of these in the *Old Testament* he numbers only *Twenty-two* as we do, and among the Books *contradicted*, and not received in the *Church*, he puts the *Maccabees*, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Esther*, *Judith*, *Susanna* and *Tobit*. *Anastasius* the Keeper of the Library of the *Church* of *Rome*, among the Books *which are contradicted, and not received by the Church*, reckons the *Maccabees*, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Susanna*, *Judith* and *Tobit*.

Cent. 9. Canon. Script. Chron. p. ult. Quibus contradicitur & non recipiuntur ab Ecclesia. *Bibl. H. Eccl. & de vitis Pontif.*

In the Twelfth Century *Peter Mauricius*, *Abbot* of *Clugny* in his *Epistle* against the *Petrobusians* tells them, they ought of

Cent. 12.

neceſſity to receive the whole *Canon* which is received by the *Church*; and then having reckoned up the *Canonical* Books of the *Old Teſtament* as we do, he adds, That after theſe *Authentick* Books of the Holy *Scripture*, *there be Six not to be concealed, viz.* the Books of *Wiſdom*, *Eccleſiaſticus*, *Tobit*, *Judith*, and *both the Books of Maccabees*. *Hugo de Sancto Victore* ſaith, That *all the Books of the Old Teſtament are Twenty-two*; and that there are beſides other Books, as the *Wiſdom of Solomon*, *the Book of Jeſus the Son of Syrach*, *Judith*, *Tobias* and *the Books of Maccabees*, ſed non ſcribuntur in Canone, *but they are not written in the Canon*; and this he very frequently repeats. *Richardus de Sancto Victore* ſaith in like manner, That *the Books of the Old Teſtament are Twenty-two*, alii non habentur in Canone, *others are not put into the Canon*, though they are read by us, as are the Writings of the *Fathers*, and theſe Books are *Wiſdom*, *Eccleſiaſticus*, *Tobit*, *Judith* and the *Maccabees*.

Reſtant poſt hos Authenticos ſex non reticendi libri ſapientia, &c. *Pag.* 25. *c. de Autor. Vet. Teſt.*

Sunt præterea alii quidem libri, ut ſapientia Solomonis, &c. Qui leguntur quidem, ſed non ſcribuntur in Canone de ſcripturis & ſcriptoribus Sacris *Cap.* 6. *Prolog. in l. de Sacram. c* 7. *And the diviſion he ſays is made*, Authoritate univerſalis Eccl. *Didaſc. l.* 4. *c.* 1. 2.

Richardus de Sancto Victore excerpt. l. 2. c. 9.

John Beleth having reckoned up the Books of the *Old Teſtament*, and told us they were *Twenty-two*, he after ſaith expreſly, That *Tobit*, the *Maccabees*, *Philo*, and *the Son of Syrach*, were *Apocrypha*, and that, *hos quatuor quidem non recipit Eccleſia, the Church receiveth not theſe four.*

De div. Officiis c. 60, 62.

John of *Saliſbury* in Anſwer to the *Queſtion* put to him, *Quem credam numerum eſſe librorum V. & N. Teſtamenti? What he believed to be the number of the Books of the Old and the New Teſtament?* ſaith, That *following*, Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Doctorem Hieronymum, *St.* Jerom *as the moſt approved Doctor of the Catholick Church in this matter, he undoubtedly believed them to be Twenty-two.* And then of the Books of *Wiſdom*, *Eccleſiaſticus*, *Judith*, *Tobias*, and the *Maccabees* he ſaith, *Non reputantur in Canone, They are not reckoned in the Canon*; and having added to this account the number of the *Books* of the *New Teſtament*, he concludes of them both thus, *Et hunc quidem numerum eſſe librorum qui in S. Scripturarum Canonem admittuntur*, celebris apud Eccleſiam, & indubitata traditio eſt, And *that this is the number of the Books which are admitted into the Canon of the Holy Scriptures, is what the celebrated and undoubted Tradition of the Church declares.*

Ep. 172. Edit. Pariſ. 1611. p. 279.

P. 281.

P. 282.

The

The *Ordinary Gloss* received in this, and in the following Ages, with the general Approbation of the *Schools*, and all the *Doctors* of the *Western Church* declareth, 1. That *the Canonical Books of the Old Testament are only Twenty-two*; and having reckoned them up in this order, *viz. Five Books of* Moses, *Eight of the Prophets, and Nine Hagiographa*; he adds, That *quicquid extra hos est, ut dicit Hieronymus, inter Apocrypha est ponendum, What Books soever there be, besides, relating to the Old Testament, they ought, according to St.* Jerom, *to be put among the Apocrypha*; particularly before the Books of *Tobit, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus* and the *Maccabees*, he saith, *Here begins a Book*, qui non est in Canone, *or*, qui non est de Canone, *which belongs not to the Canon.* And again, *Isti sunt libri qui non sunt in Canone, These are the Books which are not in the Canon, and which the* Church *admits as good and useful, but not as Canonical.* He also giveth his Advertisement, That *the Chapters added to* Esther *and to* Daniel, *are not in the Canon*; so that in all things he perfectly accordeth with the *Church* of *England*. 2. As for those Books which are not *Canonical* he informs us, That *Ecclesia eos legit & permittit, the Church reads, and permits them to be read by the Faithful for Devotion, and Information of Manners*, but she doth *not think their Authority sufficient to prove what is doubtful, or matter of dispute, or to confirm Ecclesiastical Doctrines.* And this, 3. because *there is as much difference betwixt Books Canonical and not Canonical, as betwixt what is certain and what is dubious, betwixt Books written by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and Books indited they knew not when or by whom.* And, 4. He professes to have made this *distinction, and exact numeration of the Books which did, and which did not belong unto the Canon, because there were many, who, because they did not spend much time in studying the Scriptures*, existimabant omnes libros qui in Biblia continentur *pari veneratione esse reverendos, thought* (with the *Trent Council*) *all the Books contained in the Bible were to be received with a like Veneration, not knowing how to distinguish betwixt Books Canonical and not Canonical.*

Cent. 13. De libris Bibliæ Canonicis & non Canonicis.

Ibid.

Ibid.

In the Fourteenth Century *Brito* a *Friar Minorite* put forth his Exposition of the *Prologues* of *St. Jerom* upon the *Bible*, which were usually joined to the *Ordinary Gloss*, and are still extant in the Works of *Nicholas Lyra*; and in his Exposition of the Prologue upon *Joshua*, he informs us, That *according to*

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the Hebrews, *the Books of the Old Testament are divided into the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa; the Law containing Five Books, the Prophets Eight, and the Hagiographa Nine*; that *the Books of* Judith, *the* Maccabees, *of* Wisdom, *and* Ecclesiasticus, *the Third and Fourth of* Esdras, *and the Book of* Tobit, Apocryphi dicuntur, *are called Apocryphal, because the Authors of them are not known, though they are received of the Church, as not doubting the truth of them.* In his Exposition on the *Prologue* upon *Kings*, he tells us, That the *Prologue* of St. *Jerom* was useful, *ut sciamus librorum Canonis, & Apocryphorum distinctionem, that we might* (by it) *know the distinction betwixt the Canonical and Apocryphal Books*, and that *it defends the Holy Scripture against them who introduce the Apocryphal Books for Hagiographa, or sacred Writings.* And in his Exposition upon his *Prologue* before *Daniel*, he saith, *Continet liber iste Apocryphan partem, Historiam Susannæ, Hymnum puerorum, & Belis Draconisque fabulas, This Book containeth something Apocryphal*, viz. *The History of* Susanna, *the Song of the* Three Children, *and the Fables of* Bell *and the* Dragon. Now this being a work of so great Credit, as to be joined to the *Gloss*, and commonly received, as *Lyra* saith, must give us the prevailing Judgment of that Age.

Quia vero de veritate istorum librorum non dubitatur, ab Ecclesia recipiuntur.

Nicholas Lyra in his Preface upon *Tobit* saith, That *by the favour of God, he, having writ*, super libros S. Scripturæ Canonicos, *on the Canonical Books of Scripture, from* Genesis *to the* Revelations, *intended by the same Grace of God*, super alios scribere qui non sunt Canonici, *to write upon others which were not Canonical, and which are only received in the Church for Instruction of Manners, not being by her thought sufficient to confirm doubtful Matters. Now those*, saith he, *according to St.* Jerom *in his Prologue on the* Kings, *are* Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias, *and the* Maccabees, Baruch, *and the Second of* Esdras, as he saith in his *Prologues* to those *Books*. In the beginning of his Notes upon *Esra* he renews all this, saying, That *he intended, though Commenting upon the Historical Books of the* Old Testament, *to pass by the History of* Tobit, Judith, *and the* Maccabees, quia non sunt de Canone apud Hebræos *nec apud Christianos, because they neither are esteemed Canonical by Jews nor Christians*; yea St. *Jerom* saith in his *Prologue*, That *inter Apocrypha canuntur, the Church Chants them among the Apocrypha*; *I therefore*, saith he, *first intend to write on the whole*

Canonical

Canonical Scripture, and then, super istos,& alios qui communiter ponuntur in biblijs, quamvis non sint de Canone, *upon those, and other Books which are commonly put in our Bibles, though they belong not to the Canon.* Moreover the *Third* and *Fourth* of *Esdras* he passeth over without Notes for the same Reason. On the Thirteenth of *Daniel* he Notes thus, *The History of* Susanna *ought to be put,* inter libros Bibliæ non Canonicos, *among the Books of the Bible which are not Canonical*; and in his Notes on the *Fourteenth Chapter* he saith of the *History* of *Bell* and the *Dragon,* ponitur inter Scripturas non Canonicas, *it is put among those Scriptures which are not Canonical, after the History of* Susanna. Now had not *Lyra* mentioned the Judgment of the *Church* touching these Books, yet these Expressions in *Comments* of so great Credit in the *Church* sufficiently shew, that this was then a Doctrine well received in the Church of *Rome.*

Antoninus Florentinus in his *Historical* Summs acknowledgeth only *Twenty-two Canonical Books* of the *Old Testament,* saying in General of *Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith* and the *Maccabees,* that *Ecclesia recipit, the Church receives them as true and profitable, though not as of force in matters of Faith,* and in particular of *Ecclesiasticus,* that it is, *receptus ab Ecclesia ad legendum, non tamen Authenticus est ad probandum ea quæ veniunt in contentionem fidei, received by the Church to be read, but is not Authentical to prove things doubtful in the Faith.*

Cent. 15. Sum Hist part. 1. Tit. 3. c. 4. & c. 6. §. 12.

Unde forte habent Authoritatem talem qualem habent dicta istorum doctorum approbata ab Ecclesia. *Sum. Theol part.* 3. *Tit.* 18. *c.* 6. §. 2.

Alphonsus Tostatus saith of the Six debated Books, That *they are not put into the Canon by the Church, nor doth she regularly command them to be read, or to be received, or judge them disobedient who do not receive them. For,* Ecclesia non est certa de Auctoribus eorum, *the Church is not certain of the Authors of them*; *yea she knoweth not,* an spiritu sancto inspirati, *whether they were indited by Men inspired of the Holy Spirit, and so she obliges no Man,* ad necessariò credendum id quod ibi habetur, *to yield necessary assent to what they do contain.* And elsewhere, *Though,* saith he, *these Apocryphal Books be joined with others of the Bible, and read in the Church, none of them is of such Authority,* ut ex eo Ecclesia arguat ad probandam aliquam veritatem, & quantum ad hoc non recipit eos, *that the Church proves any truth out of them, for as to that she doth not receive them.*

Præfat. in Matth. qu. 2.

Enarrat. præfat. in l. para. 2. q. 7.

Dionysius

Præfat. in Gen. Art. 4. *Dionysius Carthusianus* saith, *The Books of the Old Testament are Twenty-two*, as saith St. *Jerom* in his *Prologue* before the *Kings*, and having reckoned them up, *Five Legal, Eight Historical, Nine Hagiographa*, he adds, *Hos libros vocant Canonicos, alios vero Apocryphos, These Books are called*, (by Divines) *Canonical, the rest Apocryphal.*

Cent. 16. In the Sixteenth Century *Franciscus Ximenius* reckons those Books of the *Old Testament* which were extant only in *Greek*,

Bibl. Complut. Præf. ad Lect. as, *Libri extra Canonem, quos Ecclesia potius ad ædificationem populi quam ad auctoritatem Ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam recipit, Books out of the Canon, which* the Church *receives rather for Edification of the People, than for confirmation of Ecclesiastical Doctrines. Erasmus* having numbered the Canonical

In expos. Symb. Apost. & Decal. Catech. 4. vers. finem. Ed. Antver. 1533. Books of the *Old Testament* as we do, concludes thus, *Intra hunc numerum concluſit priscorum Authoritas Vet. Test. volumina, The Authority of the Ancients comprized the Volumes of the Old Testament, of whose Truth it was not lawful to doubt, within this number. Johannes Ferus* having told us that the *Apocryphal*

In exam. Ordinand. Books were Nine, he adds, That, *olim in Ecclesia Apocryphi publicè non recitabantur, nec quisquam Authoritate eorum premebatur, anciently the Apocryphal Books were not read publickly, nor was any Man pressed with their Authority.*

Sebastian Munster in his Preface to the *Old Testament*, and in the Chapter of the *Canonical* Books of the *Old Testament* numbers them exactly as we do, and then he saith, *Intra hunc numerum concluserunt & Hebræi, & prisci Christiani volumina veteris Testamenti, Both the Hebrews and the ancient Christians comprized the Volumes of the Old Testament within this number; but now the other* (which he reckons as we do, excepting only *the Song of the Three Children*) *are received*, in usum Ecclesiasticum, *into the use of the Church.*

Moreover, from the *Ninth Century*, in which the *Ordinary Gloss* upon the Bible was begun by *Strabus*, to the *Sixteenth*, they did not only number the *Canonical* and reject the *Apocryphal* Books, as we do, but they did it chiefly for the very reason that is assigned in our *Article*, *viz.* among others the *Authority*

Card. Cajeta. Præfat. super Josuam ad Clem. 7. *of St. Jerom*, declaring, That, *Sancto Hieronymo universa Ecclesia Latina plurimum debet —— propter discretos ab eodem libros Canonicos à non Canonicis, The universal Church is very much beholding to St.* Jerom, *not only because he noted what Parts where*

added

added to the Books of the Old Teſtament, or were but doubtful Appendixes, but alſo for ſeparating the Canonical from the uncanonical Books. That *the Church received thoſe Books which he received, and rejected thoſe which he rejected. That*, Teſtimonium Hieronymi quoad hoc ut Sacroſanctum habetur in Eccleſiâ, *as to this Matter, the Church held his Teſtimony to be ſacred*; yea *the whole Church preferred it before any other account of this Matter*, given by either *Pope*, *Council* or *Father*. For, ſaith *Cajetan*, as to this matter, *ad limam Hieronymi reducenda ſunt verba tam Conciliorum, quam Doctorum, the words of Councils and Doctors muſt be reduced to the Rule of St.* Jerom. So that *thoſe Books which he rejects, are not to be eſteemed Canonical, as that word importeth, Books ſufficient*, ad firmandum ea quæ ſunt fidei, *to confirm Articles of Faith, but only as it ſignifies Books uſeful*, ad ædificationem Eccleſiæ, *for the Edification of the Church*; *and with this diſtinction you may reconcile the difference betwixt him and St.* Auſtin, *and betwixt the Councils of* Carthage *and of* Laodicea. *Alphonſus Toſtatus* ſaith, *Magis credendum eſt Hieronymo quam Auguſtino, maxime ubi agitur de veteri Teſtamento, St.* Jerom *is to be credited, eſpecially in things belonging to the Old Teſtament and Hiſtories, before St.* Auſtin, *for in this thing he exceeded all the Doctors of the Church.*

Conſonat Hieronymus cui maxima habetur fides in Eccleſia — is inquam Hieronymus in Prologo Galeato inter Canonicos libros V. Teſtamenti hoſce duntaxat enumerat. — Firmiter tamen hærendum credo ſententiæ Hieronymi cujus Autoritas me movit, ne multo altius quam a ſuo tempore de librorum horum ordine diſputarem, cum & illis floruerit temporibus quæ doctis hominibus abundabant, & multa ex Geſtis veterum Theologorum legerit, quæ nunc periere: peritiſſimus quoque fuit & Græcæ & Hebraicæ literaturæ, & demum ejus teſtimonium ab *Eccleſiâ* pro ſanctiſſimo habeatur. *Picus Mirand.* de fide & ordine credendi, *Theorem.* 5.

Com. in libr. Hiſt. V. Teſt. In primum cap. Matth. ad v. 12.

The ſame *Toſtatus* ſaith, That *the Univerſal Church with one accord holds the diſtinction made by St.* Jerom, *for that was held by the Faithful Jews before Chriſts Advent, and was afterwards continued in the Church*; and hence it came to paſs that there was never any *Bible* found in thoſe times which had before it the *Canon* of *Carthage*, the *Catalogue* of St. *Auſtin*, or the *Epiſtle* of *Pope Innocent*, or the Decree of *Pope Gelaſius*, whereas in all *Manuſcript* and Printed Bibles the Prologue of St. *Jerom*, ſtiled *Galeatus*, was placed before them, by a common and univerſal conſent of the *Latin Church*, to be a ſure *Index* and Diſcrimination of the *Apocryphal* and *Eccleſiaſtical* Books from the *Canonical.*

Iſta diſtinctio facta eſt ab Eccleſia Univerſali quæ concorditer tenet iſtam diſtinctionem factam ab Hieronymo, nam iſta tenebatur a Judæis fidelibus, & fuit poſtea continuata in Eccleſia. *Defenſ. Part.* 2. *c.* 22.

nonical. And this is the true Reason why many of the forecited *Authors* speaking of the *Apocryphal* Books, mention sometimes but Five or Six, *viz. Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Judith*, *Tobit* and the Book of *Maccabees*, to wit, because St. *Jerom* in his *Prologue* upon the Book of *Kings* mentions them only, though in his Preface to the Book of *Jeremy* he rejects *Baruch*, and in his Preface upon *Daniel* he rejects the *History* of *Susanna*, *the Song of the Three Children*, and *the Fables of Bell and the Dragon*; and so do they who Comment on these Books, by his Example, and with respect unto his Judgment. So that from what hath been discoursed, it is exceeding evident against the confident Assertions of Mr. *M.* and *J. L.* That after the *Fifth Century* it was the *General* Opinion of the *Church*, till the Sixteenth *Century*, that the *Canonical* Books were only Two, or Four and Twenty, and that those Books we stile *Apocryphal*, did not belong unto the *Canon*, and were not of validity sufficient to confirm Articles of Christian Faith.

Concerning *General Councils* our *Church* asserts Two Things,

Art. 21. 1. That *they may not be called together without the commandment and will of Princes.*

2. That *they may erre, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God; wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to Salvation, have neither Strength, nor Authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.*

Now touching the first *Proposition*, That *General Councils may not be called together without the Commandment and Will of Princes*, the *Eastern Churches* concurr in Judgment with us. *Sguropylus* in his *History* of the *Council* of *Florence* saith, That in their *Synod* held about the *Union* of the *Eastern*, and the *Western Churches* they unanimously declared, Ὅτι ὁ Βασιλεὺς δεῖ συναξαι τὴν σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος αὐτὸν καὶ νομίμιον, ἕτερον δὲ μηδένα, Sect. 2. c. 8. *That the Emperor, according to his ancient Custom and Prerogative, was to call Oecumenical Synods, and* no other *was to do it.* And again, *The Emperor*, saith he, *and the Greeks contended*, ὅτι τοῦ Βασιλέως ὄντος νομίμου τὸ συναθροίζειν τὴν Σύνοδον, Sect. 10. cap. 2. p. 280. *that it was the Previlege of the Emperor to call the Synod*; and, *upon that account his Name was placed first in it, as was manifest from the Acts of the Councils.*

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The ablest Writers of the *West* say the same thing. *Cardinal Cusanus* declares, *We must say, touching a General Council, That the Authority of it doth not so depend on him that calls it, that if the Pope do not call it, it should be no Council*, quia tunc non fuissent omnia octa universalia Concilia firma, quoniam per Imperatores congregabantur, *for then none of the Eight General Councils would be firm, they being all called by the Emperors from whom the Bishop of* Rome, *as other Patriarchs, received by Letters missive a publick warning to come, or send unto the Councils.* And again, *From what hath been discoursed it appears,* Imperatores sanctos congregationes Synodales universalium Conciliorum totius Ecclesiæ *semper feciſſe, That the Emperors did always call General Councils. This,* saith he, *I have found to be true by perusing the Acts of all the General Councils to the Eighth inclusively. And so I have read in the Gloss of* Anastasius, *the Pope's Library-Keeper*, Quòd universales Synodos de omni terra Imperatores colligere soliti fuerunt, *That the Emperors were wont to Assemble General Councils.* Dum lego veteres Historias, *In reading of the ancient Histories, I find not,* saith *Æneas Sylvius, that Popes alone did call Councils, nor after in the time of* Constantine, *and other Emperors,* quæsitus est magnoperè Romani assensus Papæ, *was the assent of the Pope of* Rome *much sought after. Jacobatius* informs us, That *à principio facultas congregandi concilia spectabat ad Imperatores, the power of gathering Councils belonged to the Emperors from the beginning. Richerius* in his *History of General Councils* is very frequent in his full Assertions of this matter, proving this clearly from those words of *Socrates*, Ἀφ' ὃ χειστιανίζειν ἤρξαντο — αἱ μέγισαι σύνοδοι τῇ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ γεγόνασί τε, καὶ γίνονται, *Since that the Emperors became Christians the greatest Synods were, and are held by their pleasure.* But it is needless to insist longer on this Head since *Sancta Clara* on this *Article* saith, *These words seem to be confirmed by the Authority of St.* Jerom *who rejects a Council, with this Question,* Quis Imperator hanc Synodum jussit congregari? *What Emperor commanded the Assembling of that Synod? As if he held the command of the Emperor to be necessary to that end*; & sic observatum patet in omnibus fere conciliis veteribus, *and so 'tis evident it was observed almost in all the ancient Councils.*

De Concord. Cath. l. 2. c. 2. f. 39.

Lib. 3. c. 13.

Lib. 1. de Concil. Basil. p. 20.

Lib. 3. Art. 1 q. 3

Lib. 1. c. 2. §. 2, 3, 4.

Hist. Eccles. l. 5. in Procem.

Pag. 294. Apol. 2. adverſ. Ruff. f. 79. b. *Where* Erasmus *saith,* Nota, Lector, olim Synodos Imperatorum jussu congregari solitas.

§ 5. As to the Second Part of this *Article*, which teacheth, That *General Councils may Erre, and sometimes have erred even in things pertaining to God*; the same *Author* there tells us, That *Communis est doctorum opinio Concilia, etiam Generalia errare posse in rebus quæ fidem, aut mores ad salutem non necessarios, concernunt: It is the common Judgment of their Doctors, that even general Councils may erre in Matters of Faith, and Manners which are not necessary to Salvation:* And whereas our *Church* infers, that *therefore things ordained by them as necessary to Salvation, have neither Strength nor Authority, unless it may be declared*, nisi ostendi possint, *unless it can be shewed, that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.* This *Author* saith, *these last Words of the Article*, Sententiam veterum, & omnium fere modernorum declarant, *Declare that which was the Doctrine of the Ancients, and of almost all the modern Doctors.* That in the time of *Ocham* the *Church* was divided in this Point; some holding, that *a General Council*, Hæretica poteſt labe aspergi, *might be guilty of Heresy*, and much more of Error; *some, That it could not thus be guilty*, and that the Doctrine of the *Fallibility* of *General Councils* was afterwards maintained by many eminent *Doctors* of the *Church*, is fully proved by *Baronius* against *Turnbal*; so that I shall reserve the farther Prosecution of this Matter to its proper place, *viz.* The Discussion of the Doctrine of the *Infallibility* of *Councils.*

P. 295.

De formali objecto fidei, Tr. 5. c. 19, 20, 21.

§ 6. Our *Church* in her *Twenty second Article* asserts, That the *Romish* Doctrine, concerning *Purgatory*, *Pardons*, *Worshipping*, and *Adoration*, *as well of Images as of Relicks, and also Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly feigned, and grounded upon no Warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God*: And that these Doctrines were not derived to them from *Apostolical* Tradition, their own Writers do ingeniously confess. For,

1. Concerning *Purgatory*, *Alphonsus de Castro*, declares, That *in Veteribus de Purgatorio fere nulla, potissimum apud Græcos Scriptores, mentio est: In the Ancients, and especially the Greek Writers, there is scarce any mention of Purgatory*; whence *it comes to pass, that to this very day it is not received in the Greek Church.* Apud priscos, *amongst the Ancients*, saith our *Fisher*,

De Hæres. l. 8. Tit. de Indulg.

Contr. Luther. Artic. 18.

Fisher, Bishop of *Rochester*, *It was not at all, or very rarely mentioned; nor is it, to this Day, believed by the Greek Church. Let him who pleaseth, read the Commentaries of the ancient Greeks, and he will find, I suppose, that they speak not at all, or very rarely, of it:* Sed neque Latini simul omnes, sed sensim hujus rei veritatem conceperunt; *Nor did the Latins altogether, but leisurely perceive the Truth of this Matter*: And then he adds, *Cum igitur purgatorium tam sero cognitum ac receptum universæ Ecclesiæ fuerit, quis jam de Indulgentiis mirari potest, quia in principio nascentis Ecclesiæ nullus fuerit earum usus? Since therefore Purgatory was* so lately known to, and received by the Universal Church, *who can wonder, that in the Primitive Church there was no use of Indulgences? Father Barns* acknowledgeth that *the Punishment of Purgatory is a thing*, quæ nec ex Scripturis, nec Patribus, nec Conciliis deduci potest firmiter; *which can neither be firmly proved from Scripture, the Fathers, or Councils: And that*, Opposita sententia eis conformior videtur; *the contrary Sentence seems more agreeable to them. Wicelius* saith, That *though there should be some places of Purgation to receive naked Souls, yet doth it not become grave and wise Men, so certainly to define those things which Scriptures have not expressed*; nec Antiquorum traditio, *nor the Tradition of the Ancients hath expounded. Erasmus* saith, *There be many things, about which, not only, contentious, but even learned and pious Men did doubt of old*; *as St.* Austin, *with others, doubted long about Purgatory.* That it was only a private Assertion, and not an Article of Faith, generally received in the Twelfth *Century*, is evident from these Words of *Otho Frisingensis*, viz. *That there is*, apud Inferos, *in the infernal Regions, a Place of Purgatory, wherein such as are to be saved, are either troubled only with Darkness, or decocted with the Fire of Expiation*, some affirm. Nor can I tell what to make of that saying of *Paschasius*, if it doth not shew that he believeth the contrary; for, saith he, *our Lord saith, he that eateth my Flesh——hath eternal Life*; ideo dicens *habet*, quia mox anima carne soluta intrat in vitæ promptuaria, ubi Sanctorum Animæ requiescunt, *saying in the Present Tense*, he hath, *because the Soul being loosed from the Flesh, presently enters into those Receptacles of Life, where the Spirits of Saints do rest.*

In Cath. Rom. pacif. apud Forb. consid. Mod. p. 264.

Meth. Concord. Eccles. c. 8. Tit. Finus, Ibid. p. 259, 260.

Operum Tom. 1. p. 685. q.

Chronic. l. 8. c. 26.

De Corp. & Sang. Domini, c. 19.

Secondly,

§ 7.

Inter omnes res de quibus in hoc opere diſputamus, nulla eſt quam minus aperte S. Literæ prodiderunt, & de qua minus vetuſti Scriptores dixerint; neque tamen hac occaſione contemnendæ ſunt quod earum uſus in Eccleſia videatur ſero receptus, quoniam multa ſunt *poſterioribus nota quæ vetuſti illi Scriptores prorſus ignoraverunt*, nam de tranſubſtantiatione panis in Corpus Chriſti rara eſt in Antiquis Scriptoribus mentio —de Purgatorio fere nulla, potiſſimum apud Græcos Scriptores; qua de cauſa uſque in hodiernum Diem purgatorium non eſt a Græcis creditum—Quid ergo mirum ſi ad hunc modum contigerit de indulgentiis, ut apud Priſcos nulla ſit de eis mentio, præcipue quod tunc magis fervebat Chriſtianorum charitas, ut parum eſſet opus indulgentiis? — quapropter non eſt mentio ulla indulgentiarum. *De Hær. l.* 8. *Tit. de Indulgentiis.*

De invent rer. l. 8. c. 1. p. 325.
Part. 1. Sum. Tit. 10. c. 3.
In 4. Sentent. diſt. 20. q. 3 h.

Secondly, Concerning *Pardons*, or *Indulgences*, their *Novelty* is ſtill confeſſed more freely. *Alphonſus Caſtro* ſaith, That *among all the things, of which he diſputed in his Book againſt Hereſies, there was nothing of which the Scripture ſpake leſs plainly*, & de qua minus vetuſti Scriptores dixerint, *and of which the Ancient Writers had ſaid leſs. Many*, ſaith *Polydore Virgil*, from *Roffenſis*, *may, perhaps, be moved not to truſt to Indulgences*, quod earum uſus in Eccleſia videatur recentior, & admodum ſero apud Chriſtianos repertus, *becauſe the uſe of them in the Church ſeems new, and very lately received among Chriſtians: To whom I anſwer,——That whilſt there was no Regard to Purgatory, no Man looked after Indulgences, which depend upon it*: Cœperunt igitur Indulgentiæ poſtquam ad purgatorii cruciatus aliquandiu trepidatum eſt; *Indulgences therefore began after Men had for ſome time trembled at the Torments of Purgatory. Concerning Indulgences*, ſaith *Antoninus Florentinus*, *We have nothing expreſly in the Sacred Scripture*,—— Nec etiam ex dictis antiquorum Doctorum, ſed modernorum, *nor from the Sayings of the Ancient Doctors, but of the Modern* (only.) *Of Indulgences*, ſaith *Durand*, *few things can be ſaid with any certainty, becauſe neither doth the Scripture ſpeak expreſly of them.*——Sancti etiam Ambroſius, Hilarius, Auguſtinus, Hieronymus minime loquuntur de Indulgentiis: *And St.* Ambroſe, Hilary, Auſtin *and* Jerom, *do in no wiſe ſpeak of them.* Indeed I find not any of theſe Authors who pretend to derive them higher than the Stations of *Gregory* the Great, who lived in the Sixth Century.

§ 8. Concerning the Worſhip or Veneration of Images, it hath been fully proved in a late Treatiſe of the *Fallibility* of the *Church* of *Rome* touching this *Article*.

Firſt. That when the Second *Nicene Council* taught, That the Worſhip or Veneration of Images was to be received as a *Tradition* of the *Apoſtles*, and the *Primitive Church*, this Aſſer-

P. 4, 5, 6.

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tion in the Eighth and the Ninth *Centuries* was rejected as a *plain Falshood*; and on the contrary it was declared, That they who endeavoured to introduce this practice, brought into the Church *New* and *unusual Customs*, *without*, and *against the Doctrine of the Holy Fathers*, and *execrated by the Church of God*, and *condemned by the Tradition of their Ancestors*.

Secondly. That from the *Eighth* to the *Fifteenth Century* this Doctrine of the *Veneration* and *Worship* of *Images* was rejected by very eminent Persons of the *Western Church*. P. 61. §. 6.

Thirdly. That many learned Persons of the *Church* of *Rome* ingenuously have confessed, either that in the *Primitive Church* they had no *Images*, and did not regard them, or that they paid no *Veneration* to them, but rather disapproved, and condemned it; to which I add these words of our late *Oxford Writer*, viz. *Thus much is granted, that Images, and so the Veneration, or Worship of them were very seldom (if at all) used in the Christian Church for some of the first Centuries.* P. 70. §. 3. *Church Govern.* part. 5. §. 117.

§. 9.

Concerning Invocation of departed Saints *Altissiodorensis* saith, That *multi dicunt, many do say we pray not to them, but improperly, to wit, because*, Oramus Deum ut Sanctorum merita nos juvent, *we pray to God that the Merits of the Saints may help us*; and in the *Margent* he saith, that this was *a common Opinion* in his time. And *Gabriel Biel* having propounded the Arguments against the *Invocation* of them, adds, That *by these and the like Reasons not only the Hereticks of old, but*, nonnulli nostro tempore Christiani decipiuntur, *some Christians of our times are deceived*. *John Sharpe* informs us, That *à quibusdam famosis verisimiliter æstimatur quod istiusmodi orationes in Ecclesia Dei superfluunt*, *it was thought by some eminent Men that such Prayers were superfluous in the Church of God*. *Eckius* saith, That *if the Apostles and Evangelists had taught that the Saints should be Worshipped, it would have been objected to them as arrogance*, acsi ipsi post mortem gloriam istam quæsivissent, *as if they had sought for that Honour after their Death*. And Cardinal *Perron* ingenuously doth confess, That

In Sum. part. 4. l. 3. tr. 7. c. de Orat. q. 7.

Ergo non vident quorum sunt orationes quas vident, ergo inutile est orare ipsos —— *Opinio Communis.* Propter istas rationes & consimiles dicunt multi, quod nec nos oramus sanctos nec ipsi orant pro nobis nisi improprie. *Altissiod. Sum. l. 3. Tract. 8. c. 5. qu. 6. & ult.*

In Can. Miss. Lect. 30.

Vid. *Bishop* Usher's *Answer to the Jesuit*, pag. 452.

Enchir. c. 15.

Replic. l. 5. c. 19.

That *in the Writings of the Authors that approach nearest to the Age of the Apostles, one shall find no Footsteps of the Custom of invoking Saints.*

§. 10. Moreover, *It is a thing*, saith our Twenty-fourth Article, *plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the Custom of the Primitive Church to have publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a Tongue not understood of the People*, and that this was the Custom of the *Primitive Church*, hath in a late Treatise on this Subject been fully proved from the Confessions of the *Romanists*. That they esteemed it necessary so to officiate is proved by the Testimonies of the *Western Church* till the Thirteenth *Century*, and from the *Romish Commentators* on the Fourteenth Chapter to the *Romans*. To all which add the Confession of *Lindanus*, That *quæ nunc passim cantantur non tam ad populi intelligentiam erudiendum, quod priscos ubique spectasse, indubitatum*; *The things which are now every where sung in the Roman Church, do not so much tend to instruct the People, though without doubt that was the thing the Ancients every where respected.*

Treat. of Latin Service, c. 1. §. 2. Chap. 2. Chap. 5. §. 3. Panopl. l. 4. c. 78.

§. 11. The Church of *England* in her Twenty-fifth Article affirms,

1. *There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.*

2. *Those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extream Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, —— nor have they the like nature of Sacraments with Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible Sign or Ceremony ordained of God.*

Accordingly *Johannes a Munster in Vortilage* confesseth, That *Theophylact, Duo tantum agnovit Sacramenta, acknowledged only two Sacraments. There is no Controversie*, saith *Cassander*, *but that there are two Sacraments in which principally consisteth our Salvation*; *whence it is, that among the* more ancient Writers *the Sacraments properly so called are sometimes reckoned two, sometimes three, when Confirmation by Chrism is added to Baptism; and sometimes four, when the Body and Blood of Christ are reckoned as two Sacraments*; (in which Sence that from the *Sixth* to

Et in margine hæc habet: Sæculum duodecimum duo tantum agnovit Sacramenta. *Nobilis discurs. prop.* 3.

to the *Twelfth Century* they were reckoned only four, hath been fully proved elsewhere) *of the other Sacraments we read not that the Ancients comprehended them in any certain number*, nec temere quenquam reperias ante P. Lombardum qui certum aliquem & definitum Sacramentorum numerum statuerunt, *nor will you hardly find any one before* Peter Lombard *who assigned any certain and determinate number of the Sacraments.* From this Confession of the Novelty of the number of the Seven Sacraments in *General*, I pass on to the Confessions that have been made concerning those five *R. Sacraments* in Particular, which our *Article* denies to be Sacraments properly so called, or of *Divine* Institution. And,

Pref. to the Treat. of Latin Serv.

Consult. Cass. Art. 13. p. 106, 107.

§. 12.

First, As for *Confirmation*, *Alexander* of *Hales*, as he is cited by many of the Schoolmen, affirmed, *Quod Dominus neque hoc Sacramentum instituit, neque dispensavit, That our Lord neither instituted nor dispensed this Sacrament, nor was it instituted by his Disciples; but as to the Form of Words, and the Matter of it, it was instituted by the Council of* Meaux. *Soto* informs us, That others attributed the institution of it *to the Council of* Orleans. *Thomas Aquinas* saith, That *touching this Sacrament there is a double Opinion*, quidam enim dixerunt, *for some have said that this Sacrament was neither instituted by Christ, nor by his Apostles*, Sed postea processu temporis in quodam Concilio, *but afterwards, in process of time, in some Council.*

De hoc recitat Alexander *part.* 4. *q.* 24. *M.* 1. Et post eum Sanctus Thomas tres opiniones: una est quam tenet Alexander, quod Sacramentum illud non est institutum neque a Christo neque ab Apostolis — Sed dicit quod Confirmatio instituta est ab Ecclesia in Concilio Meldensi. Unde dicit Alexander sine præjudicio dicendum est, quod neque Dominus hoc Sacramentum instituit neque dispensavit. — Sed postquam Apostoli defecerunt institutum fuit hoc Sacramentum Spiritus Sancti instinctu in Concilio Meldensi, quantum ad formam verborum, & materiam elementarem, cui etiam Spiritus Sanctus contulit virtutem sanctificandi. *Biel in* 4. *Sent. q. un. D.* Alii quod in Aurelianensi Concilio, *In* 4. *Sent. dist.* 7. *Art.* 1. Part. 3. q. 72. A. 1. ad primum.

§. 13.

To proceed to *Auricular* Confession two things have been defined by the *R. Church* concerning it.

1. That it is a *Sacrament truly and properly so called, and of our Saviour's Institution.*

Concil. Trid. Sess. 14. Can. 1.

2. That *this Confession by divine Right is necessary to Salvation*, and that *if any one shall say that it is not by divine Right necessary for the Remission of Sins in the Sacrament of Penance to confess all and singular mortal Sins, though never so occult, which*

Ibid. Can. 6, 7.

can by diligent Meditation be brought to our Memory, with the Circumstances which change the Kinds of them, he is to be Anathema.

Maldon. Sum. q. 18. Art. 4.

In Opposition to the first Assertion *Maldonate* the Jesuit confesseth, That *sunt inter Catholicos qui putant nullum esse præceptum divinum de confessione, ut omnes Decretorum Doctores, & inter Scholasticos Scotus*, there are *Catholicks who think there is no Divine Precept for Confession, as all the Canonists, and among the Schoolmen* Scotus. *Suarez* declares, That *in this matter he found that not only Hereticks but some Catholiks had erred also*, it being the Opinion of some Catholicks, *Hoc Sacramentum non fuisse institutum neque a Christo neque ab Apostolis, sed in Concilio Meldensi speciali spiritus Sancti instinctu*, That *this Sacrament was neither instituted by Christ nor his Apostles, but in the Council of* Meaux *by the special Instinct of the Holy Spirit.*

In hac re & Hæreticos & nonnullos Catholicos errasse invenio. *Tom.* 3. *Disp.* 32. §. 2.

De pœn. init. dist. 5.

Semeca, the Author of the *Gloss*, having mentioned the Opinion of them who said, That Confession was instituted in the *New Testament* by St. *James*, saith, *Melius dicitur eam institutam fuisse à quadam universalis Ecclesiæ Traditione, It is better said, that it was instituted by a certain Tradition of the universal Church*, than by the Authority of the *New* or *Old Testament*. This, saith *Panormitan* the *Gloss* holds, and consequently that the *Greeks* offend not by not using this Confession, *Confitentur enim soli Deo in secreto, for they confess to God alone in secret, because such a Tradition came not to them. And this Opinion pleaseth me*, saith he, *very much*, Quia non est aliqua Autoritas aperta quæ innuat Deum, seu Christum apertè instituisse confessionem fiendam Sacerdoti, *for there is no clear Authority which plainly shews, that God or Christ instituted Confession to be made to a Priest*. *Bellarmine* informs us, that about an Hundred Years before his time one *Petrus Oxomensis*, Divinity Professor of the University of *Salamanca*, held, *That Confession was not of Divine Right, but grounded on some Statute of the universal Church*. *Rhenanus* on the Argument of *Tertullian*'s Book of *Penitence*, saith, That *he speaks of publick Confession*, Qua majores nostros apparet aliquamdiu usos fuisse, priusquam ista secreta nasceretur quâ hodie conscientiam nostram Sacerdoti detegimus usque ad circumstantiarum omnium minutias, *Which it is evident our Ancestors used for some time before that secret Confession began, in which we open our Con-*

Super lib. 5. decret. de pœnit. & remiss. c. 12. n. 18. Tom. 7. p. 228. Ed. Venet. 1617.

Lib. 3 de pœnit. cap. 1.

Pag. 476.

Conscience to a Priest, even to the discovery of the smallest Circumstances: And having told us that there were among the *Canonists*, qui institutam ab Ecclesia tradunt confessionem, *who say that Confession was instituted by the Church*; and cited many *Fathers*, who taught with *Chrysostom*, Soli Deo confitendum esse, *That Confession was to be made to God alone*; he adds, That *for this Cause* he mentioned *all those Testimonies, that none might admire*, Tertullianum de clancularia ista admissorum confessione nihil locutum, quæ quantum conjicimus, penitus id temporis ignorabatur, *that* Tertullian *spake nothing of that secret Confession, which, as far as we can gather, was wholly unknown at that time.* Nor is it thus only with *Tertullian*; *They who lived*, saith he, *many Ages after him, spake mostly of publick Penance*, Nam expresse de privata qui loquuntur inter veteres haud temere reperies, *for you will scarcely find any among the Ancients, who speaks expresly of the private Confession. Regaltius*, in his Preface on the same Book, saith, *Occultorum pœnitentia, sicut & castigatio Divinæ Misericordiæ reservata, the confession of secret Sins, and the castigation of them, was then reserved to the Mercy of God. Erasmus*, in like manner, saith, *Apparet Hieronymi tempore nondum institutam fuisse secretam admissorum confessionem, it is evident that in the time of St.* Jerom, *the secret Confession of Sins was not yet instituted.*

P. 477.

P. 478.

Admon. de quibusdam Eccl. dogm. p. 685.

Quam postea Ecclesia saluberiter instituit. Epitap. Fabiol. Ep. Tom. 1. f. 72.

To proceed to the Second Head, touching the Necessity of this Confession, *Gratian* discourses largely of it; and having produced the Opinions of many on both sides, concludes thus, *Cui harum (sententiarum) adhærendum sit Lectoris Judicio reservatur, utraque enim fautores habet Sapientes & Religiosos, The Reader is left to his Judgment to embrace which of these Opinions he pleases: For both of them are favoured by wise and religious Men. Lombard* in the Discussion of this *Question*, doth acknowledge, that *in his time*, quibusdam visum est sufficere si soli Deo fiat confessio, *it seemed to some sufficient, if the Confession were made to God alone, without the sacerdotal Judgment, and Confession to the Church:* Which Testimonies gave Occasion to *Thomas Aquinas* to say, Magister, & Gratianus hoc pro opinione ponunt, *the Master of the Sentences, and* Gratian, *speak of this as an Opinion; but after the Determination of the Church, under* Innocent *the Third, it is to be reputed Heresy. St.* Chrysostom *asserts*, saith *Rhenanus*, *That*

De pœnit. & remiss. dist. 1. cap. 89.

Lib. 4. Dist. 17. p. 780.

In 4. Sent. Dist. 17.

Confession is to be made to God alone; docet idem Ambrosius, & alii veteres, *and that* Ambrose *and others of the Ancients, teach the same.* *Antoninus Florentinus*, being convinced by the clear Sayings of *Cassian*, the Scholar of St. *Chrysostom* to that effect, saith, *Tempore Johannis Cassiani erat in opinione talis materia, viz. Si est necessaria confessio fienda Sacerdoti, In the time of* John Cassian, *it was only matter of Opinion, whether Confessions were to be made to a Priest or not.*

In Chron. p. 2. c. 2. Tit. 15. §. 19.

§. 14. Of the Sacrament of *extream Unction*, *Suarez* informs us, That, *inter Catholicos nonnulli negarunt hoc Sacramentum à Christo institutum, some Catholicks denied that this Sacrament was instituted by Christ*, viz. *Hugo de Sancto Victore, Lombard, Alexander Halensis*, and *Altissiodore: Whence*, saith he, *it plainly follows, that it is no true Sacrament.* Mr. *Du Pin* speaking of the *Discipline* of the first Three *Centuries*, saith, That *the Church in those times hath not spoken at all of the Anointing of the Sick, mentioned by St.* James; peut être parce qu' elle étoit assez rare en ce temps, *perhaps because it was very rare in those times.*

In tertiam part. Th. Tom. 4. disp. 39. §. 2.

Nouvel. Bibl. Tom. 1. p. 618.

Of *Marriage*, *Erasmus* saith, Haud scio an hoc Sacramentum septimum à Veteribus fuit cognitum, *I scarce know whether this Seventh Sacrament was known to the Ancients, since* Dionysius *numbering them by Name, and explicating their Effects, Rites, and Ceremonies, makes no mention of Matrimony.* Secondly, *Whereas the Greeks and Latins have in so many Volumes treated of Matrimony*, nullus est locus unde liqueat illos Conjugium inter septem Sacramenta numerare, *there is no place whence it appears that they numbered Marriage among the Seven Sacraments:* And having added other Considerations from the *Fathers*, he concludes thus; *Verum cur hæc recenseo, cum Durandus fateatur Matrimonium à Recentioribus Theologis denique numerari cœptum inter ea quæ proprie dicuntur Ecclesiæ Sacramenta*; *But why do I recount these things, since* Durand *confesseth that Matrimony began lately to be numbered, by the young Divines, amongst the proper Sacraments of the Church.* By the Confession of *Cassander*, *Peter Lombard denied*, Gratiam in eo conferri, *that Grace was conferred by it*; and *Durandus* did the same, whence he concludes, *Non esse Sacramentum proprie & stricte dictum*, That it is no Sacrament properly, and strictly

In 1 Cor. 7. v. 39.

Consult. Art. 13. p. 108.

ſtrictly ſo called: And he had good Reaſon to declare this of them both; for the *Maſter of the Sentences* ſaith, That *of Sacraments ſome afford a Remedy againſt Sin*, Et Gratiam adjutricem conferunt, *and afford aſſiſting Grace, as Baptiſm; others*, Remedium *tantum* ſunt, *are only a Remedy, as Marriage; and others*, Gratia & Virtute nos fulciunt, *do ſtrengthen us with Grace and Virtue, as the Euchariſt and Orders:* From which Diviſion and excluſive Particle *Durandus* well concludes, That *he is one of them who exclude Matrimony from conferring Grace. Antoninus Florentinus* confeſſeth, That *the Canoniſts do ſay, and the Maſter of the Sentences ſeems to ſay, That* Matrimonium large dicitur Sacramentum, in quantum ſcilicet eſt Signum Sacratiſſimæ Rei, ſed non confertur in eo Gratia, ſicut in aliis, *That Matrimony is largely called a Sacrament, becauſe it is a Sign of a moſt ſacred thing, but yet Grace is not conferred by it as in other Sacraments. Durandus* himſelf not only doth declare expreſly, That *Matrimony neither conferrs Grace on him that hath it not, nor augments it in him that hath Grace*; but of the *Civilians* in General he ſaith, *They held that Matrimony did not conferr Grace*, whence he concludes, That *this Opinion is neither contrary to the Doctrine of the Church in General, nor of the Roman Church in Particular.* Whence he himſelf concludes, That *Matrimony is largely, and not univocally ſtiled a Sacrament. Aquinas* upon the *Sentences* informs us, that in his time, *There was a threefold Opinion about this Matter*, Quidam enim dixerunt quod Matrimonium eſt nullo modo cauſa Gratiæ, ſed eſt *tantum* ſignum, *for ſome held that Matrimony was only a ſign, but in no wiſe a cauſe of Grace; but*, ſaith he, *were this ſo, there would be no cauſe to number this among the Sacraments of the New Law, others held that it conferred Grace to recede from Evil, rendring the conjugal Act lawful, which*, ſaith he, *is not enough; others, that it conferrs aſſiſting Grace*, Et hoc *probabilius eſt, and this*, ſaith he, *is moſt probable*; whence evident it is, that this was then only a *probable Opinion. Bonaventure* ſaith, *To this Objection ſome Anſwer*, Quòd illud Sacramentum nullam dat Gratiam, *That the Sacrament of Matrimony conferrs no Grace.* The *Gloſs* upon *Gratian* ſaith, *It is no Sin to give or receive Money for Matrimony, ſeeing, though it be a Sacrament*, Per ipſum tamen Gratia non confertur, *yet no Grace is conferred by it:* And again,

Lib. 4. diſt. 2. lit. A.

Part. 3. Tit. 14. §. 3.

In 4. Sent. diſt. 26. §. ad Tertiam.

In 4. Sent. diſt. 26. qu. 2.

Decretal. l. 5. Tit. 3. de Simon. c. 9.

In

Decret. Cauſ. 32. qu. 2. c. honorantur.

In hoc Sacramento non confertur Gratia Spiritus Sancti ſicut in aliis, In this Sacrament the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt is not conferred as it is in others. And yet in oppoſition to all theſe Declarations the *Trent Council* hath defined, That *if any one ſaith that Matrimony is not truly and properly one of the Seven Sacraments of the New Law, inſtituted by Chriſt,* —— Neque Gratiam conferre, *or that it doth not conferr Grace, he ſhall be Anathema.*

Seſs. 24. de Sacr. Matrim. Can. 1.

§. 16. In our Twenty eighth Article it is declared, That *Tranſubſtantiation, or the change of the Subſtance of Bread and Wine in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ*; And that it cannot be proved from the perpetual Tradition of the Church is plainly and frequently confeſſed by *R. Doctors.*

For when *Paſchaſe*, and others, broached that Opinion That the Sacrament was *that very Body of Chriſt which was Born of the Virgin* Mary. *Bertram* expreſly teacheth, That in ſaying this, *Sanctorum Scripta patrum contraire comprobantur, they are proved to contradict the Sayings of the Holy Fathers.* *Durandus* of *Troarn* ſaith, That *in the Ninth Century ſeveral oppoſed the Opinions of* Paſchaſe *as Novelties, which till then had not been heard of in the Church.* *Bellarmine* alſo confeſſeth, That *Scotus held that Tranſubſtantiation was not an Article of Faith before the* Lateran *Council*, and they had reaſon ſo to ſay, ſince he affirms, (1.) *That the Church declared under* Innocent *the Third that this Sence was*, De veritate fidei, *a Truth belonging to the Faith*; and, (2.) *That it was to be believed to be*, De ſubſtantia fidei, & hoc poſt iſtam declarationem ſolennem factam ab Eccleſia, *of the Subſtance of the Faith, after that ſolemn Declaration made by the Church.* And *Cardinal Perron* acknowledgeth, That *the Opinion of* Scotus *was in this Sence true, That before that Council Tranſubſtantiation was not formally an Article of Faith, that is, as to the formality of publick Profeſſion, and as to any prohibition rendring him inexcuſable who was ignorant of it.* *Tribarn* ſaith expreſly, That *in primitiva Eccleſia non erat de fide ſubſtantiam panis in Corpus Chriſti converti, In the Primitive Church the Converſion of the Subſtance of the Bread into the Body of Chriſt was no Article of Faith.* *Alphonſus de Caſtro* confeſſeth, That *of the Tranſubſtantiation of the Bread into Chriſt's Body*, Rara eſt in Antiquis Scriptoribus

Ed. Colon. 1551. p. 195.

Apud Larroq. *Hiſt. of the Sacrament*, p. 454. Ed. Ang.

De Euch. l 3. c. 23. §. unum tamen.

In quart. Sent. diſtin. xi. q. 3. lit. g.

Colloq. Fontibell. p. 16.

In 4. Sent. diſt. xi. q. 3. diſp. 42. §. 1.

Adv. Hær. l. 8. tit. de indulg.

ribus mentio, *the Ancients seldom do make mention.* And our English *Jesuits* acknowledge, That *the Fathers did not meddle with the matter of Transubstantiation.* *Erasmus* saith, That *in synaxi Transubstantiationem sero definivit Ecclesia, it was late before the Church defined Transubstantiation,* and that *for a long time it was sufficient to believe that the true Body of Christ was present, whether under the consecrated Bread or any way whatsoever.* *Bernard Gilpin* in the Life of Bishop *Tonstal* saith, That *he had often heard that Bishop say, that* Innocent *the Third did rashly in making Transubstantiation an Article of Faith, when before it was free to think so, or otherwise; yea that he knew not what he did when he made it an Article of Faith.* *Holcot* informs us, That *paucis tamen persuasum est Corpus Christi esse realiter in Sacramento Altaris sub speciebus panis & vini, Few Men were perswaded that the Body of Christ was really in the Sacrament of the Altar under the Species of Bread and Wine.* And *Scotus* tells us, That *to say that such things appertain unto the Faith, is an occasion of turning all honest Men, and almost all that follow natural Reason from the Faith, and of hindering their conversion to the Faith,* and *that a prophane Man, or one that follows natural Reason would think this Doctrine a greater inconvenience, than all the Articles of the Incarnation;* *and,* saith he, Mirum videtur quare in uno Articulo qui non est principalis Articulus fidei, debeat talis intellectus asseri propter quem fides pateat contemptui omnium sequentium rationem, *it seems worthy of Admiration why such a Sence should be asserted in one Article which is no principal Article of Faith, as rendreth the Faith Contemptible to all who follow Reason.*

Modest. disc. de Jes. Angl. P. 13. Annot. in 1 Cor. vij.

P. 40, 46. v.

P. 33, 42, 48.

Sent. l. 4. qu. 3. lit. c.

In 4. Sent. dist. xi. q. 3. b.

§. 17.

Our Thirtieth Article affirms, That *the Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the Lay-People, for both parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's Ordinance, and Commandment, ought to be ministred to Christian Men alike;* and that this was the Doctrine of the whole *Church* of *Christ* to the Twelfth Century hath been demonstrated in a Treatise written upon that Subject: *Cassander* also clearly testifies, That *the Oriental Church doth to this Day,* and *that the* Roman *Church did for a Thousand Years, in the ordinary and solemn Administration of this Sacrament, give both Kinds to all the Faithful, and that they were induced to do so,* Instituto & exemplo Christi, *by the Example and Institution of our Lord;* and that therefore *it was no rash thing, that all the*

In Art. 22.

the best Catholicks who were conversant in the reading of the Divine and Ecclesiastical Writers, and were moved by the Reasons there mentioned, were extreamly desirous of the Cup, and did vehemently contend that this salutary Sacrament of the Blood of Christ, together with the Sacrament of his Body, Juxta veterem, & multis sæculis perpetuatam universalis Ecclesiæ consuetudinem in usum reducatur, *should be reduced to use according to the ancient Custom of the universal Church continued through many Ages.* The same *Cassander* saith, *Antiquioribus sæculis ad plenam, legitimam, & solennem Communionem, utriusque Sacramenti, Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, participationem necessariam fuisse, That in former Ages the participation of the Body and Blood of Christ, was necessary to a full, lawful, and solemn Communion.* *John Barus* declares, That *Communion in both Kinds, is,* Scripturis, Patribus, & universalis Ecclesiæ consuetudini conformior, *more conform to Scriptures, to the Fathers, and to the Custom of the universal Church.* And *George Wicelius* saith, That *the Church of* Rome *did ill in intermitting the use of the Cup in publick Celebration of the Sacrament*; adding, That Ejus rei cum nube quadam certissimorum Testium septi sumus, plerophoriam amplectimur omni secluso dubio, *being compassed with a Cloud of most certain Witnesses touching this matter, we have that full assurance of it which excludes all doubt.* And even *Thomas Aquinas* teacheth, That *although whole Christ be under either Species, yet is he not in vain tendered under both Species,* Quia hic est vetus usus hujus Sacramenti, ut *seorsim* exhibeatur fidelibus Corpus Christi in cibum & Sanguis in potum; *because this is the* ancient use *of this Sacrament, That the Body of Christ should separately be given to the Faithful for meat, and the Blood for drink.*

Epist. 19.

Cath. Rom. Pacif. Sect. 7. apud Forbes. Consid. Modest. p. 429.

In via Regia. Apud Forbes. Consid. Modest. p. 427.

In Cap. 11. Ep. 1. ad Cor. lect. 5. 9.

§. 18. In our Thirty-first *Article*, it is said, That *the Sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, That the Priest did offer Christ for the Quick and the Dead, to have Remission of Pain or Guilt, were blasphemous Fables, and dangerous Deceits.* Now of this *Sacrifice* the *Trent Council* teacheth,

1. That *Christ offered his Body and Blood, under the Species of Bread and Wine, to God the Father.*

Corpus & Sanguinem suum sub Speciebus panis & vini Deo patri obtulit, *Sess.* 22. *cap.* 1.

2. That

2. That *the ſame Chriſt, in this Divine Sacrifice, is unbloodily offered, who bloodily once offered himſelf upon the Altar of the Croſs.* Idem ille Chriſtus incruente immolatur, qui in ara crucis ſemel ſeipſum cruente obtulit. c. 2.

3. That therefore *the Holy Synod teacheth that this Sacrifice is truly propitiatory, becauſe one and the ſame Hoſt is now offered by the Miniſtry of the Prieſts, who then offered himſelf upon the Croſs.* Una enim eademque eſt hoſtia, idem nunc offertur Sacerdotum miniſterio qui ſeipſum tunc in carne obtulit. Ibid. Can. 1. Can. 3.

4. That therefore, *if any Perſon ſaith, That in the Maſs there is not offered to God,* Verum & proprium Sacrificium, *a true and proper Sacrifice; or that the Sacrifice of the Maſs is only a Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thanksgiving;* aut nuda commemoratio Sacrificii in cruce peracti, *or a naked commemoration of the Sacrifice performed on the Croſs, and not a propitiatory Sacrifice, let him be accurſed.*

Now, as to the firſt of theſe Particulars, the *Author* of the *Hiſtory* of the *Trent Council* doth inform us, That *almoſt an equal Number of the Divines there, denyed that Chriſt, in the Inſtitution of this Supper, offered himſelf; for if ſo, the Oblation of the Croſs, ſay they, would have been ſuperfluous, becauſe Mankind would have been redeemed by that of the Supper, which went before: They alledged alſo, That neither the Scripture, nor the Canon of the Maſs, nor any Council, ever ſaid, that Chriſt offered himſelf in the Supper; ſaying, That it was not a time to ground ones ſelf upon things uncertain, and upon* New Opinions, never heard nor thought of by Antiquity; and that *when it was decreed that Chriſt did offer himſelf, Twenty three Biſhops did contradict it.* He adds, That *the Biſhop of* Veglia *ſaid, That he that maintaineth a propitiatory Sacrifice in the Supper, muſt needs confeſs, that by it we are redeemed, and not by his Death, which is contrary to Scripture, and to Chriſtian Doctrine:* And, That *the Biſhop perſwaded ſo many, that it was almoſt the common Opinion not to make mention of the propitiatory Sacrifice offered by Chriſt in the Supper.* Now by the Confutation of this Firſt Propoſition, the Second and the Third muſt be entirely confuted. P. 510. P. 536. P. 519.

As for the Third and Fourth, the ſame *Biſhop* teacheth, that *one propitiatory Sacrifice being offered, if it be ſufficient to expiate, no other is offered* but only for Thankſgiving. And ſuitable to this Aſſertion it is determined by *Peter Lombard*, in Anſwer to that *Queſtion*, Si quod gerit Sacerdos proprie dicatur Sacrificium vel immolatio, & ſi Chriſtus quotidie immoletur, Ibid.

Sent. l. 4. diſt. 12. lit. G. moletur, vel ſemel tantum immolatus ſit, *Whether the Action of the Prieſt may properly be called a Sacrifice, or whether Chriſt be offered daily, or was once only offered:* I ſay, in anſwer to this *Queſtion*, it is determined by him, That *what is offered and conſecrated by a Prieſt is called a Sacrifice and Oblation*, Quia memoria eſt, & repreſentatio veri Sacrificii, & Sanctæ immolationis factæ in ara crucis, *becauſe it is the Memorial and Repreſentation of the true Sacrifice and Holy Immolation, which was made upon the Altar of the Croſs*: And that *Chriſt is daily offered in the Sacrament*, Quia in Sacramento recordatio fit illius quod ſemel factum eſt, *becauſe in the Sacrament is made a Remembrance of that which was once done*; and that what we do is, *recordatio Sacrificii*, *a Remembrance of that Sacrifice.* *Aquinas* ſaith, That *the Celebration of this Sacrament is ſtiled an Offering of Chriſt, for Two Reaſons*; Firſt, *Becauſe*, *as* Auſtin *to* Simplicius *ſaith, Images are wont to be called by the Names* In Sum. part. 3. q. 83. Art. 1. *of thoſe Things of which they are Images*; Celebratio autem hujus Sacramenti imago quædam eſt repreſentativa paſſionis Chriſti, quæ eſt vera ejus immolatio, *and the Celebration of this Sacrament is an Image, repreſenting the Paſſion of Chriſt, which is the true Oblation.* Secondly, *As to the Effect of this Paſſion; to wit, becauſe by this Paſſion we are made Partakers* In cap. 1. Eſ. P. 34. *of the Fruit of the Lord's Paſſion.* *Arias Montanus* ſaith, Non Sacrificium illud offerimus, ſed illud ipſum Chriſti repreſentamus, *We do not offer that ſame Sacrifice of Chriſt, but we* In Hebr. 10. *repreſent it.* *We muſt affirm*, ſaith *Lyranus*, That *there is no Reiteration of the Sacrifice of the Altar there, but a daily Commemoration of that one Sacrifice which was offered on the Croſs.*

§. 19. Our Thirty-ſecond Article Aſſerts, That *it is lawful for Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons to marry at their own Diſcretion.* Accordingly *Udalricus*, Biſhop of *Auſburg*, the Firſt of that Name, in his *Epiſtle* to *Pope Nicholas* the Firſt, tells him, That *the Firſt Council of* Nice *approved the Sentence of* Paphnutius, *diſcarding the Impoſition of this Law upon the Clergy,* Apud Calixt. de conjug. Cleric. p. 445, 446. *and left this Matter*, Uniuſcujuſque voluntati, *to every Mans Will*; adding that *the Law of Celebacy*, which *Pope Nicholas* then indeavoured to impoſe upon the *Clergy*, *was* Communi omnium ſapientum judicio violentia, *in the common Judgment* Diſt. 31. *of all Wiſe Men, a Violence.* *Gratian* confeſſeth that there was a time, *Cum nondum erat inſtitutum*, *when it was not enjoined*

that

that Priests should contain: Yea, saith he, *from the Authority of* Pelagius *the First, it is apparent that Priests, Deacons and Sub-deacons,* Licite matrimonio uti possunt, *may lawfully use Matrimony:* And to the *Canons* of the *Councils* of *Neocæsarea* and *Ancyra,* which approved of their *Marriage,* he answers, *First,* That *they were made,* Cum nondum erat introducta continentia Ministrorum Altaris, *when the Continency of the Ministers of the Altar was not yet introduced. Secondly,* That *they were made in the East, and that,* Orientalis Ecclesia non suscepit votum Castitatis, *the Eastern Church received not the Vow of Chastity:* and in his Fifty-eighth *Distinction* he expresly saith, Sacerdotibus ante prohibitionem ubique licita erant conjugia, That *before the Prohibition it was every where lawful for Priests to marry*; and *in the Oriental Church it is lawful for them at present so to do*; where the *Gloss* observes, That *it is plain* that *Gratian was of this Opinion,* Aliquando in Latina Ecclesia Presbyteris licuisse uti conjugio, *That even in the Latin Church it was sometimes Lawful for Priests to use Matrimony.* *Scotus* confesseth that it is very true, That *Secundum consuetudinem primitivæ Ecclesiæ, according to the Constitution of the primitive Church, it was lawful to use Matrimony contracted before Orders.* *Clictovæus* in his Discourse of the *Celebacy* of *Priests,* and *Polydore Virgil,* do with one Voice affirm, That *Pope Syricius,* who held that See *A. D.* 387. *was the first who imposed the Law of Celebacy on the Clergy. It remains,* saith *Cassander, That this Law should be relaxed to those who shall hereafter be ordained*; Et more veteris Ecclesiæ, & huc usque Orientalium Ecclesiarum, *And that after the Custom of the* Ancient Church, *and of the Eastern Churches to this Day, Honest Husbands should be admitted to the Ministry of the Church, and out of the Time of their Ministry, should be allowed the use of their Wives, according to the Canon of the Sixth General Synod. Wicelius* in his *Via Regia,* declares that *the Marriage of Priests was unforbidden,* In primitiva Christi Ecclesia tam Orientis quam Occidentis, *in the Primitive Church both of East and West*; *and that it agrees not only with the Gospel, but also,* cum Veterum Synodorum Constitutionibus, cum exemplis Veteris Ecclesiæ, *with the Constitutions of Ancient Synods, with the Examples of the Ancient Church; yea even with the Examples of the Church of* Rome, *such as she was Five hundred Years ago.*

Dist. 28. c. 13.

Cap. 13.

Sent 4. dist. 37. qu. 1. Art. 1.

Cap. 4. De invent. rerum l. 5. c. 4. p. 344.

Consult. Art. 23. p. 199.

Apud Calixt. de conjug. cler. p. 457.

CHAP. XI.

Answer is given to the Arguments of Mr. M. *for the Infallibility of Tradition, as,* v. g. 1. *That the World had no other Rule for the first Two thousand Years,* §. 1. *Answered,* 1st. *by shewing that this proves not the thing in Question, which is not, Whether nothing can come down unto us by Tradition; but, Whether in long tract of time, Men may not add to the Traditions which truly they received, others which falsly they pretend to be such; and, Whether pretences to Tradition may not be justly scrupled, when ancient Records not only do say nothing of, but plainly contradict them,* Ibid. 2dly. *That this Argument contradicts the Tradition of the* Jews, *touching the Precepts of* Noah *only imposed upon the World before, and of the Christians generally teaching Men were then guided by the Law, not of Tradition, but of nature,* §. 2. *The Instances contained in this Argument considered,* §. 3. 3dly. *It is proved that both the* Antediluvians *and they who lived after the Flood were very prone to Idolatry; and that God therefore would not trust them with any positive Precepts, but such as were Recorded in a written Law,* §. 4. *Mr.* M's. *Second Argument, That for above Two thousand Years more from* Moses *to* Christ's *time the Church was governed partly by Writing, and partly by Tradition. Answ.* 1. *The contrary is proved both from the Scriptures of the* Old *and the* New Testament, §. 5. 2. *That the Traditions which obtained in the* Jewish *Church were such as tended to the Evacuation of the Law of* Moses *the Introduction of vain Worship, and the renouncing of the true* Messiah, §. 6. *This is farther demonstrated from the Scriptures of the* New Testament *and* Josephus, §. 7. *Mr.* M's. *Third Argument, That when the Scriptures were given to the* Jewish *Church, all other Nations were guided only by Tradition, and yet had many true Believers among them, as* Job, &c. *Answ.* 1. *That the Scripture manifestly declares, that the Heathens generally were guilty of Idolatry, and that God had given them a Law, not of Tradition, but of Nature,* §. 8. 2. *That* Job *and his Friends believed in one God, not by Tradition, but the Light of Nature, according to the Fathers,* §. 9. 3. *That when Christianity appeared, the great*

Plea

Plea of the Heathens for it was Tradition which they pleaded after the manner of the Romanists, §. 10. *The Answer of the Christians to this Plea is a full Justification of the Protestants, and a demonstration that they were not Roman Catholicks in this Matter*, §. 11. *For*, 1st. *They represent it as the greatest folly to preferr Custom before Reason.* 2ly. *They add, That their Ancestors were prone to receive Fables, and monstrous Opinions for Truths, which also Romanists confess of the Writers of their Histories.* 3dly, *That this was the Rise of all their Errors, that they followed their Fathers without consulting Truth.* 4thly. *That they who pleaded Antiquity were themselves the greatest Innovators.* 5thly. *That there was a time when the Heathen Religion was New*, Ibid. *In defence of their own Proceedings they declare*, 1st. *That it is the property of wise Men not to be enslaved to their former Opinions.* 2dly. *That their Adversaries ought not to run them down with prescription or the belief of their Ancestors, but fairly come to the Merits of the Cause*, §. 12. 3dly. *That they ought not to be run down with multitude, that being no mark of the true Religion.* 4thly. *That they ought not to be called to yield a blind assent to the dictates of other Men, without using their own Judgments.* 5thly. *That their Separation from their fore-Fathers must be acknowledged Just and Righteous, because they could shew wherein they had erred.* Lastly, *That their Religion was not New, but only it was lately that they knew it to be the true and old Religion*, §. 13. Obj. 4. *That before the* New Testament *was written and divulged all Christians were governed by Tradition only*, §. 14. Answ. 1. *That the Four Gospels which were always judged sufficiently to contain the Christian Doctrine, were writ soon after the Preaching of the Gospel.* 2. *That till then the Apostles Preached only out of the* Old Testament, *and exhorted their Hearers to attend to it as their Rule*, Ibid. 3. *That the Tradition of the Primitive Church declared it necessary that Scriptures should be written to be to us a Rule of Faith*, §. 15. *Mr.* M's. *Fourth Argument, that the Traditions of the Church of* Rome *may be as fully proved, as it can be proved to one that never saw* London, *that there is such a City, and that it is the Capital City of this Kingdom, shewed to be highly vain*, §. 16.

Having

HAving thus shewed the uncertainty of *Tradition* in many Cases, and proved that the *Doctrines* of the Church of *Rome* have not descended by *Tradition* from the *Apostles*, or the Primitive *Church*, I now proceed to Answer what Mr. *M.* doth offer to prove the certainty of *Oral Tradition* in the General, and of some *Romish* Doctrines in Particular,

§. 1. Pag. 335. And, 1. Mr. *M.* saith, That *all the Faith which true Believers had in those Two thousand Years before the Scriptures of the* Old Testament *were written, had no other Ground than the Revelation of God, as proposed by the Tradition of the Church present, to all Believers in every Age in which those Believers lived. That the whole World was governed by Tradition only for the first Two thousand Years.* And he is so exact as to enumerate the very Tenets which they held by Tradition, *viz. The fall of* Adam, and *their Conception in Original Sin. The means to be used to free themselves and their Children from it.*

The immortality of the Soul, and *that the Rewards and Punishments of the next Life lasted for ever.*

What Repentance they were to use.

That *they were to stand fast to their Traditions, and account it a damnable Sin to forsake them.*

The Observation of the Sabbath, the Precept of not eating Blood obliging all the World, the distinction betwixt clean and unclean Meats, and Beasts; the Precept of Circumcision observed Four hundred Years by Abraham's *Posterity by Tradition; the Covenant God made with* Abraham, *that he should be the Father of many Nations, and that the* Messiah *should be born of his Seed.*

Disc. p. 91. R. H. informs us of other *Positive Divine Laws*; viz. *Those of Sacrifice, Firstlings, Holocausts, Peace-Offerings, Birds in Sacrifice not divided, mention of the Holy Times, Places, Persons, Prophets, of Tythes paid to the Priest, Purifyings, Cleansings, changing their Garments, Vows, Prohibition of Polygamy, contracting Marriages with Unbelievers, Excommunication. And these Laws,* saith he, *we may presume were received from an external infallible Proponent, and were preserved by the Ecclesiastical Superiors, and Teachers of these Laws in such a manner as those delivered since*; and *for the certainty of their Religion there seems an Infallibility in these, as necessary, if not more, for solving the great doubts arising*

arising therein before, as after the times of a written Law.

Such *Arguments* as this, and those that follow, are not worthy of any consideration by reason of their great impertinency, were it not upon this account, that it is easie to evince they are so far from being *Arguments*; for, that they are certain *Demonstrations* against the certainty, and the *Infallibility* of the *Traditions* disputed betwixt us and the *Church* of *Rome*, and plainly overthrow the Cause they were designed to maintain. To make this evident, let it be noted, *Reply.*

First, That the *Controversy* betwixt us and the *Church* of *Rome* is not this, Whether any thing may be derived down to Posterity by *Tradition*, for this we have confessed in many Cases, and where *Tradition* from the beginning can undoubtedly be had, we own it. But the *Question* is, Whether they who own, or have *Tradition* for their *Rule*, may not add many things to that which truly was received by *Tradition* pretending falsly that they also were derived by *Tradition* to them: For if this may be so, the *Church* of *Rome* may also own at present *Tradition* for her *Rule*, and yet with the like falshood may pretend that many Doctrines and Practices descended by a *Primitive Tradition* to her; and the *Traditions* here enumerated may also truly bear that name, and yet the very same persons may have handed down at the same time many other Practices and Doctrines under the same pretence, which tended to corrupt the Faith and Manners of those very Ages.

Secondly, The great Enquiry is, Whether in tract of time, *viz.* the space of *Sixteen hundred* Years, such Doctrines, and practices may not be admitted and owned as *Primitive Traditions* by a prevailing party of *Gentiles*, *Jews* or *Christians*, which were nothing less than so. For if this hath been actually so before, and after the writing of the *Law* of *Moses*, and also since the publication of the *Gospel*, then may the Doctrines and Practices of the *Church* of *Rome* in so long tract of time, be thus admitted, and yet be nothing less than *Primitive Traditions.*

And, *Thirdly*, Whether Pretences to *Tradition* may not justly be suspected, when *ancient Records*, which had equal reason to take notice of them, and could not have condemned what the whole *Church* received as a Divine Verity, not only do

do say nothing of, but plainly contradict them. Having premised these things, I answer;

§. 2. *Fourthly*, That these great Pretenders to *Tradition*, in this Assertion contradict both the *Tradition* of the *Jews*, and of the *Ancient Fathers*.

Selden. de jure Nat. l. 1. c. 8. p. 102. & c. 10. p. 116. ad p. 126. The Tradition of the *Jews*, who unanimously declare, That the Law given to the World after the Fall of *Adam*, was only that *of the Precepts of* Noah *against Idolatry*. 2. *Blasphemy*. 3. *Murther*. 4. *Unlawful Copulation*. 5. *Theft*. 6. *The Law concerning Civil Government*; all which are Laws of *Nature*: And 7. The Law *forbidding to eat Blood*.

Vid. Seld. ib l. 1. c. 8. p. 98, 99. Apol. 2. p. 83. The *Fathers* also generally assert, That before the written Law men lived according to the Law of *Nature*: So *Justin Martyr*, That *God admonished them*, Per naturalia præcepta quæ ab initio infixa dedit hominibus—— & nihil plus ab iis exquisivit, *by the natural Precepts from the beginning implanted in their Hearts, and required nothing more of them*: So *Irenæus*, L. 4. c. 28. That it was *Reason*, or *Philosophy*, *which before the coming of our Saviour was necessary to make them Righteous, and that it* Strom. 1. p 282. *was their Schoolmaster to bring them to Christ*: So *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, That they were guided by the Law written, *In* De Cor. Milit. c. 6 *Naturalibus tabulis, in the Tables of their Heart, which was the* Adv. Jud. c. 2. *common Law of the World*; and that it was this *Law of Nature which*, à Patribus custodiebatur, *was observed by the Fathers*, and by which *Noah*, *Abraham* and *Melchizedeck* were Præpar. Evang. l. 7. c. 7. Righteous: So *Tertullian*, That before the written Law, ὀρθοῖς λογισμοῖς θεοσεβείας ἀρετῇ κατεκοσμήθησαν, *they were adorned with the Virtue of Piety by right Reason*, so *Eusebius*: That *God led the Heathens to Piety*, διὰ τ φύσεως, καὶ τ κτίσεως, *by the* Serm. 1. Contr. Græc. ad Sylberg p. 20. *Law of Nature*, and of the *Creation*; so *Theodoret*. Particularly they inform us, That before *Moses* the *Patriarchs observed not the Sabbath*; That *without the Observation of it, all the just Men forenamed*, viz. *Adam*, *Abel*, *Enoch*, *Lot*, *Noah* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 236. 245. and *Melchezedeck*, *pleased God*; and after them *Abraham* and his Posterity till *Moses*; so *Justin Martyr*. That *Abraham* L. 4. cap. 30. *was justified*, Sine observatione Sabbathi, *without the Obser-* Adv. Jud. c. 2. *vation of the Sabbath*; so *Irenæus*. Non Sabbatizabant, *The* 4. Hist. Eccl. l. 1. *Patriarchs did not keep the Sabbath*, saith *Tertullian*. They c. 4. Præp. Evang. l. 7. c. 6. took no care of Circumcision or σαββάτων ὀπτηρέτησις, *of the* Demonstr. Ev. l. 1. c. 6. *Observation of the Sabbaths*, saith *Eusebius*.

Secondly,

Secondly of *Sacrifices*, they affirm that *Abel*, *Noah*, and others offered them not, κατὰ τὴν θείαν διάταξιν, φυσικῷ ὑ νόμῳ κινηθέντες, *by Divine Command, but being moved to it by the Light of Nature*; by which, although they could not judge them necessary, yet might they think them apt Testimonies of their Acknowledgment of God's Goodness to them, and of their *gratitude* to him. Qu. & Resp. ad Orthod. qu. 83. Const. Apost. l. 6. c. 20 p. 284.

Now either in these *Traditions* the *Fathers* were mistaken, or they were not; if in these things, delivered by them so unanimously, they were mistaken, this is a farther Argument of the uncertainty of *Tradition*; if they were not mistaken, then the *Patriarchs* before, and since the Flood, till *Moses*, in their Religious Service, were not led by *Tradition*, much less by that alone; but rather guided *by the Light of Nature.*

And to this, *Holy Scripture* seems plainly to accord, declaring, That the Heathens had no *positive Laws*; that the, τὸ γνωστὸν τ῀ θε῀, Knowledge of God was so revealed, by the Light of Nature, to them; *That they became inexcusable, in that they did not glorify him as God*; That the Ungodliness and Unrighteousness of Men, was so revealed by the Light of Nature to them, that they knew, that *they*, *who did* the evil Actions mentioned in the First of *Romans*, *were*, *by God's righteous Judgment*, *worthy of Death*; *and that they were condemned in their own Consciences when they committed Sin*; and were obnoxious to *Tribulation*, *Wrath and Anguish from God's Justice*, for so doing; though ἀνόμως ἥμαρτον, their Iniquity was by *no positive Law forbidden.* That *they had the Work of the Law written in their Hearts*, directing them to what was good; teaching them what was *honest in the Sight of all Men*, testifying to them, that they did well in the Observance of those things; and promising *Glory*, *Honour*, *and Peace to them who did them.* That albeit they were *Gentiles*, νόμον μὴ ἔχοντα, *having no Law* positive, or written, to direct them; yet *were they*, by this Light of Nature, *a Law unto themselves*, and did, τὰ δικαιώματα τ῀ νόμε φυλάσσειν, *keep the righteous Precepts of the Law.* Now is it likely, if *God* had given to the *heathen* World so many *positive Laws*, as are here mentioned: And if they had been then so to be guided by *Tradition*, and bound *under the pain of Damnation to receive such Traditions*, Rom. 1. 19, 20. V. 32. Rom 2. 15. V. 9, 12. V. 15. Rom. 12. 17. Rom. 2. 10, 15. V. 14. V. 26.

as the *positive Laws of God*, and to conveigh them still as such to Posterity, they should be represented still as *without Law?*

§. 3. As for the Instances here mentioned, and not yet considered, some of them vainly are affirmed to be *Traditions*, as V. G. *The Doctrine of Original Sin imputed*, and *the Means to be delivered from it*, *The Eternity of Rewards and Punishments*, *The Prohibition of Polygamy*, *Birds in Sacrifice not divided*, *Cleansing and changing of their Garments*; Some of them might be learned by the Light of Nature, as far as it was needful they should know them; as, *What Repentance they were to use, viz.* That which consisted in ceasing to do Evil, That *the Soul had a Subsistence when separated from the Body*; That *they who would not submit to the Laws of their Society, should be excluded from it, or not admitted to the Privileges of that Society*, which is *Excommunication*; That *it was fit to have Times and Places set apart for God's Worship*, and to tender to him *the First Fruits and Tythes of our Encrease, to make and pay our Vows to God, not to marry with Idolaters.*

Some of them being Matters of continual Practice, might very easily be preserved by *Tradition* to Posterity, as v. g. *Circumcision*, *not eating of Blood*, *Oblation of First Fruits*, *paying of Tythes*, (though it is certain that they had then no Law for Tythes, or offering of First Fruits) *the Distinction betwixt Clean and Unclean Meats and Beasts.*

And lastly, most of those things which *R. H.* reckons up as *positive Divine Laws*, are by the learned Dr. *Spencer* proved to be Customs received from the *Gentiles* into the Family of *Abraham*, and taken up as things *consonant to Reason*, though not commanded by it.

It is true also as *R. H.* observes, That *Abraham obeyed the Voice of God, and kept his Charge, his Commandments*, or
Gen. 26. 5. moral Precepts, *his Statutes*, touching the Service of the True God, the *Circumcision* of his *Family*, and his *Laws*, or Judgments touching the doing Justice and Judgment; and that he taught *his Children so to do*, according as God him-
Gen. 18. 19. self had foretold of him, saying, *I know* Abraham, *that he will command his Sons, and his House after him, to keep the Way of* Jehovah, *to do Justice and Judgment:* But then it is as

as true, that *Chrysostom* referrs this Praise of *Abraham* to his Obedience to God's Voice, in *leaving of his Fathers House, going he knew not whither*, and *sojourning in a strange Land, in offering his Son* Isaac, *and in casting forth his Son* Ismael; and not to his observance of any *positive* and *ceremonial Precepts* delivered to him by *Tradition*. The things which he conceives he was to teach his Children, excepting *Circumcision*, were likewise not of this nature, but, Μηδὲν τῆ δικαίᾳ προτιμᾶν, ἐκτὸς γίνεσθαι πάσης ἀδικίας, *to do no Injury, to preferr nothing before Justice*, things taught them by the light of Nature. In locum. Custodia viæ domini dicitur tempore Abrahæ id quod cuique ex officio præstandum erat. *Seld. de jure Nat. l.* 1. *c.* 8. *p.* 100.

§. 4.

Moreover it well deserves to be observed, That when it pleased God, that these, and many other Precepts of like nature, should be observed by the *Jews*, knowing how little *Tradition* was to be trusted, and how quickly the Progeny of *Adam*, and of *Noah* had deviated from it in the highest Matters, he very exactly prescribes these things in Writings still to be perused by, or read unto his People, that *they might learn to do* the things he had commanded. The *Apostolical Constitutions* teach, That *when Men had corrupted*, ὁ φυσικὸν νόμον, *the Law of Nature, God gave the* Jews *the written Law*. St. *Chrysostom* informs us, That God gave not his Law in writing to *Noah*, *Abraham* and *Job*, but finding their Minds pure, gave them, τὸ πνεῦμα χάριν ἀντὶ βιβλίων, *the Grace of his Holy Spirit instead of Books*; but when the People of the *Jews* fell into the Gulf of Wickedness, ἀναγκαίως λοίπον γέγραπται καὶ πλάκες, καὶ ἡ διὰ τούτων ἀνάμνησις, *then was it necessary for them to have the Tables, and the written Law to keep them in remembrance of their Duty*. *Theophylact* in like manner saith, That *when Men became unworthy to be taught, and guided by the Holy Spirit*, then God, *the lover of Mankind*, ἔδοκεν τὰς γραφὰς ἵνα κἂν διὰ τούτων ὑπομιμνήσκωνται τοῦ Θεοῦ θελήματων, *gave them the Scriptures, that by them they might be made mindful of his Will:* Declaring that they knew nothing of the derivation of God's positive Worship by *Tradition* only, but thought it necessary that it should be made known unto them either *by Writing*, or the *immediate dictates of the Holy Spirit* dwelling in their Hearts. They also add that this written Law was given, πρὸς βοήθειαν τοῦ φυσικοῦ, *to supply the defects of the Law of Nature*, by that God who would not suffer them, πλανᾶσθαι, *to be seduced*; clearly insinuating, Lib. 8. c. 12. In Matth. p. 1. Proem. in Matth. Constit. Apost. ibid. p. 349.

sinuating, that *Tradition*, without this written Law, was not sufficient to supply the defects of that of Nature, or to preserve them from Error. As will be farther evident if we consider,

That both the *Antediluvians*, and they who lived after the Flood, and before the Writing of the Law of *Moses*, had generally corrupted their ways, and deviated from that *Tradition* which they undoubtedly received from *Adam*, and from *Noah*, touching the Worship of the true and only *God*. For even whilst *Adam* was alive, and had not passed half his days, *Men began*, saith the *Chaldee Paraphrast*, *to prophane the Name of the Lord, by ceasing to pray to him.* The *Hebrew Doctors* tell us, "That in the Days of *Enosh*, the Sons of *Adam* "erred with great Error, and the Counsel of the Wise Men "of that Age became Brutish, and their Error was this, "They said forasmuch as God hath Created these Stars and "Spheres to govern the World, and set them on high, and "imparted honour to them, and they are *Ministers* that *Mi*-"*nister* before him, it is meet that Men should Laud and Glo-"rifie, and give them Honour, for this is the Will of God, "that we magnifie and honour whomsoever he magnifies and "honoureth. —— When this thing was come up into their "Hearts, they began to build *Temples* to *Stars*, and to offer "*Sacrifice* to them, and to Laud and Glorifie them with "Words, and to Worship before them, that they might in "their evil Opinion obtain favour of the *Creator*, and this "was the Root of *Idolatry*. And hence in the *ancient Commentaries* of the *Hebrews* the Age of *Enosh* is represented as a wicked Age. In the time of *Enoch*, and before the death of *Adam*, wickedness had mightily prevailed even among the Sons of God, or Members of the Church; for *Enoch* is mentioned as the only Man who adhered perfectly to God, and of him it is said, That *he lived among Sinners*, and that *God took him away from among the wicked, least their evil Example should corrupt his Righteous Soul.* After his Assumption we find that Men had generally declined to iniquity, that *all Flesh had corrupted their Ways*, excepting *Noah* and his Family, that they had forsaken God, and given up themselves to *Idolatry*, *saying to God, Depart from us, and what can the Almighty do for us?*

In Gen. 4. 26.

Ainsw. in Gen. 4. *v.* 26.

Ibid.

Wisd. 4. 10. Vers. 11, 14.

Gen. 6. 12.

Job 22. 17.

About

About an Hundred Years after the Flood they set themselves with one Consent to build the Tower of *Babel* in opposition to God, and in which, say the *Hebrews*, they designed an *Idol Temple*. *Nahor* and *Tharah* the *Progenitors* of *Abraham* were *Idolaters*, and after the Call of *Abraham* they continued so to be. In the Family of *Isaac*, *Esau* and his Wives were a *bitterness of Spirit* to *Isaac* and *Rebecca*, *because they served God with strange Service*, saith the *Jerusalem Tergum*; that is, with *Idolatry*. In the Family of *Jacob*, *Rebecca* steals her Fathers *Images*: In his House were worshippers of *strange Gods* and Retainers of *Idols*. When the *Israelites* lived in *Ægypt*, they so complied with their Rites, saith *Eusebius*, ὡς τ μὴν πάλαι ἀρετῆς εἰς λήθην ἐλθεῖν, *as to forget the Piety of their Fore-fathers*. They learned in *Ægypt*, saith *Theodoret*, τὸν πολύθεον Αἰγυπτίων θρησκείαν, *to worship many Gods with them*. They *committed Whoredom in Ægypt*, saith *Ezekiel*, *they multiplied the Whoredoms they had committed in the Land of Ægypt*. Whence *Joshua* speaks thus unto them, *Put away the Gods which your Fathers served in Mesopotamia, and in Ægypt*. Here then is Evidence sufficient,

Ainsw. *ibid.*

Gen. 31. 30, 53.

Gen. 31. 22.

Gen. 35. 2.

Præpar. Evang. l. 7. c. 28.

Serm. 2. adv. Græc. p. 492.

Ezek 23. 2--19.

Josh. 24. 14.

First, That the first Ages of the World were not abandoned only to the uncertainty of *Tradition*, but were guided partly *by the Light of Nature*, and partly by *immediate Revelation*; *Tradition* being by Divine Wisdom judged a more imperfect Guide, than the dim Light of Nature.

Secondly, That when it pleased God to give his People *Positive* and *ceremonial Laws*, he would by no means leave them to the uncertainty of *Tradition*, but commanded that they should be written in a Book, *for a Memorial* to, and *for a Testimony* against them, and should thence be read by, and to them, that *they*, and *the Generations to come* might learn them. And,

Thirdly, That the Service of the one true God received by *Tradition* from *Adam*, *Enoch* and others before the Flood, from *Noah*, *Melchizedeck*, *Abraham*, and the *Patriarchs* after the Flood, was presently corrupted, and utterly defaced by *Idolatry*, to let us see how insufficient meer *Tradition* is, since even in the Days and Lives of them who lived so long, and who delivered this *Fundamental* Article of Worshipping the one true God unto their Off-spring, they saw them running headlong

long to *Idolatry*, and adding many corrupt Inventions, and vain Imaginations of their own unto that Worship they had received by *Tradition* from them.

§. 5. Object. 2. P. 415. P. 231.

Secondly, Mr. *M.* adds, That *for above Two thousand Years more, from* Moses *until* Christ's *time, the Church was governed partly by Writing, and partly by Tradition. For the* Jews *had at least two undeniable Traditions. For they knew only by Tradition what remedy was to be used to free their Female Children from Original Sin, as also to free their Male Children, in danger of Death, before the Eighth Day. This Remedy they knew and observed, and were bound to know and observe, and yet they infallibly knew it without having any Scripture expressing to them the knowledge of this Remedy, or of their Obligation to use it; or that it was so necessary for the Salvation of their Children, whom they did believe to be in Original Sin, and by that debarred from Salvation, unless some Remedy were applyed. Some Remedy surely was as necessary for the Female, as Circumcision for the Male. Shew me this Remedy in Scripture.*

2. *They truly believed some of those bloody Sacrifices to have been appointed to them by God for the expiation of their Sins, but they could not believe truly that these Sacrifices could expiate their Sins by their own Virtue; they believing then that these Sacrifices had their expiative Virtue from the Merits of Christ. Shew me any Text in which this was then written.*

Reply.

1. That the *Jewish Church* until *Christ*'s time was governed partly by *Tradition*, or that *Tradition* was their partial Rule of *Faith*, in reference to any necessary Doctrines or Rules of Manners, will appear a vain Imagination if we consider that, in the *Scriptures* of the *Old* and the *New Testament*, they are still sent unto the *written Word* to learn their Duty, but never to *Tradition*; the *Prophets* do exhort them for their direction to repair *to the Law, and to the Testimonies*, to *the Book of the Lord.* To *remember the Law of* Moses *which he commanded them in Horeb, for all Israel, with the Statutes and Judgments*, as their only certain Rule and Direction. Now that the ordinary Succession of *Prophets* was to cease from the Days of *Malachy* to the Times of *Christ*, whereas had *Oral Tradition* also been their Rule, the *Prophets* must have had like reason to call upon them *to remember that.*

Esai. 8. 20. 34. 16. Mal. 4. 4.

More-

Moreover God only calls upon them by *Moses*, *To do all the Words of this Law which are written in this Book*, and promiseth his Favour and Acceptance of them upon that account, saying, *If thou shalt hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his Commandments and Statutes*, which *are written in this Book of the Law, I will rejoice over thee for Good. See I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil.* And *David* speaketh thus unto King *Solomon*, *Keep the Charge of the Lord thy God to walk in his ways, to keep his Statutes, and his Commandments, and his Judgments, and his Testimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moses, that thou maist prosper in all that thou dost, and whithersoever thou turnest thy self.* If then the Observation of what was *written* in the Law of *Moses* was sufficient to procure *Life*, *Favour*, *Prosperity*, and *Acceptance with God*, surely this *written Law* must be a perfect Rule, and must sufficiently contain all that was needful to be believed, or done unto those ends. Hence is the *King* commanded *to write him a Copy of this Law in a Book, that he might learn to fear the Lord God, and to keep all the words of this Law, and these Statutes to do them*; and *to perform the words of the Covenant which are written in this Book*, is *to keep God's Commandments, his Testimonies, and his Statutes with all the Soul, and with all the Heart.* Whereas had *Oral Tradition* been any part of their Rule, they must have been obliged equally to observe what was delivered by it, and all God's Statutes, and Commandments could not be *written in this Book*, as it is so expresly and frequently declared that they were.

Deut. 30. 9, 10. Vers. 15. 1 Kings 2. 3. Deut. 17. 18, 19. 2 Chron. 34. 31.

Our *Saviour* in like manner bids them *Search the Scriptures, because they thought in them they had eternal Life*, in which apprehension, had they been deceived, as they must have been provided that there was another Law of *Oral Tradition* given to lead them unto Life eternal, our *Saviour* doubtless would have informed them of this dangerous Error, which yet he was so far from doing, that when a *Lawyer* puts the Question to him, *What shall I do that I may inherit eternal Life?* he Answers, *What is written in the Law, how readest thou? This do, and thou shalt live.* And sends the *Jews* to *Moses* and the *Prophets*, that by hearing them they might avoid the coming to *the Place of Torments*; but neither he nor his *Disciples* do ever send them to *Tradition*, or speak one word in approbation of it,

Joh. 3. 39. Luk. 10. 25, 26. Luk. 16. 29.

it, which is sufficient Evidence, that they knew nothing of this Rule of Mr. *M.*

§. 6. 2*dly.* The *Traditions* concerning *Doctrines* generally believed, and Practices needful to be performed among them, after the Law was written by *Moses*, and after God had given them a Charge, upon the ceasing of the Succession of his *Prophets*, to *remember* and stick close unto it, I say, the *Traditions* which obtained in the *Jewish Church*, as far as we have any certain intimation of them, were such as tended to the *evacuating* of the Law of *Moses*, to the renouncing of the true *Messiah*, and to the introduction of vain Worship, and superstitious Observances, whence it demonstratively appears that *Oral Tradition* was not then a certain Rule, nor could the *Jewish* Nation be obliged by divine Precept to receive it as such. To make this Evident; consider,

1. That our *Saviour* often sends the *Jews* to Scripture, to *Moses* and the *Prophets*, but never to Tradition.

2. That he still represents the great Asserters of Tradition in the *Jewish* Nation, to wit, their *Elders*, *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, as *blind Guides*, *leading of the Blind*, as *Fools* and *Blind*; confuteth their *Traditions*, though generally received, before all the People; justifies his *Disciples* in the neglect and violation of them; pronounces them *Plants which his Father had not planted*, and therefore such *as should be rooted up.*

Matth. 15. 14. 23. 16, 17, 19. Mat. 15. 10, 11. Mark 7. Mat. 12. 7. Matth. 15. 13.

3*dly.* He plainly tells them, That by these *Traditions* they did, ἀθετεῖν, παραβαίνειν, ἀκυροῦν τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ, *transgress*, *make void*, and *null the Commandment of God.* He shews this by plain Instances in their evacuating the Fifth Commandment by their *Traditions*, in observing and enjoining such *Traditions* touching the Observation of the *Sabbatick* Rest, as contradicted that great Law of God, *I will have mercy, and not sacrifice*, and made it unlawful *to do good, and preserve Life upon that day*, and which sufficiently demonstrated, τὸ πώρωσιν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν, *the blindness of their Minds*, and their *Hypocrisie*, and in absolving them from their *Oaths* out of an ignorance so Gross, as knew not they were virtually made to God. He also charges them that by thus *teaching for Doctrines the Commandments of Men*, they rendered God's *Worship vain.*

Mark 7. 10. Matth. 12. 7. Matth. 12. 12. Luk. 6. 9. Mark 3. 5. Luke 13. 15. Matth. 23. 16—23. Matth. 15. 9.

4*thly.* It

4*thly*. It is extreamly evident that by virtue of some of these *Traditions*, they rejected the true *Messiah*, and stood obliged by them so to do.

For, *First*, It is most certain that the *Jews* had a Tradition generally received among them, *That their Messiah should be a Temporal Prince*; that at his Coming he should *restore the Kingdom to Israel*; he should *subdue the Nations under* them, and should erect a *Temporal Dominion* in the *Jewish Nation* over all their Enemies. *Trypho* the *Jew* declares to *Justin M.* That, Dial. p. 249. αἱ γραφαὶ ἔνδοξον καὶ μέγαν ἀναμένειν τὸν παρὰ τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν ὡς υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου παραλαμβάνοντα τὴν αἰώνιον βασιλείαν ἀναγκάζουσι, *the Scriptures do compel us to expect a great and glorious Messiah, who shall receive, as the Son of Man, from the ancient of Days, an everlasting Kingdom*; not such a mean despised one as was your *Jesus*. The *Jews*, saith *Origen*, say, That their *Prophets* represent their *Messiah* to be, Μέγαν, καὶ δυνάστην, καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ στρατοπέδων Κύριον, *a great Person, and a Potentate, and Lord of the whole Earth, and of all the Heathens, and their Armies*. *Josephus* confesseth there was an obscure Oracle found in their S. Books, Ὡς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τις αὐτῶν ἄρξει τῆς οἰκουμένης, *That about that time one of* Judea *should govern the World*. *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* say, That *it was in the whole East*, Vetus & constans opinio, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur, *an old, and constant Opinion, that some out of* Judæa *should obtain the Goverment of the World*; *and that this Propheſie was contained*, Antiquis Sacerdotum literis, *in the ancient Writings of the Priests*. All the Disciples of our *Lord* did constantly expect this *Temporal Kingdom*, till by the Holy *Ghost*'s descent upon them, they were informed better, witness their Contests, *Who should be the greatest in this Kingdom?* and the desire of the Sons of *Zebedee*, *to sit one at his Right-hand*, and *the other at his Left in it*. And when they were assembled after his *Resurrection*, this was their Enquiry, *Lord wilt thou now restore the Kingdom to Israel?* It is therefore certain that this was the *Tradition* of the whole *Jewish Church* received from their *Wise Men*, and grounded on the *Scriptures* of the *Prophets*, as they did interpret them.

In Celsum. l. 2. p. 78.

De Bello Jud. l. 6. c. 31.

In Vespas. c 4. Hist. l. 5.

Matth. 18. 1.

Matth. 20. 21.

Act. 1. 6.

Secondly, It was also a *Tradition* which generally obtained among the *Jews*, That their *Elias*, who was called the *Tisbite*,

bite, was to appear in Person at the Advent of the true *Messiah*, and to anoint him to his Office. *All we*, saith *Trypho*, *expect that Christ should be anointed by* Elias *who is for to come, and because* Elias *is not come, I think that our* Messiah *is not come.* Thus was that place of *Malachy* translated by the *Seventy Interpreters* long before our *Saviour's* coming, *behold I send unto you,* Ἠλίαν τὸν Θεσβίτην, *Elias the Tisbite, before the great and glorious Day of the Lord come.* Accordingly the *Scribes*, or the Expounders of the Law, did with one Voice declare, it was necessary *that* Elias *should come first.*

Justin M. Dial. p. 268.

Mal. 4. 5.

Mark 9. 11.

Thirdly, It was the general Tradition of the *Jews*, That the Law of *Moses* should be perpetually obliging to them, and be observed even in the Days of the *Messiah.* On this Presumption certainly it was, that *Christ's Disciples*, after his Resurrection were strict Observers of the Law of *Moses* for a considerable time, and so were also the Generality of the *Jewish* Converts. St. *Peter* was so nice in Observation of it, as that till he was informed better by a Vision, he thought such Meat was utterly unlawful as was forbidden by the Law, so that he being in this Vision bid *to slay and eat*, crys out, as a Man tempted to an unlawful Act, *Not so Lord, for I have never eaten any thing that is unclean.* Whence *Origen* well notes, That *he,* μεχεὶ πολλῷ φάνειη τὰ κατὰ Μούσεως νόμον Ἰουδαϊκὰ ἔθη τετηρηκέναι, *for a long time kept the Jewish Customs, according to the Law of Moses*; and that, κατὰ τὰς Ἰουδαίων παραδόσεις ζῶν, *living according to the Tradition of the Jews*, he contemned those who were not of the *Jews*, and even, when by this Vision he was prevailed upon to go unto *Cornelius*, he begins his Speech to him thus, *You know that it is an unlawful thing, for a Man that is a Jew, to keep Company, or come in to one of another Nation*; and when he had done it, his Brethren call him to an Account, and contend with him for it. St. *James* gives an Account to *Paul* of the great Zeal that all the *Jewish* Converts had to the Law of *Moses* in these Words, *Thou seest Brother, how many Thousand Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the Law.* He farther tells him, how much they were offended with him, because they heard, that he had taught, that they were not obliged to Obedience to the Constitutions and Customs of the *Jewish*

Acts 10. 14.

L. 2. Contr. Cels. p. 56, 57.

Acts 10. 28.

Acts 11. 2.

Acts 21. 20.

ish Law. And lastly, doth exhort him to do what might be proper to cause them to believe, That *he also walked orderly, and kept the Law.* St. *Jerome* and *Sulpitius* inform us, That *Fifteen of the first Bishops of* Jerusalem, *with their Flocks, were all Observers of the Law of* Moses; and *Origen*, That, οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν πιστεύοντες οὐ καταλελοίπασι τὸ πάτριον νόμον, *they of the* Jews *who believed in Jesus, left not their own Law.* Moreover, by the Unbelieving *Jews*, nothing was more abhorred than the Thoughts of changing their *Mosaick Customs:* Their Accusation against *Stephen* was this, that he had said, That *the Messiah should change the Customs which* Moses *had delivered to them*; and this was, in the Judgment of the *High-Priest*, the *Elders*, and the *Scribes*, sufficient to prove him guilty of that capital Offence of *Blasphemy.* On this Account they bring St. *Paul* before the Judgment-Seat of *Gallio*, because, say they, *he perswaded Men to Worship God*, παρὰ τὸν νόμον, *against*, or otherwise than was commanded by *the Law of* Moses. And when he maketh his *Apology* unto the *Jews* of *Rome*, for bearing of his Chain, he doth it in these Words, *I have done nothing contrary to the Law, or to the Customs of my Country.* Now this Opinion they grounded chiefly upon those Places which seem to speak of the *perpetuity* of those *Statutes*, and say they shall be *Ordinances to them for ever*; and consequently seem to infer a Declaration, from the Mouth of God, that they should not be altered.

Chron. Euseb. l. 2. c. 45.

Ibid. p. 56.

Acts 6. 14.

Acts 18. 13.

Acts 28. 17.

Deut. 29. 29. Levit. 3. 17. Exod. 12. 17.

Lo here Three plain *Traditions* of the whole *Jewish Church*, Two of which plainly tended to oblige them to renounce the true *Messiah*, and the Third to blend *Judaism* with *Christianity*, and to refuse to preach the *Gospel* to the *Gentiles*; here therefore is a Threefold Demonstration, not only of the Uncertainty, but of the Falshood of the *Traditions*, which obtained in the *whole Church of God.*

§ 7.

For farther Demonstration of this Matter, let it be considered,

First, That the *Traditions* we have mentioned, were, παραδόσεις τῶν Πρεσβυτέρων, *the Traditions of the Elders*, αἱ Πατρικαὶ παραδόσεις, τὰ ἔθη Πατρῴα, the *Customs* and *Traditions* of their *Fathers*; they were the Traditions of them who *sate in the Chair of Moses*, of the Interpreters of *Scripture*, the *Guides* of

Mark 7. 3. Acts 28. 17. Gal. 1. 14.

the common People, they were the *Traditions* of those Men who generally had obtained the Reputation of the greatest Knowledge and Exactness in the Law, who did, νόμες ἀκριβεστέρως ἀφηγεῖσθαι, μετ' ἀκριβείας ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νομιμὰ, *most exactly interpret the Laws, and declare the things belonging to them*, and who were by the *Jews* esteemed, εὐσεβέστεροι τῶν ἄλλων, *more Pious than the rest*; so that if these were *Foolish* and *Blind Guides*, they had no other to conduct them, except those two pernicious Guides of *Hereticks*, the *Scripture*, and the *use of Reason*.

Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. 2. c. 12. Arch. l 17. c. 3.

Secondly, Observe that these *Traditions* were not taught only in our *Saviour's* Age, but long before, they being *Customs* and *Traditions* of their *Fore-fathers*. The Asserters of them, saith *Josephus*, were, ἐκ τῶ πάνυ ἀρχαίε τῆς Παλαιῶν, *the most ancient of their Countrymen*. *Epiphanius* informs us, That they pretended to derive some of these, διατυπώσεις, or *Traditions*, down from *Moses*; and their own Writers do expresly teach, That they were Traditions received from the Mouth of *Moses*. They therefore must be taught whilst these *Church Guides*, and *Rulers* were infallible, and the true *Judges* of *Tradition*, if ever they were so; and if the *Jewish Doctors* might so generally mistake in Fathering these Traditions upon *Moses*, why may not others do the like in Fathering theirs on the *Apostles?*

Antiq. l. 18. c. 2.

Maimon. port. Mosis, p. 36, 37, 38.

Thirdly, Observe that the *Jewish* Worship and *Religion* was then thought partly to consist in them, and partly in the *written Law*; for St. *Paul* tells us, That he profited much, ἐν Ἰουδαϊσμῷ, in the *Jews Religion*, *being zealous for the Traditions received from his Forefathers*. And besides his being a strict observer of the Law, he adds in the same place, That *he was*, κατὰ νόμον Φαρισαῖος, *of that Sect of Pharisees*, which joined *Traditions* to the Law of *Moses*, of whom *Josephus* saith, That, ὁπόσα θεῖα εὐχῶν τε καὶ ἱερῶν ποιήσεως ἐξηγήσει τῇ ἐκείνων τυγχάνει περισώμενα, *whatsoever was Divine, whether respecting Prayers, or the performance of things Sacred, were done according to their Expositions or Traditions*. Moreover these Traditions were, saith our *Saviour*, *taught for Doctrines*; they were, νομιμὰ, *belonging to their Laws*, saith *Josephus*, the neglect of the Observance of them, was look'd on as an high Transgression, they being, say their own Records, *equal to*, if not *more weighty* than the *Law*.

Gal. 1. 14.

Antiq. Judaic. l. 18. c. 2.

Law: The *Jews* were therefore in this Matter true *Roman Catholicks*, receiving these Traditions as part of their *Rule* of *Faith*, Pari pietatis affectu, *with like affection as the written Word.*

And, *Lastly*, These *Traditions* were generally received by the *Jewish Nation*, no Man gainsaying the Observance of them, but some few *Sadduces*, who in reality were *Heretick*s, and by the *Jews* reputed *Schismaticks*. For *the Pharisees and all the Jews held the Tradition of the Elders*, saith St. *Mark*. *Josephus* informs us, That the *Pharisees* had, τὸ πλῆθος σύμμαχον, *the multitude on their side*, That they were, τοῖς δήμοις πιθανώτατοι, *the Persons which seemed to the People most worthy of Credit*, and the best *Interpreters* of their Laws. They were the Men, saith *Christ*, who *sate in Moses's Chair*; and their very Question, *Why walk not thy Disciples according to the Tradition of the Elders?* insinuates that it was a new, and a strange thing among them to find any one of Reputation who transgressed their *Traditions*: Let then the *Roman Doctors* tell us how vain, and false Traditions might thus generally obtain among the *Jews*, and pretend to be derived from *Moses*, and even to be part of the Instructions he received from God, when they were nothing less, and we will tell them how the like Traditions might by them be receiv'd as *Apostolical*, or let them say why we must be esteemed *Heretick*s and *Schismaticks*, for rejecting such *Traditions* as our Dear *Lord's Disciples*, with his own approbation, did reject, and which he taught even the Common People to contemn.

Cap. 7. v. 3. Antiq. Judaic. l. 13 c. 18. Mark 7. 5.

And now to Answer directly to his Instances, *First*, To that of *Original Sin*. We call upon him to prove, 1. That they had any knowledge of the Imputation of it; and well we may, when his own *Petavius* confesseth, That the *Greek* Church hath spoke very rarely of it. *Secondly*, We desire him to prove, that Circumcision was necessary for the Salvation of the Male, and his Justification from Original Sin; this is another *School Notion* with which the *ancient Church* of God was not acquainted, yea which they most expressly do gainsay, they having solemnly declared that *Abraham* received it *for a Sign*, but (*a*) *not for Justification*, (*b*) *not for Sal-*

Dogm. Theol. Tom. 4 part. 2. l. 14. c. 2.

(*a*) Εἰς σημεῖον, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. Just. M. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 241.

(*b*) Non in salutis prærogativam. Tert. adv. Judæos c. 2, 3.

vation,

vation, (c) not for the Consummation of Righteousness, (d) not for the Freedom of the Soul, for it availeth nothing for the advantage of the Soul; and that because it was administred to Children, who could receive no Spiritual advantage, and no Justification by it, that it hath (e) nothing of Dignity in it, but is barely a Sign. And had it been prescribed, as the *School-men* dream, for a Remedy against *Original Sin*, what Remedy had they for it before the Institution of the Ceremony of Circumcision? Were all their Children damned in *Ægypt*, or in the Wilderness, because they were not Circumcised?

(c) Non quasi consummatricem justiciæ. *Iren. l.* 4. *c.* 30.

(d) Οὐκ εἰς ψυχὴν τι λυσιτελεῖ. Chrys. Hom. 39. in Gen. p. 321, 322.

(e) Pseud. Ambros. in 4. ad Rom.

To his Second Instance of the Relation which their *Sacrifices* had to the Expiation to be made by the Death of *Christ*, I Answer, 1*st*. That it appears not that they had any knowledge of this Mystery; and 2*dly*. That if this was a *Tradition* at any time made known to them, it is a demonstration, that Tradition is no sure preserver of things most needful to be known; it being certain, that before our *Saviour*'s time they had quite lost this Notion, for they believed not that their *Messiah*, the Son of *David*, was to die, much less that he should shed his Blood as a propitiatory Sacrifice for their Sins, they had learn'd out of the Law interpreted by the *Scribes*, That *Christ abided for ever*, and therefore wondered to hear our *Saviour* speak *of his being lifted up*; and when his own Disciples heard him speak of his being delivered up to Death, they *understood not that Saying*.

Joh. 12. 34. Mark 9. 32. Luk. 9. 45. 18. 34.

§. 8. *Obj.* 3*d*. P. 337.

3. Mr. *M.* farther adds, "That *the Scriptures written by* Moses *were given only to the Church of* Israel, *all other Nations,* "*as they had then several true Believers among them, when* Abraham *was separated from them, so there is not the least mention of their Total decay of Belief after that separation. All they then still believed upon Tradition, and so true Faith might be preserved among many who never heard of Scripture till Christ's time.* That Job *and his Friends lived not among the Progeny of* Abraham, *and yet* Job *was most eminent in Vertue, and true Faith, and his Friends believed in one God, held the Resurrection of the Flesh, and that God should judge all Men according to their Works, and divers other Points, relying still only upon Tradition.*

P. 338.

Whereas

Whereas Mr. *M.* declares: That *there is not the least mention of the Total decay of the belief of other Nations, when they were separated from* Abraham; and when the *Scriptures* were given by *Moses* to the *Jews*, it it already proved, that *Abraham* at his Separation left his Kindred under *Idolatry*. And as for all the Nations round about the *Jews*, and even *under the whole Heavens*; *Moses* informs us, That *they worshipped the Host of Heaven*: The *Psalmist*, That *their God's were Silver and Gold, the works of Mens hands. That all the Gods of the Nations were*, Δαιμόνια, *Dæmons*, or wicked Spirits. In the *New Testament* we are taught, That *God suffered all Nations, in time past, to walk after their own ways*; That *they knew not God*, nor *did they glorifie him as God*, That *they became vain in their Imaginations, and their foolish Hearts were darkened*, That *they served them who by nature were no Gods*; yea even in the time of *Moses*, *the Gods of the People round about the Jews, whether nigh unto them, or far from them, from the one end of the Earth unto the other end thereof, were other Gods*; and yet 'tis certain, That their *Ancestors* must have, some time or other, received from their *Forefathers* the *Worship* of the true and only God; which therefore is a *Demonstration* of the uncertainty of Doctrines received only by *Tradition*, and that Men are exceeding apt to corrupt what they do thus receive: Moreover the *Scripture*, in plain Opposition to Mr. *M.* declares, That God made known *his Godhead, and eternal Power*, to the *Heathens*, not by *Tradition*, but by *the visible things of the Creation*, that *he left not himself without a Witness*; not by giving them *Traditions*, but *in affording to them fruitful Seasons*; That *they had a Law*, not of *Traditions*, written in their Memories, but of *Nature*, *written in their Hearts*, by which they did pass Sentence of *Approbation* or *Condemnation* of their Actions, and by which they were *to be judged at the last Day*. That as for their *Traditions*, they were *vain Deceits*, and the *Traditions of Men*, *Traditions* received from their *Fathers*, which rendered their *Conversation vain*; so far were these inspired Persons from believing that true Faith was preserved among the *Heathen* by *Tradition*.

Repl. 1.
Deut. 4. 19.
Ps. 135. 15.
Ps. 96. 5.
Acts 14. 16.
1 Cor. 1. 21.
Rom. 1. 21.
Gal. 4. 8.
Deut. 13. 17.
Rom. 1. 19, 20.
Acts 14. 17.
Rom. 2. 14, 15, 16.
Coloss. 2. 8.
1 Pet. 1. 18.

Secondly, That *Job* and his *Friends* believed in one God, *&c.* not by *Tradition*, but by *the Light of Nature*, the *Fathers* do inform us, saying that; φύσει τὰ τῶ νόμω ἐπιόντα, τῇ ἀδιδάκτῳ γνώμῃ χρώμενοι,

§. 9.
Chrysost. Caten. in Job. p. 2.

χρώμενος, *he by Nature did the things required by the Law, using his untaught Knowledge.* And that the Notions by which he
Ibid. p. 391. was directed were, τῇ φύσει συνεσπαρμένας, *congenial to his Nature*, and such as God had planted in his Mind. And whereas Mr. *M.* asserts, That *he believed the Resurrection of the Flesh*, of which he could not be informed by the Light of Nature: I answer, This cannot be proved from those Words of *Job*,
Job 19. 25,26. *For I know that my Redeemer liveth*, &c. seeing the Import of them may be only this; I know that my *Redeemer*, who always liveth, can hereafter deliver me out of this miserable Condition, and though the Worms which have eaten my Skin, should proceed to consume my Flesh, yet I feel my Soul inspired with a comfortable Belief, that before I die, I shall see my self restored by the Mercy of God to an happy Estate; and in this Uncertainty the *Ancients* leave this Passage, saying, That he may be conceived here to assert that God,
Cat. p. 341. πάλιν ἐκ γῆς ἐγερεῖ διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως, *will raise him out of the Earth by a Resurrection*; or that delivering him from his Disease, he will again renew his Skin corrupted with it, and that this, ἀπαλλαγὴ τῶν κατεχόντων αὐτὸν δεινῶν, *Deliverance from his Troubles, might be called a Resurrection.*

§. 10. *Thirdly*, When *Christianity* was first preached to the *Heathen* World, and *Christians* called upon the *Heathens* to turn from their dumb *Idols* to the living God, and from their vain *Customs* received by *Tradition from their Fathers*, to the pure and spiritual Worship of the *Deity*; the *Heathens* pleaded for their *Superstitions* and *Idolatries* by the very same *Arguments* which Mr. *M.* and others of his Party, use for the Defence of their own Superstitions, against the *Protestant Religion*; saying, That *it was the Religion delivered to them from their Fathers*, their *Divines* and *Guides*, on whose Discretion and Judgment it became them to depend: That it became them to receive, as true, what was thus handed down unto them from their *Ancestors*, and that Men ought not to be permitted to examine it by their own private Reason, but to believe it upon so long and *General Tradition*, though they saw no Reason for it: *Clemens Alexandrinus*, tells us their Plea was this,
Hellen. p. 57. τὸ ἐκ Πατέρων παραδεδόμενον ἡμῖν ἔθος ἀναιρέπειν οὐκ εὔλογον, *it is not reasonable that we should change the Customs delivered to us from our Fathers.*

Fathers. *Tertullian* saith, That this was their *Apology* for their Worship, That they did, *Fidelissime tueri a patribus traditum, most faithfully adhere to the Tradition of their Fathers.* *Eusebius* saith, That the Heathen Worship still obtained, *upon the Score of keeping,* τὴν παραδόσιν, *the Depositum committed to them, and handed down by their Forefathers through many Ages, and that they look'd upon it as Irreligious,* τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν ἀποστῆναι, *to relinquish the Customs delivered to them from their Fathers, and to desert those Gods which were received,* ἐξ αἰῶνος παρὰ πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ Βαρβάροις, *from the Beginning, both by the Greeks and the Barbarians.* *This,* saith he, *was with them a fixed Rule,* δόγμα σέβειν ἕκαστον τὰ πάτρια — σχεῖν ἢ καὶ ἕπεσθαι τῇ τῶν προπατόρων εὐσεβείᾳ, *That every Man ought to worship according to the Custom of their Country, to walk by, and follow the Piety of his Forefathers, and to adhere,* τοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ κεκριμένοις θεσμοῖς, *to the Customs and Determinations which had obtained of old.* Thus in *Pseudo-Clemens,* they conclude it Impious *to prevaricate in the Religion delivered to them from their Ancestors, and not to worship those Gods,* Quæ nobis tradita sunt a Majoribus nostris, *which were delivered to us by the Tradition of our Ancestors.* *If you ask them a Reason of their Perswasion,* saith *Lactantius,* they can give you none, *Sed ad Majorum judicium confugiunt, but they fly to the judgment of their Ancestors,* saying *they were wise Men, they knew what was best.* *They persevere,* saith he, *pertinaciously to defend their Religions, as being,* a Majoribus traditæ, *delivered by their Ancestors, not considering the Quality of them,* Sed ex hoc probatas, & veras esse confidunt, quod eas Veteres tradiderunt, tantaque est Authoritas vetustatis, ut in eam inquirere scœlus esse dicatur, *but being confident that they were true, and to be approved, because their Ancestors delivered them; and so great with them, is the Authority of Antiquity, that they esteem it a Wickedness to enquire into it; imbracing that as a known Truth, which they had thus received.* *We must believe,* saith *Plato, those that were before us, and were, as they affirmed, the Progeny of the Gods, though they give no necessary Demonstration of what they say; nor shall any Man's Reason, be he never so learned,* saith *Cicero, move me from that Opinion of the Worship of the immortal Gods,* Quam a Majoribus accepi, *which I received from my Ancestors.* See here *Popery,* in the Foundation of it, borrowed from *Heathanism*; see how exactly they comply in the same Plea.

Apol. c. 6.

Præpar. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. p. 40.

L. 1. c. 2. p. 5.

Recogn. l. 5. c. 30.

L. 5. c. 19. p. 517.

Apud Theodoret. Serm. 1. p. 474.

De Nat. Deor. l. 3. ab initio p. 243.

§. 11. Moreover the Answer which the *Christians* then returned unto this Plea of *Pagans* from *Tradition*, is a sufficient Justification of the *Protestants* against the same Pretences in the Mouths of *Roman Catholicks*, and a full Evidence, that they were not *Assertors* of the *Roman Doctrine* in this Matter. For,

First, They represent it as the great Folly of the *Heathen* World, that they followed *Custom* against Reason, objecting it to their Reproach, that they did what they saw done, not what their Reason told them should be done: That among them, *Plus valet nullam habens consuetudo rationem, Custom without Reason prevailed more, than the weight of Things examined by the Nature of Truth.* *What will you do*, saith *Lactantius* to them, Majoresne potius quam Rationem sequaris? *Would you follow your Ancestors rather than Reason?* esteeming this the greatest of Absurdities. He farther adds, That *they who were led, like Beasts, by others*, Et qui sine ullo judicio inventa Majorum probant, sapientiam sibi adimunt, *and who did without Judgment approve of the Inventions of their Ancestors, deprived themselves of Wisdom.* Now if it be so great a Folly and Absurdity, and such a brutish renouncing of all Wisdom, to comply with Custom against Reason; and without exercising of our Judgments; must it not much more be so to comply with it against *Scripture*, Reason, and the whole Stream of *Primitive Antiquity*, as we must do, if we do yield a blind Submission to the Doctrines of the *Roman Church*?

Arnob. l. 7. p. 236.

L. 2. c. 6. p. 172.

P. 173.

Secondly, They prove their *Ancestors* were not to be followed without the use of Reason and Discretion, because they were so prone to receive *Fables*, and even *Monsters* of Opinions: *We are not to be drawn into Error by consenting to our Ancestors*, saith *Octavius*, Majoribus enim nostris tam facilis in mendaciis fides fuerit, ut temere crediderint etiam alia monstrosa mira miracula, *for our Ancestors were so easily imposed upon by Lyes, that they believed rashly many other monstrous Wonders.* *You plead Antiquity*, saith *Arnobius*, *as an Argument of Truth*, Quasi vero errorum Antiquitas plenissima Mater non fuerit, *as if Antiquity were not the pregnant Mother of Errors, and as if she had not brought forth all those Things, which in their ignominious Fables impute such filthy Characters to their Gods.* St. *Austin* also saith, That, *Antiquitas recepit fabulas fictas nonnunquam incondite*, *Antiquity received Fables feigned, sometimes*

P. 21.

L. 1. P. 34.

De Civ. Dei l. 22. c. 6.

sometimes incongruously: And is it not evident from the Confessions of the *Romish Doctors*, and *Historians*, that in the dark and ignorant Ages of the *Church* from the Tenth to the Fifteenth *Century*, their *Church* abounded with idle *Monks* who made it their whole Business to fill *Church History* with lying *Legends* and *Tales*, as Foolish and Ridiculous as those of *Heathens*. For *Melchior Canus* doth ingenuously confess, *Res Gestas Sanctorum falsis & commentitiis fabulis contaminari, That the Histories of the Saints were defiled with false and counterfeit Fables.* That most of their Writers have feigned so many things, either in compliance with their Affections, or on set purpose; *That he was not only ashamed, but even weary of them, their whole Narration being invented either for gain, or Error.* And speaking of their *Golden Legend*, he saith, *In illo miraculorum monstra sæpius quam vera miracula legas.* *Royardus* adds, That such Writers *weakened the truth it self*, Insertis passim fabulis ac meris nugamentis, *by the Fables and meer Fooleries they frequently inserted.* *Cornelius Agrippa* saith, That *lying piously they counterfeited Relicks, framed Miracles*, Confinguntque vel plausibiles, vel terribiles Fabulas, *and feigned plausible, or terrible Tales.* *Erasmus* saith, *They studied to commend them whom they favoured*, Fabulis vanis, & miraculis fictis, *with vain Fables, and feigned Miracles.* The like complaints you may read in *Cassander's Consultation*, in *Espencæus's Commentary* upon *Timothy*, and in *Lyranus* on the Fourteenth Chapter of *Daniel.* *Aventinus* informs us, That in the days of *Hildebrand many false Prophets*, Fabulis, & Miraculis à veritate plebem Christi avertunt, *did turn away the People from the Truth by Fables and Miracles.* *Then*, saith he, *arose false Prophets, false Apostles, false Priests*, Qui simulata Religione populum deceperunt, magna signa, & prodigia ediderunt, *who deceived the People with feigned Religion, and wrought great Signs and Wonders.* The Clergy of *Liege* add, That *then were those Stories feigned concerning* Sylvester *and* Constantine *no less ignorantly than impudently and falsly, and many others, which*, say they, *Christian Modesty will not permit us to tell, then crept in the traffique of Holy Things, and the Holy Philosophy, by the subtile interpretation of Sycophants, began to be corrupted, polluted, and violated with humane Inventions, and old Wives Fables.* *John Gerson* speaks thus, *Enquire if there*

Locor. Theolog l 11. c. 6. p. 652.

P. 650.

Ibid. p. 658.

Præfat. ante Homil. de fest. Sanctorum.

De vanit. scient. cap. 97.

In lib. Confess. August.

Cap. de Reliquiis, l. 1. c. 11. p. 156.

Lib. 5. p. 565.

P. 591.

Concil. To. 2. Edit. Colon. apud Quiritel. p. 809.

De Defect. Viror. Eccles. Consid. 16. &c. *be not Apocryphal Scriptures, Hymns, and Prayers brought into the Church in proceß of time either of purpoſe, or of ignorance, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian Faith.* He alſo ſaith, *There is very much Superſtition in the Worſhipping of Saints, innumerable Obſervations without all Ground or Reaſon, vain credulity in believing things concerning the Saints reported in the uncertain Legends of their Lives.*

Thirdly, The *Fathers* tell them, That this was the riſe of all their Errors, Minuc. p. 26. *Quod inconſulte geſtiant parentibus obedire, That they would without conſulting follow their Fore-fathers*; Et fieri maluerunt alieni erroris acceſſio quam ſibi credere, *and that they choſe rather to follow the Errors of other Men, than believe themſelves.* That they had never fallen into ſuch impiety, Clem. Alex. Adm. p. 57. εἰ μὴ συναρπαζόμενοι τῷ ἔθει, *if being carried away with Cuſtom, they had not ſhut their Eyes againſt Reaſon.* And it is alſo our perſwaſion that this adhering to the Cuſtoms of the preſent *R. Church*, and to the *Cuſtoms* which crept in, or advanced into *Articles* of her Faith, in the dark Ages of the *Weſtern Church*, gave the Riſe to her Errors. We therefore do exhort them in the Words of *Juſtin Martyr*, Cohort. ad Græc. p. 15. Μὴ τῇ πρὸ πολλοῦ γεγόνοτι ἀξιοπίστῳ προσέχειν πλάνῃ, μηδὲ, εἰ τι σφαλέντες αὐτοῖς παρέδοσαν ὑμῖν, τοῦτ' ἀληθὲς εἶναι νομίζειν, *Not without trial to aſſent to the Errors of their Fore-fathers, nor preſently to think that true, which they miſtaking, delivered to them for Tradition.*

Fourthly, They retorted the Objection, ſaying, That if it were a Fault, Arnob. p. 91. *A veteribus inſtitutis in alias res novas migrare, to quit their ancient Inſtitutions for things new, it was as well their fault as ours.* That whereas they objected to the *Chriſtians*, Tert. ad Nation. cap. 10. Divortium ab inſtitutis majorum, *their departure from the Inſtitutions of their Anceſtors, they communicated with them in the ſame Crime.* For, Excluſa a vobis Antiquitas, *you*, though you plead *Antiquity*, againſt us, *have your ſelves caſt it off.* Totam Authoritatem majorum veſtra Authoritas dejecit, *Your own Authority hath deſtroyed, or overthrown the whole Authority of the Ancients*; *and we ſee* (even whilſt you urge it againſt us) Per omnia corruptam, imo deletam in vobis Antiquitatem, *Antiquity wholly corrupted, and even extinguiſhed amongſt you*, which is the conſtant Plea of *Proteſtants*, that they deſert the *Roman Church* only as far as ſhe hath palpably deſerted the pure and *Ancient Church* of *Chriſt*, they ſeparate from her only

ly in thoſe things in which ſhe hath moſt plainly ſeparated from the Faith, and Diſcipline of *ancient Rome*, and the whole *Church* of *Chriſt*; and this hath been ſo demonſtratively proved in the *Article* of the true *Canon* of *Scripture* by *Biſhop Couſins*, of the *Pope's Supremacy* by *Doctor Barrow*, in the Articles of *Service in Latin*, *Veneration of Images*, *Communion in one Kind*, *the Seven Sacraments*, in Three late Treatiſes deſigned to prove the Fallibility of *Romiſh Councils* by their actually falſe Decrees; that none of the *Diſputers* of the *Church* of *Rome* have dared yet to meddle with them, and thereby give us good Aſſurance, who know they want not will to do it, that they cannot Anſwer them. The like hath excellently been performed in all the other controverted *Articles*, if not to the Conviction, yet to the Silencing of our *Adverſaries*.

Fifthly, They conſtantly tell the *Heathens*, That *there was a time when their Religion was New*, and when their *Gods* began to be ſo; that this being ſo, *Cum de novitate loquimini Religionum noſtrarum, veſtræ vobis in mentem non veniunt*, when they *ſpake of the Novelty of the Chriſtian Faith, they forgat the Novelty of their own Religion*; our Religion, ſay you, was not Four hundred Years ago; *and your Gods*, ſay we, *were not Two thouſand Years ago*: Now is it not ſhameful and impudent in you, *Quod agere te videas, in eo alterum reprehendere, to reprehend another for what you do your ſelves*, and to object that as a Crime to others, which may be retorted on your ſelves? Since then we as conſtantly affirm, and have as fully proved, That there was a time when the *Religion* of the *Church* of *Rome* was new in the conteſted Articles; That *Chriſtianity* had gone through ſeveral *Centuries* before any of them were received as Articles of *Chriſtian* Faith; That many of them have been introduced ſince the *Ninth Century*; may we not alſo add, that therefore *Romaniſts* forget their own *Religion*, when they Charge ours with *Novelty*, and reprehend that in us which they themſelves are truly guilty of?

Arnob. l. 2. p. 92, 93.

P. 94.

§. 12.

Sixthly, In defence of their Proceedings againſt this Objection they declare, That it was the property of Wiſe Men, μὴ πολήφει δεδόξθαι, μηδὲ ἔθεσι πεποδεδέδθαι πατρίοις, *not to be enſlaved to their former Opinions*, nor to be bound to follow the Cuſtoms

Theodo. Serm. 1. contr. Græc. p. 477.

Customs of their *Fathers*, but *to seek the Truth whereſoever they could find it.* That every Man ought, in thoſe things eſpecially which concern the manner of his living, *to truſt to his own judgment*, and rather to depend on his own Senſes in ſeeking out the truth, than, as if he himſelf were bereſt of Reaſon, *Credentem alienis erroribus decipi, to be deceived by giving credit to the Errors of others, God having given reaſon to him ſufficient to find out the Truth.* And ſpeaking of the way of Truth, they tell them, That πρὸς δὲ ταύτης γνῶσιν καὶ ἀκριβῆ κατάληψιν ἐκ ἄλλων ὄξιν ἡμῖν χρεία ἀλλ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, *there needs nothing but our ſelves to come to an exact knowledge and comprehenſion of it.* If you ask them by what internal Principle we may arrive at this knowledge, they Anſwer, Τῷ ἑκάστε ψυχῷ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ νοῦν, *That it is every Mans Soul, and the faculty of Reaſon in it.* If you enquire by what *external* Directions this Mind muſt be aſſiſted, they reply, They muſt, ἀπὸ τῶν θείων λόγων ταύτῃ εὑρεῖν, *find the Truth from the Divine Oracles*, That, αὐτάρκεις εἰσὶν αἱ ἁγίαι καὶ θεόπνευσοι γραφαὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπαγγελίαν, *they are of themſelves ſufficient for the Declaration of the Truth*, and that even an *Heathen Macarius* might learn it there. Now this is plainly ſending us to our *private Reaſon*, and Apprehenſion of the Senſe of *Scriptures* to find out the Truth, and to aſſure us, That it is an act of Wiſdom in us, not to be enſlaved to our former Opinions, nor bound up by the *Cuſtoms* of our *Fore-fathers*, from ſearching after Truth whereſoever we can find it.

Lact. l. 2. c. 7. P. 273.

Athan. contr. Gent. p.32,33.

Ibid. p. 1.

Seventhly, They add, That the *Heathens* ought not to prejudge and run them down with this *Preſcription*, or by objecting to them their revolt, *A Religione majorum*, from the Religion of their *Anceſtors*, but fairly ought to come unto the merits of the Cauſe: *Cauſam convenit ut inſpiciatis, non factum, nec quid reliquimus opponere, ſed ſecuti quid ſimus potiſſimum contueri, You are not*, ſaith *Arnobius*, *to condemn us for the Fact, without enquiring whether we had not a juſt Cauſe for doing it, nor object to us what we have left, without conſidering what we have embraced in lieu of it; for what hinders, why as others who invented Falſhoods delivered them to Poſterity*; Sic nos qui verum invenimus poſteris meliora tradamus, *ſo we who have found the Truth may deliver better things to Poſterity?* Which Paſſages are a full Anſwer to all the *French Rhetorick*

Lib. 2. p. 90.

torick touching the *Prejugez legitimes contre les Calvinistes.*

Eighthly, In particular against this manner of prejudging, which is now become almost the only Refuge of the *Romanists*; they say, §. 13.

1*st*. That they ought not to be run down with multitude, that Religion could not be proved true because it had many Followers, or false, because it had but few *Assertors*; and that even the *Christian* Religion could neither be proved nor disproved upon this account, and that this vain pretence of *Heathens* had already been answered by the *Christians*, mille modis, *a thousand ways*, and refuted by most cogent Reasons: And indeed among the Relicks of *Antiquity* ascribed by some to *Athanasius*, by others to *Theodoret*, to *Maximus*, to *Etherius*, we have one brief, but full Discourse, πρὸς τὸς πλήθει μόνῳ κρίνοντες ἀληθείαν, *against them who judge of Truth only by multitude*. Where the *Author* first tells us, that he is to combat, κατὰ τὸ ψεῦδος, *against a false Assertion*; that the *Authors* of it are *Objects of Pity or Commiseration*; that *they fled to this miserable Refuge only for want of Reason on their side*, and even *confessed their being vanquished*; that *multitude was proper to fright a Man, but by no means to perswade him*; that *in the concernments of this World we do not much regard it*; and much less should we be moved by it in heavenly Matters, to recede from the Testimonies of the *Scriptures*, and the agreeing Sentiments of the *Ancients*; that our Lord had told us, That *many are called, but few chosen*; That *streight was the Gate which leadeth unto Life, and few there be that find it*; And that *every wise Man would rather be of the number of those few, than of that number which goes in the broad way*: For *had any Man lived in the days of* Stephen, *would he not rather have been of his side alone, than of the side of the multitude which rose up against him. Had not* Phineas *boldly opposed himself to the prevailing multitude, the Plague had not ceased, nor had the rest been saved*; *Was it not better to fly with* Noah *to the Ark, than with the multitude to perish in the deluge? to go alone with* Lot *from* Sodom, *than with the multitude to perish there? We indeed venerate the multi-*

Arnob. l. 3. ab initio.

Athanas. Tom. 2. p. 293. Πῶς ἂν οὐκ ἐλεεῖσθαι οἱ πλήθει μόνῳ τὸ λόγου κρῖναι τὸ ἰσχὺν ἀπονέμοντες, καὶ ἀφυλάγων εἰς πλῆθος ὁμολογεῖ τὸ ἧτταν — Πλῆθος ὃ χωρὶς ἀποδείξεων αὐδεντῶν φοβῆσαι μὲν ἱκανὸν, πεῖσαι δ' οὐδαμῶς — Οὐρανίων δὲ χρὴ περὶ δογμάτων νόμασιν ἀναποδείκτοις ἀκολουθήσω — τῆς δὲ γραφῶν μαρτυρίας παραδοθέντων ἀναχωρήσας;

P. 294.

multitude, but then it is a multitude, οὐ τὸ φεύγον ἐξέτασιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ παρέχον ἀπόδειξιν, *which flies not examination, but which affordeth demonstration.*

Ἀλόγως πιστεύω; καὶ μὴ ἐξετάσω τι δίκαιον, ἢ σύμφερον, ἢ πρέπον, ἢ θεῷ φίλον, ἢ τῇ φύσει καταλληλον, ἢ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σύμφωνον, ἢ τῷ μυστηρίῳ ἁρμόδιον, ἢ τὸ εὐσεβείας ἄξιον; Apud. Athanas. To. 2. p. 325.

2*dly.* They add, That they ought not to be called upon to yield a blind assent to the Dictates of other Men, without using their own Judgments to consider and enquire, *What is possible, what is suitable, or unsuitable, what acceptable to God, what is congruous to Nature, what consonant to Truth, what accords with the Mystery, what is agreeable to piety.* They have accordingly left us a Discourse in opposition to those Men who required them, ἁπλῶς πιστεύειν τοῖς λέγουσιν, καὶ μὴ καλανοεῖν τὸ πρέπον ἢ ἀπρεπες, *simply to believe their Dictates, without considering what was fit or unfit to be embraced,* informing us, That this was of many, καὶ δεινῶν δογμάτων, *horrible Doctrines, the worst, which Satan had invented to lead Men into dangerous Deceits:* That it was the Doctrine of Men *who imperiously commanded all Men to follow their Dictates,* and, ἀλόγως πιστεύειν, *to believe without Reason,* and *called that Faith which was an assent without trial to things unstable and undemonstrated;* That it was, τὸ πλανῆς καὶ πᾶν κακῶν ὅλων ἄπον, *the rise of Error, and of all Evils, the Doctrine of all Hereticks, who declined the Examination, that they might avoid the confutation of their Doctrines;* That according to it *no Man could find the way of Truth, or avoid the precipice of Error;* That according to it *we being asked to yield assent to the unproved Doctrines of Hereticks and Heathens, should consent to do so:* Whereas if we examine what we are required to believe, we shall have full assurance of the Faith, μητὲ χωρεὶς λόγε πιστεύοντες, μητὲ χωρεὶς πίστεως λέγοντες, *neither believing without reason, nor speaking without Faith.*

Τὶς γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων τὴν καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκ ἀξιοῖ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῆ λεγομένοις ἀκρίτως πιστεύειν καὶ παραιτεῖται τὴν ἐξέτασιν; ἵνα φύγῃ τὸν ἔλεγχον. Pag. 326.

Τὶς εὑρήσει λοιπὸν τὴν ἀληθείας ὁδόν.

P. 327.

Ninthly, They say that it must be acknowledged that they had rationally cast off the Customs and *Traditions* of their *Fore-fathers,* because they could discover wherein they had generally erred: For thus *Eusebius* speaks, *If we can shew that,* πάντες ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι, *all the Heathens and Barbarians which were before our Saviours time, did not know the true God, but either worshipped those which were no Gods, or evil Spirits, it must be then confessed that we acted,* κρίσει δικαίᾳ καὶ ἀληθεῖ, *by a true*

Præpar. Evang. l. 4. c. 4.

true and righteous Judgment when we became, Ἀποστάται τῆς Πατροπαραδότου δεισιδαιμονίας, *Revolters from the Superstition of our Fore-fathers*; If therefore we not only can, but actually have shewed in the forementioned particulars, that the *Church* of *Rome* hath generally erred; then must it also be acknowledged, that our Separation from her was the result of Truth and Righteousness.

Tenthly, They lastly say, That their Religion must be *Ancient* because it consisted in the Worship of the *Supream God*, Quo non est antiquius quicquam, *than whom nothing is more Ancient*: And in like manner we declare our *positive Religion* must be *Ancient*, because it consists of the *Articles* delivered in the *Scriptures* of the *New Testament*, and in the *Symbol* of the *Apostles*, and taught by the Four first *Centuries*; we therefore in like manner do conclude with them, as to all the *positive Articles* of our *Religion*, Non ergo quod sequimur novum est, sed nos sero addicimus quidnam sequi oporteat, *That what we follow is not New, though 'twas but lately that we learned that it was that*, and that alone *we ought to follow.* Arnob. l. 2. p. 95.

Now by impartial consideration of these particulars, I leave any Man of Reason to judge whose *Religion* is most suitable in the general Grounds of it, to the Sentiments of *Antiquity*, whether we *Protestants* plead any thing against those of *Rome*, which the *ancient Christians* did not also plead against the *Heathens*, and whether the most plausible Objections of the *Romanists* against us be not fully answered by what these *Fathers* say in the defence of common *Christianity* against the *Hereticks* and *Heathens.*

4*thly.* Mr. *M.* adds, That *all those who had been instructed by the Apostles before Scripture was written, converted and instructed Thousands who never had heard any Apostle preach, and all these believed on the Authority of the then present Church: That from the preaching of Christ unto the finishing of the Canon, and the divulging of the same in such Languages as all Nations understood, very many Years passed, and all the true Believers in Christ's Church were governed by Tradition only.* *Object.* 4. P. 322, 340. P. 415.

R. H. doth also tell us, That *God, besides, and before the New Testament Scriptures, left these Doctrines sufficiently revealed to the then appointed Ecclesiastical Guides, from whom both the present People, and the future Successors of those Guides both were,* *Guide of Controv. Disc.* 2. *ch.* 5. §. 42.

and might rationally know they were to learn them, and so, had there been no Scriptures, might to this Day, by meer Tradition have learn'd them sufficiently for their Salvation.

Reply 1. *First*, To this I answer, That Mr. *M.* is much out when he talks of *Seventy* or *Eighty* Years before those *Scriptures* were written, which were to be the future Rule of *Christians*; for the *Gospel* of St. *Matthew* was writ, saith the *Tradition* of the *Fathers*, μετὰ ὀκτὼ ἔτη τὴν τοῦ χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως, *Eight Years after our Lords Ascension.* *Mark* writ his *Gospel* whilst St. *Peter* lived, μετὰ δέκα ἔτη τὴν τοῦ χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως, *Ten Years after our Lords Assumption*, saith *Theophylact*. St. *Luke* writ, μετὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη τὴν τοῦ χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως, *Fifteen Years after our Lords Ascension*, say *Dorotheus* and *Theophylact*. St. *John*, μετὰ τριάκοντα δύο, *Thirty two Years after our Lords Ascension*, saith the same *Theophylact*. Now these *Gospels*, as I before have proved, were by the *General Tradition* of the whole *Church* of *Christ*, esteemed sufficiently to contain that *Christian* Doctrine which the *Apostles* taught, and purposely to have been written to preserve it entire to Posterity.

Theoph. proem. in Matth. Athan. Synops. p. 155. Proem. in Luc. Chap. 7. §. 2.

Secondly, This Argument is wholly overthrown by this one Observation, That the *Apostles* in their Preaching declare, that they spake only what was written in the Books of the *Old Testament*, or might be clearly gathered thence: When they undertook to prove any Article of *Christian* Faith, they proved it from the *Scriptures* of the *Old Testament*: When they reasoned with others, to bring them to the Faith, they did it from the same *Scriptures*, *saying none other Things than those which the Prophets, and* Moses *did say should come*: When they would have their *Proselytes* confirmed in the *Christian* Faith, they send them to this *more sure Word of Prophecy*, encouraging them *to take heed to it, as to a Light that shineth in a dark Place*: And declaring that those very *Scriptures*, which *Timothy had known from a Child*, that is, before one Book of the *New Testament* was written, *were able*, through Faith in *Christ*, or the Belief that *Jesus is the Messiah* promised in them, *to make him Wise unto Salvation*: That they were *profitable for Doctrine and Instruction in Righteousness, for Reproof, for Correction, that the Man of God may be perfect* (both as to his own Practice, and his teaching others) *throughly furnished to every good Work.*

Acts 26. 22. 1 Cor. 15. 2, 3, 4. 2 Pet. 1. 19. 2 Tim. 3. 15. 16, 17. Obadiah paraph. in locum.

If

If then, before the *Scriptures* of the *New Teſtament* were written, theſe inſpired Perſons taught their Converts out of the *Old Teſtament*, and ſent them thither to learn the Truth of what they ſaid; and bad them have Recourſe unto thoſe Writings, as being *able to make them Wiſe unto Salvation*, and as being *more certain*, and more to be heeded, than that *Voice from Heaven, of which they themſelves teſtified*: Doubtleſs, when they themſelves, by the ſame *Spirit*, had indited the *New Teſtament*, they muſt be more concerned that they ſhould be guided by that written Word; then alſo it is evident, that they did not invite Men to believe meerly on the *Authority*, or *Oral Tradition*, of the then preſent *Church*, nor practiſed any thing whence it might be concluded, that after Ages, *by meer Tradition might be ſufficiently inſtructed in the things which concerned their eternal Welfare.* Nay they ſufficiently declared the contrary, by chuſing to adhere themſelves, and call on others to adhere to what was taught concerning the *Meſſiah* in the *Old Teſtament*, when *Tradition* was ſo freſh, their *Authority* ſo fully was confirmed by *Miracles*, and they to whom they ſpake had the inſpired *Apoſtles* in any matter of Diſpute or Controverſy to repair unto.

§ 15.

Thirdly, St. *Luke* informs us, that he received his Goſpel by *Tradition*, and that he had committed it to Writing that his *Theophilus might know*, τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, *the Certainty of thoſe Doctrines, in which he had been formerly inſtructed*; clearly inſinuating, that he conceived the *written* Word a means of adding certainty to what was only taught by Word of Mouth. Accordingly *Euſebius* informs us, that he was neceſſitated to write his *Goſpel*, that he might give us, τὸν ἀσφαλῆ λόγον, *a firm Account* of thoſe things which he had learned from his Converſation with St. *Paul*, and with the reſt of the *Apoſtles*. *Church Hiſtory* ſaith of St. *Matthew*, That he was conſtrained to write his Goſpel, that by ſo doing he might ſupply, τὸ λεῖπον τῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ, *the want of his own Preſence with them*; and that when he was by Perſecution ſeparated from them, *his Converts might not want the Doctrine of Faith, but whereſoever they were, might retain*, Totius fidei ſtatum, *the entire form of Faith.* The ſame *Tradition* doth inform us, That the Firſt *Chriſtian* Converts, when they had heard the *Apoſtles* preach

Luke 1. 2, 4.

Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 24.

Euſeb. ibid.

Opus imperf. in Matth. præfat.

See Chap. 7. §. 1, 2.

the *Christian* Faith, would not be satisfied with receiving it, τῇ ἀγεγράφῳ διδασκαλίᾳ, *by Oral Teaching*, but *earnestly requested to have it left in Writing with them.* That the believing *Jews*, Petierunt Matthæum ut omnium verborum & operum Christi conscriberet eis historiam, *To write the History of all Christ's Words and Works, that they might have a compleat System of their Faith.* That the *Romans* earnestly desired *Mark*, τὸ διὰ γεγραφῆς ὑπόμνημα τῆς διὰ λόγου παραδοθείσης αὐτοῖς καταλείπειν διδασκαλίας, *to leave in Writing a Memorial of the Doctrine delivered to them by word of Mouth, and never would desist till they had obtained it*; and that it was, ἡ εὐσεβείας φέγγος, *the light of Piety, which would not suffer them to rest satisfied with the Oral Tradition of the Faith*; that by the same perswasion, τῶν γνωρίμων, *of his familiar Acquaintance*, of *all the Bishops of* Asia, *and the Ambassies of many Churches.* St. *John*, who before had spent all his time, ἀγεγράφῳ κηρύγματι, *in Oral Preaching*, *was at last moved to write his Gospel.* The same *Tradition* adds, That the *Apostles* having preached the *Gospel*, *committed it to Writing to be the Pillar and the Ground of Faith to future Ages*, τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν ἀγκυρὰς καὶ ἑρείσματα, *the Anchors and Foundations of our Faith*, ἵνα ἐκ τούτων διδασκόμενοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, *That from these Scriptures being taught the truth, we might not be drawn aside by the Falsehoods of Heresies.* And lastly, That if they had not left in *Writing* what they preached, they had preached Salvation, τοῖς τότε μόνον ἀκούσασι, *only to them who heard them Preach, and should have had no care of Posterity, because*, τὰ ἀγεγράφως λεγόμενα, *things only orally delivered would quickly vanish, there being no demonstration of their Truth.* Which words, as they expressly do confute the certainty of Doctrines only delivered to Posterity by word of Mouth; so the forementioned *Traditions* do sufficiently inform us, what was the Judgment of the *ancient Church* in this Affair, *viz.* That to ascertain those *Christians* who were taught the principles of their *Religion*, it was necessary that should be written which they had been taught; that they could not well otherwise supply their absence, or leave to their *Disciples* an entire System of the *Christian* Faith, than by committing it to Writing; that Piety should not permit even the *Romans* to rest satisfied without such written Monuments of what they had been taught, or to conceive it was sufficient that they had received it by *Tradition*, and that the Wisdom

Hieron. Prolog. in Matth. Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 24.

Athan. Synops. p. 61. Theophylact. proem. in Mat.

Orig. Dial. contr. Marcion. p. 59.

of

of the *Holy Ghost* instructed the *Apostles* to commit to writing that which they had Preached by Word of Mouth, that so it might become to future Ages *the Pillar and the Ground of Truth*, and a sufficient *Antidote* against the *Heresies* which afterwards prevailed in the *Church*. And that the zeal of the first Successors of *Christian* Faith imployed it self as much in leaving to their Converts throughout all the World, τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων γραφὴν, *the Writings of the Holy Gospels*, as in preaching *Christ* unto them. Euseb. H. Eccl. l. 3. c. 37.

In Answer to *Mr. M's.* Fourth Reason for the Infallibility of *Tradition*, I grant, That *a Tradition made as credible to any Man, as it may be made credible to one who never saw* London, *that there is such a City as* London, *and that it is the head Town of* England, *will be a good and a sufficient Proof, that the Traditions of the Church of* Rome *are true*, and that upon such Evidence afforded, it will be most *unreasonable to question the Truth* of them; but then I think it is the vainest thing imaginable for any person to attempt to prove them from a like Tradition. P. 354.

For doth Mr. *M.* know of any Man whoever doubted that there was such a *City* as *London*, or that it was the *head Town of England*? Did he ever read or hear of any large Discourses, any *Testimonies* brought from *ancient Records*, or *Traditions*, from *Divine Revelation*, or from *Reason*, to prove there was or could be no such *Capital City* in *England*? Can he produce as many Eye and Ear Witnesses that the *Traditions* of the *Church* of *Rome* are truly *Apostolical*, as may be easily produced for such a *City*? Let Mr. *M.* once prove that the *Traditions* of the *Romish Church* were always generally received by all Mankind, and that none ever had the Confidence to Question the Truth of any of them: Let him prove them from *Myriads* of Eye *Witnesses*, who saw them writ by the *Apostles*, or *Primitive Professors* of *Christianity*, as plainly as ever any Man saw *London*; or as many Ear *Witnesses* hearing the *Apostles* preaching these Traditions, as ever heard this *Capital City* mentioned by those who saw it: Let him prove them by as many persons who writ to the *Apostles* concerning these *Traditions*, as have writ to *London*, and by as many who resorted to the *Apostles* to learn these *Traditions*, as have resorted to this *City*; by as many Books describing these *Traditions* in the very Age in which they are supposed to have been delivered,

as

as there are Books which in this Age make mention of the *City* of *London*, and by as many *Canons* of the *Primitive Church* relating to these *Traditions*, as there are *Statutes* and *Discourses* relating to the *City*, Trade, and Government of *London*. And I will then acknowledge, That it is *impudent, impious and blasphemous Impiety* to doubt the Truth of these *Traditions*.

Mr. *M.* indeed supposeth, That *it is as evidently credible that God hath revealed such and such Verities, as it is credible by humane Tradition, that there is such a City as* London; but this he never undertakes to prove, as knowing that it was an easier matter to suppose it: And then he adds, *That the very self same Tradition tells me that the same God who revealed by his Apostles so many other Verities to his Church, did also reveal by the same Apostles, to the same Church; that this Church was to be heard as the Mistress of Truth, with whom he would ever be present, suggesting to her all Truth, and never permitting the Gates of Hell to prevail against her, that he placed her as a Pillar and Ground of Truth, giving her such Pastors as should secure her Children from being tossed to and fro with every Wind of Doctrine, and consequently this same Tradition tells me, God hath revealed this Verity of her being Infallible, in proposing any Point for Divine Faith.*

P. 355, 356.

Reply. Now, *First*, Mr. *M.* is miserably out in this *Discourse*, for not one of these *Revelations* here mentioned, whatsoever is the import of them, have descended to us by *Oral Tradition*, but are all of them contained in *Scripture* as far as they are truly cited.

Secondly, Whereas the Evidence that there is such a *City* as *London*, is so great, that never any Body could deny, or question it; that the *Church* is *Infallible* in propounding any Point of Faith, not clearly revealed in the *Holy Scripture*, or that there are indeed any such Points of Faith, is at present, and hath been formerly denied by many *Myriads* of learned and pious Men, whose worldly Interest it is, and was to believe that true which they deny to be so, and whose rejoicement it would be to find it true, and that none of the places here produced prove this *Infallibility*, or by the *Primitive Professors* of *Christianity* were esteemed to prove it, they have unanimously held, and do at present hold.

Ibid. *Thirdly*, Whereas he saith, *He did see with his Eyes that she* (viz. the *Church* of God) *did propose her Traditions for Verities received*

received from God. Let it be noted, That Mr. *M.* confounds the Church of *Rome* and the Church of *God*, excluding all the *Protestants*, the *Greek Church*, and the *Eastern Christians*, not subject to the *Pope*, from that *Church, out of which there is no Salvation*, (which, I hope, is not so evident, as that there is such a *City* as *London*,) for it is not the whole *Church*, but that of *Rome*, which claims this *Infallibility*, and on that account proposeth her *Traditions* for Verities received from God. Now then let us return to our *Capital City* of *London*, and we shall find the whole Nation, though of different Parties, Interests, and Judgments, agreeing that there is in *England* such a *Capital City* as *London*, but yet we find half the whole *Christian* World utterly denying many *Traditions* of the Church of *Rome*, to be Verities received from God, and in particular that of the *Pope*'s *Supremacy*, without which the Church of *Rome* neither doth nor can pretend to be the whole *Church Catholick*. Now this denial of her pretended Traditions by so many *Churches*, professing a like Veneration for those *Traditions* which are truly *Primitive*, must prove as strongly, that the *Traditions* of the Church of *Rome* are falsly so called, as her *Assertion* can be supposed to prove them *Divine Verities*.

Again, whereas there are no universally received *Records* which give us the least cause to doubt whether there be such a *City* as *London*, *&c.* the *Records* of the *Scriptures*, *Councils*, and *Fathers* of the *Church*, cause many *Myriads* to believe the Doctrines and Practices peculiar to the *Roman Church*, are so far from being *Apostolical Traditions*, that they are plainly opposite to the Doctrines, Practices, and Traditions formerly received, and approved in the Church of *Christ*; and this they do believe so firmly, that they rather chuse to suffer loss of Life, and all the Comforts of it, than own these Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, as *Apostolical Traditions*.

Moreover, whereas it is no Man's Interest to make the World believe there was such a *City* as *London*, if there was no such place in being, it is the Interest of the whole *Church* of *Rome* to set up this pretence to *Infallibility* in the *General*, that finding it disclaimed by other *Churches*, she with some Colour may pretend unto it; and 'tis the Interest of the *Roman Clergy*, as much to stickle for the Truth of her *pretended Traditions*

Traditions, as it was the Interest of *Demetrius*, and his Fellow Artists, to avouch to the *Ephesians*, *They might be truly Gods which were made by Hands*; and that the *Image* of *Diana* truly *fell down from Jupiter*, since otherwise *their Craft would be set at nought*. And as it was the Interest of the *Master* of the *Pythoniss* to be angry with St. *Paul* for casting out the *Evil Spirit* from her, because thereby *his Hopes of Gain was gone*; For if Men will not receive their *Traditions* as the Truths of God, they cannot *Lord it over their Consciences*, nor drain their Purses, nor give Laws at pleasure to the *Christian* World, but must be put to the hard task of proving what they would have us take upon their Words.

And, *Fourthly*, Whereas he that doubteth whether there be such a *City* as *London*, may repair unto it to be convinced by ocular demonstration, whither shall he repair who doubteth of the Truth of the *Traditions* of the *Church* of *Rome* for Satisfaction in that Matter? Will you send him to *Scripture?* You have already told him he cannot know what is *Scripture*, what *Copies*, and what *Texts* are uncorrupted, what *Translation* of it is *Authentick*, but by the *Church*; and also, that when he knows all this, he cannot understand the meaning of the *Scriptures* in places disputable, and variously sensed, as you know those are by which you prove both the *Churches Infallibility*, and the Pretences of the *Roman Church* to be Infallible.

P. 360. Will you send him with Mr. *M. To the unanimous Consent and Tradition of our Church*; that is, the *Church* of *Rome*, what is this, but to bid him believe that Self-evident which he thinks evidently false, to believe the Church of *Rome* to be *Infallible* in her *Traditions*, and then he will not doubt of her *Infallibility*, or to turn *Roman Catholick*, and then he will no longer be a *Protestant*? Will you add with him, That *what is proposed*

Ibid. *by the Tradition of such a Church is evidently credible, and sufficient to beget an infallible assent?* Is it not then matter of Amazement, that so many *Millions* of Persons throughout the World endowed with intellectuals as piercing, and accomplished with all Abilities which their Adversaries can boast of, yea who many of them have strong temporal motives to incline them to embrace the *Romish Traditions*, and all the miseries which *Papal Tyranny* can inflict to awaken them into a serious con-

consideration of all the Evidence that can be offered for them, and who are Men seriously industrious to attain Salvation, and Men who know they must perish everlastingly if they resist the Truth clearly propounded to them: I say, is it not matter of Amazement that so many persons, so qualified, should, from Generation to Generation, so unanimously reject what is evidently credible, and able to beget within them an infallible assent; yea, that they should dispute, and write many Books against it, though they could never do so, but they must contradict what is self-Evident? What is this, but in effect to say, All *Protestants* always were, are, and must be, whilst they continue *Protestants*, resolved to be damned, and as obstinate as the very *Devil* in doing what they know must tend to their eternal Condemnation? Will you send him to the *Universal Church*; either by it you mean only the *R. Church*, and her Adherents, or you do not; if you do, you again send him to the *Church* of *Rome*; if you do not, you must renounce that *Article* of Faith, which all your *Clergy* stand by Oath obliged to defend, *viz.* the *Roman Catholick Church*, and with it your Pretences to *Infallibility* on the account of any of these Promises, which do confessedly belong only unto the *Universal Church* of *Christ*.

CHAP. XII.

Mr. M's. *Fifth Assertion, That all Catholicks ever held that for true which was owned by the Universal Church of their times, and rejected the contrary as an Error, answered by way of Concession*, §. 1. First, *That this is absolutely true in reference to Doctrines and Practices, truly necessary to the Being of a Church. But*, Secondly, *That this is with* Lirinensis *to be restrained to the Fundamentals of Faith, is proved*, 1st. *from Scripture*, 2dly. *from Reason*, §. 2. Thirdly, *From Instances*; *as*, First, *That of the Administration of the Sacrament to Infants, which they generally practised both in the* Eastern *and the* Western *Churches*, §. 3. *They declared this Practice to be necessary*, §. 4. *That they speak not this of such a participation of the Body and Blood of Christ, as may be had in Baptism,*

but plainly of the Participation of the Eucharist, §. 5. *Inferences hence*, 1. *To prove the Definition of the* Trent *Council, touching this Matter actually False.* 2ly. *That the Practice or Doctrine of the Church in any Age, is no true Evidence of Tradition, or the right Interpretation of Holy Scripture.* 3ly. *That Mr.* M's. *Argument, for Prayer for the Dead, from Tradition, is not convincing*, §. 6. 2. *From the Opinion of the Fathers, That it was not lawful for a Christian to swear at all*, §. 7. 3ly. *From their Opinion, That good Angels were transported with the Love of Women, and got Gyants of them*, §. 8. 4ly. *From their Opinion, That it was unlawful for any Clergyman to engage himself in Secular Affairs*, §. 9. *Or to go from one Church or Dioces to another*, §. 10. 3ly. *When whole Churches and Nations differ, and Heresies prevail, the Fathers say we are, for finding out the Truth, to have Recourse only to Scripture, and to primitive Tradition*, §. 11. *A full Answer to Mr.* M's. *Argument for Tradition, from the Ancient Custom of praying for the Dead; shewing on what Accounts the Ancients did it, what Reason we have not to do it; That the Prayers for them, used by the Church of* Rome, *are Novelties, and that those used by the Ancients, were perfectly destructive of the* Roman *Purgatory*, §. 12.

§. 1. P. 367, 368. MR. *M.* saith, That *whatsoever was held by the Universal Church, was without farther Question held for true, and the contrary to it was ever rejected as an Error.*—— *Neither will you ever find a Catholick who ever had the Boldness to say that the Church of his Days did universally hold any thing that was an Error; nor shall you ever read of any Catholick who refused to conform himself to the Universal Belief and Practice which was current in the whole Church of their times.*

Now to this I answer, That the *Universal Church* may be considered Two ways. 1. In a State of *Unity* within her self, so that her Members do universally agree in the same Doctrine and Practice, few or none dissenting from the common Doctrine of the *Church*; or in that State in which her Members are unhappily divided, by reason of the different Sentiments of many great and famous *Churches*, which yet exclude not either Party from being Members of the *Church Catholick*, as she hath always been since the great Rupture betwixt the

East

East and *West*; and as the *West* hath often been divided, by reason of the great and lasting *Schismes* which have happened betwixt contending *Popes* and *Emperors*, and betwixt *Popes* and *Councils*, contending for *Superiority*.

2. I add, That this Agreement of the present *Universal Church*, may either be in Doctrines and Practices necessary to the Being of a *Church*; or else in Doctrines and Practices unnecessary, on which the Being or the Welfare of the *Church* doth not depend: Having premised these Distinctions, I answer;

First, That in Doctrines and Practices truly necessary to the Being of a *Church*, the Agreement of the *Universal Church* is a sufficient Evidence that all such Doctrines and Practices derived from the *Apostles*; because they were as necessary to be held throughout all former Ages, as in this. And therefore in such Doctrines as were rejected by the *Universal Church* as *Heresies*, *Austin* saith truly, That it was sufficient Cause to reject them, *because the Church held the contrary*; they being such as did, *Oppugnare Regulam veritatis, oppose her Rule of Faith*, or *Symbol*, universally received: And that it was sufficient to perswade any Man he ought not, *Aliquid horum in fidem recipere, to embrace any of the Doctrines of Hereticks* as Articles of Faith; *because the Church*, who could not be deficient in any point of necessary Faith, *did not receive them.* This way of Arguing negatively, we therefore, with St. *Austin*, do allow, *The Universal Church knows no such Doctrine*; ergo, *it is no Article I am obliged to receive as any part of Christian Faith. The Universal Church of Christ knows no such Practice, therefore it is no Practice necessary to be done by Christians.* De Hær. c. 90.

But, *Secondly*, In Reference to such Doctrines, or Practices, on which the Being and the Welfare of the Church doth not depend: I say, the Agreement of the present *Church* can be no certain Argument, either of the Truth of the Doctrine, or of the Derivation, either of the Doctrine or Practice, from *Apostolical Tradition.* And this seems very suitable, even to the Rule of *Lirinensis*, who having advised us to embrace that Sence of *Scripture*, and those Tenets which were *Ecclesiastical* and *universally* received, he saith, *this is especially to be observed*, in iis, duntaxat, quæstionibus quibus totius Catholici dogmatis fundamenta nituntur, *In those Questions only, on* Common. c. 41.

which depend the Foundations of the Catholick Faith. And this is also evident from *Scripture*, *Reason*, and *Tradition.*

First, From *Scripture*, which plainly doth inform us, that the *Rulers* of the *Jewish Church* had *taught for Doctrines the Commandments of Men*, and such *Traditions* as *made void the Law of God*, and by which they taught others to transgress it, and by which they deserved the Title of *blind Guides leading the Blind:* And these *Traditions* were received and observed by all the *Jews*, *Traditions* of the *Elders*, αἱ Πατρικαὶ παραδόσεις, *Traditions received from their Fathers*; Customs which they who did not walk according to, were thought to teach *Apostasy* from *Moses.* Now if the whole *Jewish Church* of that Age might thus mistake in what she taught as Doctrines of the *Scripture*, or *Practices*, and Doctines received from *Moses* by *Tradiion*, why may not the *Christian Church* of this present Age, or any other, be subject to the like Mistakes in Doctrine or in Practice?

Mark 7. 3. Gal. 1. 14.

Again, That the Doctrines of the *Millenium*, *of the Day of Judgment*, *being nigh at hand*; *of the Reservation of good Souls in some place different from the highest Heavens*, were very prevalent in the first Ages of the *Church*, I have already proved, though now they do as generally pass for Errors: And the like may be easily proved of many Practices now wholly laid aside. St. *Austin* in his Time complained, That *all things or places were filled with manifold Presumptions*, and that these Corruptions had so generally obtained, *that albeit he thought they ought to be redressed*, *yet durst he not freely disprove them*; and if so many *Superstitions* were so publickly avowed and practised in his time, and urged upon others by the greatest part of the *Church*; and if so many Doctrines prevailed in the greatest part of the *Church* in former Ages, which now pass for *Errors*, why might they not generally do so? What Reason can be given why the whole might not continue the true *Church* of *Christ*, and hold these Doctrines, and espouse these Practices, as well as so great Parts of the *Church* continue true Parts of the *Church*, and do so?

Chap. 4. §. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

Quod autem instituitur præter consuetudinem, ut quasi observatio Sacramenti sit, approbare non possum, etiamsi multa hujusmodi, propter nonnullarum, vel sanctarum, vel turbulentarum personarum scandala devitanda, liberius improbare non audeo, sed hoc nimis doleo, quia tam multis præsumptionibus plena sunt omnia. *Epist. ad Jan.* 119. *cap.* 19.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, It is evident from *Church Hiſtory*, that Doctrines and Practices have generally obtained in ſome Ages of the *Church*, and paſſed for *Apoſtolical* Traditions, which have in after Ages been diſcarded, as, *v. g.*

Firſt, The Adminiſtration of the *Euchariſt* to *Infants*, and the principle upon which they did it, *viz. That without Baptiſm and the Supper of the Lord, no Man could have Life eternal.* The *Punick Chriſtians*, ſaith St. *Auſtin*, *call Baptiſm Salvation, and the participation of Chriſts body, Life. Whence is this*, Niſi ex antiqua, ut exiſtimo, & Apoſtolica Traditione, qua Eccleſiæ Chriſti inſitum tenent, *but from an Ancient, and as I ſuppoſe, Apoſtolical Tradition, by which the Churches of Chriſt have this deeply ſetled in them, That without Baptiſm, and the Participation of the Lord's Supper, no Man can attain to the Kingdom of God, or to Life Eternal:* Whence he concludes, That *it is in vain to promiſe the Kingdom of God, or Life Eternal, to Children, without both theſe Sacraments*; and that with the plaineſt Evidence, provided that his Principle hold good. Now of this Matter let it be conſidered:

To. 7. li. de pecc. Merit. & Remiſſ. c. 24.

§ 3.

That it was certainly the Practice of the whole *Church* of *Chriſt* for many Ages, as appears touching the *Greek Church* and their Dependants from the continuance of this Practice to this very Day, touching the *Eaſtern Churches* from their continuance of it by *Tradition*, even ſince their Separation from other *Churches* in the Fifth and the Sixth *Centuries*; for it is practiſed ſtill by the *Cophti*, or *Ægyptian Chriſtians*, by the *Habaſſines*, by the *Armenians*, and by the *Maronites*, ſaith *Brierwood*.

Notandum quod ex hoc quod dicitur hic, niſi manducaveritis, &c. dicunt Græci, quod hoc Sacramentum eſt tantæ neceſſitatis quod pueris debet dari, ſicut baptiſmus, *Nichol de Lyra in Joh.* 6.

Brierw. p. 157. p. 165, 173. 178.

Moreover in the Third *Century*, *Cyprian* ſpeaks of it as a Thing then in uſe, witneſs that Story he relates of the Child, who, through the Wickedneſs of the Nurſe, having taſted of the *Idol Sacrifice*, when the *Deacon* came to give it the Cup, turned away its Face, and ſhut its Mouth, and when the *Deacon* forced the Wine into its Mouth, preſently threw it out again; and Witneſs the *Apology* he thus makes for ſuch Children, *We did not on our own Accord make haſt to the profane Contagions*, Derelicto cibo, & poculo domini, *leaving the Food*,

De lapſ. p. 132.

Ibid. p. 125.

Food, and the Cup of the Lord, 'twas the Perfidiousness of others that destroyed us; and he seems to assert the *Necessity* of it from the Sixth of *John*, in the Third Book of *Testimonies* to *Quirinus*.

Cap. 25, 26.

Const. Apost. l. 8. c. 13.

In the First Form of *Liturgy* we meet with in the *Church* of *Christ*, we find this Practice prescribed to be used in *Christian Churches*, *Let the Bishop communicate, and after him the Priests, the Deacons, Subdeacons, the Readers, Singers, and Aschetick, the Deaconesses, Virgins, Widows,* ἔπα τὰ παιδία, *and then Children.* *Dionysius* also saith, That *Children*, in his time, *were made Partakers of the Holy Mysteries.*

Hier. Eccles. c. 7. p. 360, 361.

In the Sixth Age we find this was still the received Custom of the *Western Church* from the *Gregorian Office*, which takes care that *Baptized Infants*, Non ablactarentur antequam communicent, *should not suck before they had communicated.*

Ad Sabb. Pasch. p. 73.

The Practice of the *Western* Parts in the Seventh *Century* is Evident from the *Council* of *Toledo* which decrees, That *they shall not be punished*, Qui tempore Infantiæ Eucharistiam receptam rejiciunt, *who in time of their Infancy vomit up the Eucharist.* In the Eighth Century we are informed by *Charles* the *Great*, That this was then the *General Custom* of the *Church* of God. For against the Doctrine of the Second *Nicene Council*, and of the *Roman Church* pronouncing *Anathema* to those who did not Worship *Images*, he, and his Council of Three hundred *Bishops* argue thus, That *then*, Infantes Baptismatis unda loti, & Corporis Dominici edulio, & Sanguinis haustu satiati, pereunt, *Infants who have been Baptized, and have received the Sacrament of our Lords Body and Blood, must perish.* In the Ninth Century it was a known Constitution of the *Western Church*, That *the Priest should always have the Eucharist ready, that, if any little Child be infirm, he might give him the Communion, and the Child might not die without it*; which Constitution is extant in the *Capitular* of *Charles* the *Great*, in *Walter Aurelianensis*, in *Regino de Ecclesiasticis disciplinis*, in *Ivo Decret. part.* 2. *cap.* 20. in *Burchardus l.* 5. *c.* 10. and so undoubtedly obtained till the Twelfth Century. In the Old *Pontificials* of the Eighth or Ninth Century, saith *Baluzius*, there is a *Rubric* requiring *the Bishop or the Priest to give the Communion to the new baptized Infant.* And this continued, saith *Menardus*, *till the time of* Pascha*l the Second.* And *Hugo de Sancto Victore* saith, That

Car. Mag. de Imag. l. 2. c. 27.

L. 1. c. 161.

Cap. 7.

L. 1. c. 69.

Not. in Reg. p. 551, 552.

Not. ad librum Sacramen. p. 298.

That *if it can be done without peril*, Juxta primam Ecclesiæ institutionem, Sacramentum Eucharistiæ in specie Sanguinis tradendum est pueris, *according to the Primitive Institution of the Church, the Sacrament of the Eucharist must be delivered to Children in the Species of Blood.* Now by these Testimonies we learn how neatly the *Trent Council* minceth this Matter, when they say, That, *Antiquitas eum morem in quibusdam locis, aliquando servavit, Antiquity did in some Places, for some time, observe this Custom.* More ingenuous is Cardinal *Bona*, who confesseth it was an *ancient Custom*, That, Quicunque Baptizabantur, sive adulti, sive Infantes, sacra statim Communione reficerentur, *whatsoever Infants were Baptized they should presently be refreshed with the Holy Communion*; and proves this Custom from the Third to the Twelfth Century. And *Baluzius* admires, That *any one should say*, Universalem Ecclesiam nunquam recepisse hunc morem sine nota novitatis, *that the universal Church never received this Custom without a Note of the Novelty of it.*

De Ceremon. Eccl. l. 1. c. 20. Sive de Sacram. l. 1. c 20.

Sess. 21. c. 4.

Rerum Litur. l. 2. c. 19. p. 877, 878, 879 — 882.

Not. in Regin. p. 552.

Secondly, They declared in the General from these Words, That this Sacrament was as necessary for all as Baptism, and that where they could be had, they were both necessary to Salvation. St. *Basil* saith, That *the Baptized Person ought to be nourished with the Food of eternal Life*; and that *the Communication of the Body and the Blood of Christ is necessary to eternal Life*; and proves both these Assertions from this Passage of St. *John*. *Amphilochius* in his Life, saith, *It is impossible that any Man should enter into the Kingdom of God, unless he be regenerate by Baptism,* κ) μεταλάχει τῆς ζωοποιῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ σώματος κ) αἵματος χριστοῦ, *and partake of the Life-giving Mysteries of the Body, and the Blood of Christ.* St. *Chrysostom* declares, That none can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven if he be not Baptized with Water and the Holy Ghost, κ) ὁ μὴ τρώγων τ σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου κ) τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ πίνων, *and if he do not eat his Flesh, and drink his Blood.* And upon that passage of St. *John*, *Christ shews*, saith he, *that this is,* σφόδρα ἀναγκαῖον κ) πάντως γίνεσθαι δεῖ, *very necessary, and ought always to be done. These*, saith *Isidore Peluſiota*, *are the divine Mysteries,* ὧν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνων μεταλαχεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν τε γερῶν, *without which none can obtain the heavenly Rewards*, as is apparent from the *Divine Oracles*, John iij. 3. vi. 53. *They are void of Life*, saith St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, *who receive not the*

§. 4.

Tom. 1. p. 580. Tom 2. p. 431.

In vita Basil. c. 17. p. 221.

Hom. 3. de Sacerdotio Tom. 6. p. 16. l. 38. Tom. 2. p 748.

Ep. l. 2. 2. Ep. 52.

In Cap. 6 Joh. l. 4. p. 361.

the Son, διὰ τ μυστικῆς ἐυλογίας, *by the participation of the Eucharist.* Tom. 2. p. 92, 96. *Hincmarus Remensis* saith, *These are the Sacraments of the Church,* Sine quibus ad vitam, quæ vera vita est, non intratur, *without which we cannot enter into true Life.* *Albinus* in his Book of *Divine Offices,* and *Amalarius* in his Third Book of *Ecclesiastical Offices,* do in like manner say, That *sine his Sacramentis nemo intrat in vitam æternam, without these Sacraments none enter into Life eternal.* Cap. de celebr. Miss. p. 88. Cap. 26. De instit. Cler. l. 1. c. 31. *Rabanus Maurus* saith, *Men may have temporal Life without this Food, and drink,* Æternam omnino non possunt, *eternal, they can never have.* Apud Baron. Tom. 10. p. 1007. *Christ testified with an Oath,* Saith *Humbert, That without this refection that Life which is Christ cannot be had, saying, Verily except you eat,* &c. By which Testimonies we may see what Reason *Austin* had to say this was a Doctrine *deeply settled in the Churches of Christ,* and thence to inferr, that *Infants, ordinarily, could not have Life without participation of the Eucharist,* they speaking thus without exception of any Persons, or of any case, but that of sudden Death, in which case also some of them allow that *Salvation* may be had without actual *Baptism.*

3. They apply this general Doctrine to the Case of *Infants,* and say the Sacrament of the Euchatist is to be received by them *for Remission of Sins,* or that they may obtain *Life,* both which are necessary causes of the Administration of it. In the Fourth Century *Theodorus Antiochenus* writ a Book against some *Hereticks* in the *Western Church,* who asserted, That Man doth Sin by Nature, and not by Choice. Apud Phot. Cod. 177. p. 396. And who, ὅτι βεβαίωσιν τ ἰδικὰς νομίσεως, *for Confirmation of their Opinion,* urged, That *Infants* were baptized and received, τ τῶ ἀχράντε σώματ& κοινωνίαν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, *the Communion of the immaculate Body for the Remission of Sins.* P. 400. In Answer to these Men, saith *Photius, Theodorus* broached a new, and strange Opinion of Remission of Sins, *perhaps not willingly, but that he might satisfie their inquiry,* διὰ τὶ τὰ βρέφη κοινωνεῖ τῶν ἀχράντων μυστηίων; *why do Infants partake of the immaculate Mysteries?* Why are they Baptized, if they sin not by Nature? καὶ γὰρ εἰς ἄφεσιν ταῦτα δίδοται ἁμαρτιῶν, *for these Sacraments are given for Remission of Sins:* Whence it appears, that the Custom of giving the *Eucharist* to *Infants* was then generally practised, and allowed of both in the *Western* and the *Eastern Churches*: In the *Western,* because these *Western Hereticks* do from this approved *Custom* argue against the Doctrine of the *Church*; in the *East,* because

cause *Theodorus* of *Antioch* thought himself obliged to own the Practice; nor is any question made, whether the thing ought to be done, but it is plainly owned, that it was done, and that *for the Remission of Sins*, and therefore for a necessary Reason.

Against the *Pelagians*, who denied that *Infants* were guilty of *Original Sin*, and that they were obnoxious to Death eternal, the *Fathers* dispute from this very Custom, and the Foundation of it, on the words of the *Evangelist*; saying, That according to the Practice of the *Church* the Blood which was *shed for the Remission of Sins*, was ministred to them, and therefore they had Sin to be remitted; and that our *Lord* had said, *Unless you eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, you shall have no Life in you*; and therefore Infants wanted these things in order to their having Life, and were partakers of them that they might obtain it. The places in St. *Austin* to this effect are innumerable. *For why*, saith he, *is that Blood ministred to the Infant to drink, which was shed for the Remission of Sins, that he may have Life, if by reason of no Original Sin, he be obnoxious to Death? Christ*, saith he, *is the Saviour of Infants, and unless they be redeemed by him, they will utterly perish, seeing without his Flesh and Blood they cannot have Life*; *this St.* John *thought and believed, learned and taught. When Christ saith, Unless you eat my Flesh and drink my Blood, you have no Life in you*; *can I say the Child shall have Life, who ends his Life without that Sacrament?* And again, *He having said, Unless you eat*, &c. and, *He that eateth my Flesh and drinketh my Blood hath eternal Life*; *how is it that you* (Pelagians) *promise the Kingdom of Heaven to Children not born of Water and the Spirit, not fed with the Flesh of Christ, nor having drunk his Blood which was shed for the Remission of their Sins? Behold, he that is not Baptized, and he that is deprived of the Vital Cup and Bread, is divided from the Kingdom of Heaven.* And of what Sacrament he conceives our *Saviour* to have spoken in these words, he more expressly tells us, saying, *Let us hear our Lord speaking not of the Sacrament of Baptism,* N. B. *but of the Sacrament of his holy Table, to which none cometh who is not rightly Baptized. Except you eat and drink*, &c. *What do we farther seek for? dares any body say this Sentence belongeth not to Children? or that they can have life in them without the participation of the Body and the Blood of Christ? But he that saith this,*

Contr. Julian. Tom. 7. l. 2. c. 30.

Ibid. l. 1. p. 949.

Hypognost. c. 5. Tom. 7. p. 1405.

Tom. 7. de peccat. merit. & remiss. l. .. c. 19. p. 666.

doth not attend, That if that Sentence comprehends not all, ſo that they cannot have Life without the Body, and the Blood of Chriſt, thoſe of riper Years are not obliged to regard it. From theſe, and many other Paſſages of a like Nature, his Concluſion is this, *If then ſo many Divine Teſtimonies accord in ſaying, That neither Salvation, nor Life eternal is by* any *to be hoped for without Baptiſm, and the Body and Blood of our Lord, they are in vain promiſed to Children without them.* The *Council* of *Carthage*, in their *Epiſtle* to *Pope Innocent* the Firſt, complain that the *Pelagians* durſt aſſert, *That little Children needed not Baptiſm*, Propter ſalutem, *that they might have Life, and that the Blood ſhed for the Remiſſion of Sins was not ſhed for them.* The *Council* of *Mela*, in their Letter to him, complain that they aſſerted, *Pueros quoque parvulos, ſi nullis inoventur Chriſtianæ gratiæ Sacramentis, habituros vitam æternam, That Infants might have Life eternal, though they were not renewed by the Chriſtian Sacraments.* To theſe complaints *Pope Innocent* returns this Anſwer, *Whereas your Brotherhoods aſſert that the* Pelagians *ſay that Infants may be ſaved without Baptiſm, this is a very fond Opinion:* Niſi enim manducaverint, *for unleſs they eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, they have no Life in them*; and they who would give them this, *Sine regeneratione, without Baptiſmal Regeneration, ſeem to void Baptiſm it ſelf, by ſaying they have that which is believed to be conferred upon them only by Baptiſm*; where the Note in the Margin is, *Etiam R. Eccleſia credidit Euchariſtiam parvulis neceſſariam, Even the Roman Church believed that the Euchariſt was neceſſary for little Children. Behold,* ſaith *Auſtin, Pope* Innocent *ſaith, that little ones cannot have Life without Baptiſm, and the participation of the Body, and the Blood of Chriſt.* And again, *Pope* Innocent *determined, that Infants could not have Life unleſs they did eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man.* And a Third time, *If the* Pelagians *will yield to the Apoſtles See, or rather to their Lord and Maſter, ſaying, Except we eat his Fleſh, and drink his Blood, which the unbaptized Perſon cannot do, we ſhall not have Life, they will at laſt confeſs that unbaptized Perſons cannot have it.*

Lib. 1. de peccat. merit. remiſſ. c. 24. p. 670.

Nec pro eis fuſus eſt ſanguis, qui fuſus eſſe in remiſſionem legitur peccatorum. *Apud Aug. Ep* 90.

Apud Auguſt. Ep 92.

Ibid. Ep. 93. P. 424.

Contr. duas Epiſt. Pelag. l. 2. c. 4.

Lib. 1. Contr. Jul. cap. 4.

Ep. ad paulinum.

Hom. 7. B. P. Tom. 7. p. 279.

In the Sixth Century, *Cæſarius Arelatenſis* urges this very Text of Scripture, *Except you eat, &c.* as a moſt ſolid Teſtimony againſt the *Blaſphemies* of *Pelagius*, That Baptiſm was not to be adminiſtred to Children, *Propter vitam*, for the obtaining

ing Life: *For*, ſaith he, *theſe Words of our Saviour*, Non habebitis vitam in vobis, *you ſhall have no Life in you, do give us clearly to underſtand, that every Soul that is void of Baptiſm wants both Life and Glory.* Now, ſince that Paſſage of our *Lord*, was never by the *Ancients* thought to have Relation to *Baptiſm*, but always to the *Euchariſt*, it is apparent that this Argument is of no Force at all, or that it is the ſame with that which is ſo often urged by St. *Auſtin*, *That none can have Eternal Life who doth not participate of Chriſt's Body and Blood*; and none can do that who is not baptized. *Againſt the* Pelagians, ſaith Pope *Gelaſius*, *our Lord pronounceth, That he who eateth not the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drinks his Blood, hath no Life in him: Where we ſee none exempt; nor dares any ſay, That an Infant can obtain eternal Life without this Sacrament: Nevertheleſs, that the Providence of God might cut off all the Wickedneſs of the* Pelagians, *it is not only ſaid, Unleſs a Man be born again of Water*, &c. *but alſo, Unleſs he eat*, ——*and drink*, &c. *And that this is ſpoken of Eternal Life, none can doubt; becauſe many who receive not this Sacrament, have this preſent Life.*

Ep. Univerſ. Epiſc. per Nicænum Concil. To. 4. p. 1177, 1178.

This Argument, you ſee, is generally urged by all that write againſt the *Pelagians*; nor do we find that the *Pelagians* did in the leaſt except againſt the Practice, as either *Novel*, or not *Catholick*, but only did content themſelves to ſay, that *Infants* did receive theſe *Sacraments*, not to obtain Life, but *the Kingdom of Heaven*.

§. 5.

And here it is to be admired, that Men of Senſe and Ingenuity, ſhould ſay St. *Auſtin*, and theſe *Fathers*, ſpake all this of ſuch a Participation of the Fleſh and Blood of *Chriſt*, as is had in *Baptiſm*, and not of the Participation of it by receiving of the *Holy Euchariſt*: When,

Firſt, The Proof they bring of the manducation, and drinking, required of *Children*, that they may have Life, is from *John* vj. 53. which from St. *Auſtin*'s Days, to the *Twelfth Century*, hath always been underſtood of the *Euchariſt*, but never of the Sacrament of *Baptiſm*. So generally the forecited *Fathers*.

Secondly, They bring diſtinct Proofs to evince that *Infants* are to participate of both *Sacraments*; the Third of *John* to prove they ought to be *baptized*; the Sixth of *John* to prove

they ought to receive the *Holy Eucharist:* So St. *Austin*, so *Isidore Pelusiota*, so Pope *Gelasius*, in the Places cited.

Thirdly. They speak of the *Mysteries* in the Plural Number, as of things necessary to be received for the Remission of their Sins, and the obtaining Life Eternal: So *Theodorus*, *Amphilochius*, St. *Chrysostom*, *Isidore Pelusiota*, St. *Austin*, *Hincmarus Rhemensis*, *Photius*, *Albinus*, *Amalarius*.

Fourthly, They speak first of the Sacrament of *Baptism*, and after of the *Supper* of the *Lord*, declaring of them distributively, That *Infants* cannot have Life, *Sine Baptismo Christi, & sine participatione Corporis & Sanguinis Christi*, *without Christ's Baptism, and the Participation of his Body and Blood:* So *Pope Innocent.* Sine Baptismo, & Corpore & Sanguine Christi, *without Baptism, and the Body and the Blood of Christ:* So St. *Austin.*

Fifthly, They spake of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper by way of Distinction from that of Baptism, saying, *Let us hear our Lord*, not speaking of the Sacrament of Baptism, but *of the Sacrament* of his Holy Table: So St. *Austin.*

Non de Sacramento S. lavacri, sed de Sacramento mensæ suæ. l. 1. de peccat. Merit. c. 19, 20.

Sixthly, They speak of that eating and drinking of this, *Quod per corpus geritur*, *which is done by the Body*, Per ora, *by the Mouths*: So St. *Austin.* Which Children have a right to, by being first *Baptized*; and of that Sacrament of the Body and the Blood of *Christ*, Quo nemo nisi rite baptizatus, accedit, *to which none comes, who is not rightly baptized.*

Ep. 107. p. 499. Quod nisi Baptizati non utique possunt.

Ep. 106. p. 487.

Lastly, Sometimes they speak of the Sacrament of the *Lord's Table*; of that Sacrament emphatically, and of that Blood *which the Child must drink.* Now hence it follows,

§. 6.

First, That the *Trent Council* hath manifestly erred, when it declared of all the *Fathers* in *General*, who held this Opinion, *Sine controversia credendum est eos nulla salutis necessitate id feciſſe, That without Controversy we must believe, that they did not this from an Opinion of the Necessity of it to Salvation*; this being an Untruth so manifest, that *Maldonate*, in direct Opposition to this *Council*, saith, that St. *Austin* and *Pope Innocent* were by this Passage of the Sixth of *John* induced to believe, *Infantes etiam baptizatos nisi Eucharistiam perciperent salvos esse non posse, that even baptized Infants could not be saved, unless they received the Eucharist*; and that from that place they

Sess. 21. c. 4.

In John 6.

they conceived *the Eucharist was necessary for Infants to Salvation*, and that St. *Austin* mentioned this not as his private Opinion, *Sed ut fidei, & totius Ecclesiæ dogma, but as a Doctrine of Faith received by the whole Church*; adding, as also *Binius* doth, That *this Doctrine flourished in the Church about Six hundred Years.* Tom. 1. part. 4. p. 624.

Secondly, Hence it appears, that the same *Council*, by pronouncing an *Anathema* against all who shall dare to say, That *it is necessary for Children, before they come to Years of Discretion, to receive the Sacrament*, hath virtually *Anathematized* St. *Austin*, Pope *Innocent*, *Pelagius*, and the whole *Church* of *Christ*, for *Six* whole *Centuries.* Sess. 21. Can. 4.

Thirdly, Hence it is evident that the Practice of the *Church* in any *Century*, is no true Ground for the Interpretation of the *Holy Scripture*; seeing this Practice of communicating *Infants* was built upon the Mistake of the *Church* of the Ages mentioned touching the true Sence of those Words, *Except you eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, you have no Life in you.*

Fourthly, Hence it is evident, That if the present *Church* of any Age must be the infallible Judge of what is *Tradition*; if what is generally received in any Age must be derived from the *Apostles*, the Custom of giving the Sacrament to *Children* for the Remission of Sins, and the obtaining Life, must be an *Apostolical Tradition*, it being generally received for *Six Centuries*; and yet if the *Church* of *Rome*, of the Three last Ages, was the Judge of what deserved to be esteemed *Tradition*, the self same Doctrine being then generally rejected by them, could be no *Apostolical Tradition.*

Fifthly, Hence Mr. *M.* may learn, that his Proof of Prayer for the Dead, and *Infants Baptism* from *Tradition*, is not very weighty and convincing; or if it be, the Custom of *communicating Infants* must be *Tradition Apostolical.* For changing only the Subject, it will be easy to argue for it after the manner, and in the Words of Mr. *M.* *Let us take Two Traditions, the one confessed by you to be a true one, the other* indeed condemned by you, *but asserted by me to be no less true than the former, because it is testified by as good a Tradition as the former, and therefore either the former is not proved sufficiently by this Testimony, or the latter is. The First Tradition, for Example* P. 401.

sake,

sake, is, That of Baptizing Infants: The Second, That of the *Communicating* of *Infants. Of these Two I discourse thus; Both these Points were recommended by the Apostles to the Primitive Church, for divine Verities and Practices; and so from hand to hand came most unquestionably delivered to* the Twelfth *Century.*

P. 402. *Hence conformably to this Tradition, every where Christians baptized their little Children;* every where they gave them the *Holy Sacrament* of the *Eucharist; but yet* the communicating of them *was the more frequent Practice; because Children were baptized but once in their Lives, but being once baptized,* they frequently received the Holy Sacrament. *Well now, let us suppose, that both these Traditions be called in Question, whether they be faithfully delivered* as *Sacraments* to be received by *Children;* or rather whether that of *Communicating Infants* were *some humane Invention;* or as the *Trent Council* hath determined, A

Sess. 21. Can. 4. thing *unnecessary to be received by Infants till they come to Years of Discretion: Let us see whether* this *Tradition* condemned by that *Council* with an *Anathema, cannot defend it self from Forgery as well as any Scripture questioned of being true Scripture. For Ex-*

P. 403. *ample, the Apocalypse, which was rejected by divers Ancient Catholicks, whereas* the *Communion* of *Infants was never rejected by any Ancient Catholicks at all,* nor by any of them said to be unnecessary. *Amongst ancient Hereticks,* the *Pelagians,* indeed, said, That it was not necessary to communicate them for the Remission of Sins; *but this is noted in them as a peculiar Heresy of their own,* by Pope *Innocent,* by *Pelagius,* by the *Council* of *Carthage,* and by St. *Austin,* who pronounceth against them, That *Infants ought to be communicated for the Remission of Sins:* And the same St. *Austin* saith, *The Church doth necessarily do this by the Tradition, as he supposeth, Apostolical, received from*

P. 404. *her Ancestors. He held therefore* such Communion of Infants, *suitable to the Doctrine of the Church, and Tradition. And this Tradition is that which I now stand upon, which indeed did shine in the Practice of the Primitive Church. You shall scarcely find a Liturgy or Service Book used in the ancient Church, which is not Witness of this Tradition, though these Books were found in every Parish of Christendom, in which Divine Service was almost daily*

P. 405. *said.* St. *Cyprian* mentions it as the Practice of his Times: *In both these Points it is a strong Argument, and as strong for Communicating, as for Baptizing of Infants; That no time can be named*

named in which those Customs began. No man can be thought of, who could by humane Means, and such Means as should not make a mighty Noise amongst those great Reverencers of Tradition, draw all the World, in so short a time after the Apostles, to follow Customs as Apostolical, which, in that Age, in which they were first vented, were evidently, by every Man, not only known, but clearly seen to be new hatch'd Novelties, and not Ancient and Apostolical Traditions. This Man, who broached this false Doctrine, should have been put into the Catalogues of Hereticks by Epiphanius, *and St.* Austin; *whereas they did not only, not put down any such Hereticks, but one of them puts down* Pelagius *for one, because he taught the contrary. Now if you speak of this Custom going downward, until the Age in which it began to be denied by Roman Catholicks, the Custom of* Communicating Infants *hath come down with such a full Stream, that it drew all Countries, in many Ages, with it; insomuch, that every where, but among a few* late born *Romanists, the Pontificals, the Books of Sacraments, the Liturgies, Eastern and Western,* all the *Ritualists,* all the Books of *Ecclesiastical Discipline,* and even the *Canon Law* bears witness of it. *There was not a Country which abounded not with such Monuments, and such Records; the very strongest Proofs of assured Antiquity, and unquestionable Tradition.* P. 406. P. 407.

Thus, I hope, I have made good that Tradition, shining in perpetual Practice from St. Cyprian *to Pope* Paschal the *Second, is a sure Relater of the Doctrine and Practice of the Church,* touching Communicating Infants; *whence you may clearly see, that* the *Trent Council* hath manifestly erred in this Matter, and consequently was not Infallible; for *if* they *could be actually false, in a Point so universally current, they might bear Witness in many other Matters to false Doctrine, and deny due Approbation to the true.* P. 196.

Sixthly, Hence we may learn how falsly Mr. *M.* citeth St. *Austin,* to prove, That nothing for certain can be alledged out of *Canonical Scriptures* to prove that *Infants* ought to be baptized; for is it possible, That he, who held it so manifest from *Scripture,* that they ought to receive that *Sacrament* to which, saith he, *no Man hath right to come who is not first baptized,* should think there was no certain Proof from *Scripture* of their right to *Baptism?* Moreover, how often doth he prove their right to *Baptism* from that Passage of St. *John, Except he be born* L. 1. contr. Cresc. c. 33. De peccat. Merit. l. 2. c. 27.

De peccat. Merit. l. 1. c. 30. L. 3. de Origin. An. c. 11. Ep. 126. de Orig. An. l. 1. c. 9. 3. c. 13. Congerit testimonia Scripturrum l. 1. contr. Petit. c. 27.

born again of Water, and of the Spirit, no Man can enter into the Kingdom of God? How often doth he prove the Necessity of it from those *Scriptures* which conclude them *guilty of Original Sin*? How often doth he from *Scripture* pronounce them *damned without it*? How often doth he conclude it from the *Analogy* it bears to *Circumcision*, and bring, *Congeriem Scripturarum, an Heap of Scriptures* to confirm it? And after all this can it be rationally thought, he should expressly teach, in contradiction to his own constant Doctrine, That *nothing could be certainly alledged from Scripture to prove that Infants ought to be baptized*? Nor is there any thing more evident, than that Mr.

C. 32, 33.

M. here wretchedly imposeth on his Reader; for in the place cited by him in his first Book against *Cresconius*, he speaks not of the *Baptism* of *Infants*, but of *Hereticks*, as will be evident to all that will inspect the place. In his Fourth Book of *Ba-*

C. 24.

ptism against the *Donatists*, in the place cited, he speaks of this Point indeed; but so, as to assert, That if any one, *In hac re* Authoritatem divinam *quærat, enquire after Divine Authority in this matter*, he may find what the *Baptism* of Infants will

De Gen. ad lit. l. 10. c. 23.

avail them, *Ex circumcisione carnis, from the Circumcision used under the Old Law.* In the other Passage cited by Mr. *M.* he saith, indeed, That *the Custom of the Church in baptizing Infants was not to be credited*, Nisi Apostolica esset traditio, *if it were not an Apostolical Tradition*; but doth not in the least insinuate that the *Apostles* left not this *Tradition* in their Writings.

Lastly, Hence it is evident that the Practice of the *Church* is no true Ground for the Interpretation of the Holy *Scripture*, seeing this Practice was built upon the *Churches* Interpretation of *John* vj. 53, 54, 56. in a Sence which that *Scripture* doth not bear.

§. 7.

Secondly, According to the current Interpretation of our *Saviour's* Words, *I say unto you, Swear not at all*, received in the Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Centuries, it was absolutely unlawful for a *Christian* to swear at all. To this Effect we have, in the Second *Century* the express Testimony of

Apol. 2. p. 36. D.

Justin Martyr, affirming, that *Christ commanded Christians*, μὴ ὀμνύναι ὅλως, *not to swear at all, but always to speak the Truth, saying, Swear not all*, &c. Of *Irenæus*, who saith, *our Lord hath*

Adv. Hær. l. 2. c. 56. p. 216.

not only forbid us to swear falsly, Sed nec jurare præcepit, *but*

hath

hath commanded that we should not swear. *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, comparing the *Christian* Laws with those of *Plato*, saith, that of *Plato*, ὅρκῳ φεὶ παντὸς ἀπέχω, *Avoid swearing in any thing*, *agrees* τῇ φεὶ τὸ ὀμόσαι ἀπαγορέυσι, *to our Lords Prohibition of an Oath.* And again; *Avoid*, saith he, *an Oath in Traffick*, καὶ ὅλως τῶν ἄλλων, *and in other things; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless who takes his Name in vain.* And *Basilides*, who suffered under the Persecution of *Severus*, being urged by some of his fellow *Souldiers* to swear, he confidently affirmed, μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτῷ παράπαν ὀμνύναι, *It was not lawful for him to swear at all, for he was a Christian.*

Strom. l. 5. p. 596.

Pædag. l. 3. c. 11. p. 255.

Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 5.

In the Third Century *Origen* observes, that when our Lord speaks of Swearing, *Matth.* xxiij. he speaks unto the *Jews*, and that, *Alioquin manifeste superius vetuit omnino jurare, he had before manifestly forbid to swear at all.* And again; *I think, that he who would live according to the Gospel, ought not to adjure another; for that which our Lord speaketh in the Gospel, Swear not at all; and this, Adjure not at all, is alike*; Si enim jurare non licet, quantum ad evangelicum Christi mandatum, verum est, quia nec adjurare alterum licet, *for if by Christ's Evangelical Precept, we must not swear at all, it is as true, that 'tis not lawful to impose an Oath on others.* *I omit to speak of Perjury*, saith *Tertullian*, Quando ne jurare quidem liceat, *seeing it is not lawful to swear at all.* Amongst the Heads belonging to the Religious Discipline of *Christians*, which *Cyprian* collected for the Instruction of *Quirinus*, the Twelfth is this, *Non jurandum, That Christians must not swear*; which he proves from *Matth.* v. 34. And to encourage *Christians* against Death, he tells them, That it will be to them a Deliverance from many Evils they will be tempted to in this Life; *For*, saith he, Compelleris jurare, quod non licet, *thou wilt be compelled to swear, which is not a thing lawful to be done.*

Tract. 25. in Matth. F. 47 B.

Hom. 35. in Matth. F. 82. A.

De Idol. c. 11.

De Mortal. Ed. Ox. p. 157.

In the Fourth Century *Lactantius* teacheth, That he who is of God, and a Follower of Truth, *will never swear falsly*, least he seem to deride God, *Sed ne jurabit quidem, nor will he swear at all.* *Eusebius*, comparing the Laws of *Moses* with those of *Christ*, saith, Moses *commanded not to swear falsly*; *Christ*, μὴ ὀμόσαι ὅλως, *not to swear at all:* And speaking of the Advantages of *Christianity*, he reckons this as one, πρὸς αὐτὸ μὸν

Epit. cap. 6. p. 741.

Demonst. Evang. l. 1. c. 6. p. 23.

Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 4. p. 12.

μαθεῖν μηδὲ ὀμνύναι ὅλως, *That they had learned from Christ not to swear at all.* St. *Basil*, on that Passage of the *Psalmist*; *Who sweareth to his Neighbour, and deceives him not*, observes that here Permission is given to a perfect Man to swear, ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ παντελῶς ἀπηγόρευται, *but in the Gospel it is entirely forbid. Here it is said, He that swears to his Neighbour, and deceives him not; there, I say unto you, Swear not at all.* In his *Epistle* to *Amphilochius* he declares, That, ἅπαξ μὲν ὁ ὅρκος ἀπηγόρευται, *an Oath is wholly forbidden*; and much more an Oath to do Evil. In his *Ascetick* he instructs us, μὴ ὀμνύειν τὸ σωφρονεῖν, *Not to swear at all, nor to put his Money out to Usury.* And speaking of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*; he saith, That *he abstained from an Oath, contenting himself with Yea, and Nay, by reason of the Command of Christ.* *Epiphanius* expresly saith, That our *Lord commanded not to swear by God himself*, ὥστε ἄλλον τινὰ ὅρκον, *nor any other Oath; it being of the Devil*; or at the least an evil thing *to swear*; and that *Christianity* requires us, μὴ ὀμνύναι ὅλως μήτε ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, μήτε ἐν ψεύδει, *Not to swear, either in Falshood, or in Truth, but only to say yea, yea, and nay, nay.* *Gregory Nazianzen* observes that an Oath is forbidden, μόνοις ἡμῖν, *only to us Christians.*

In Ps. 14. Tom. 1. p. 132, 133.

Can. 29.

Tom 2. p. 393.

Tom. 3. Ep. 63. p. 97.

Hær. 19 Ossen. §. 6. p. 44.

Hær. 59. Catharr. §. 7. p. 499.

Σπλ. α. p. 78.

In the Fifth Century St. *Chrysostom* is very copious on this Subject: For he informs us, that it was said to them of old, *Thou shalt not forswear thy self, but speak the Truth when thou sweareſt; but Christ commanded not to swear at all.* 2. That to keep us farther from swearing by *God*, he saith, *Swear not by Heaven, which is his Throne.* 3. That *Christ*, by saying, *What is more than this cometh of Evil, meaneth* ὁ ὅρκος, ἢ τὸ ἐπιορκεῖν, *swearing, not forswearing; for it is a thing confessed, and no Man needs to learn it, That false swearing is of Evil; nor is it only more than yea and nay, but contrary to them.* 4. That *though swearing was allowed by the Law, yet was it evil; because it was allowed only by reason,* τῆς ἀσθενείας τῶν δεχομένων τὸν νόμον, *of the Weakness of them who received the Law, to keep them from swearing by Idols:* And, 5. That *though then it were not evil, yet now is it evil, and very evil, after so much Philosophy.* 6. That *we must not pretend that we swear truly,* οὐκ ἔξεστι γὰρ ὅτε ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ, ὅτε ὅτι ἀδίκῳ ὀμνύναι, *for it is not lawful to swear true or false; let us therefore keep our Mouths pure from Oaths.* 7. That *if we reverence nothing else, we should reverence that Gospel we hold forth,*

In Matth 5.34.

Hom. 15. in Gen. p. 96.

forth, when we bid Men swear; for opening it you will find, saith he, *Swear not at all; and dost thou make that Law an Oath, which forbiddeth thee to swear? When therefore thou art about to adjure any one, restrain thy self, and say to him who is about to swear; What shall I do! God hath forbid me to adjure, he now restrains me; and this will be sufficient for the Honour of the Lawgiver, for thy Security, and to affright him who is about to Swear.* Tom. 6. Statuar. Orat. 15. p. 565. P. 566.

We find, saith *Theodoret*, in the Laws of the *Gospel*, τὸν ὀμνύοντα καὶν ἀληθεύων ὀμνύῃ τῆς διαβολικῆς ὄντα συμμοείας, *the Swearer, though he swears true, to be of the Portion of the Devil. He swears himself, That he would not the Death of a Sinner,* ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπαγορεύων τὸς ὅρκους, *who forbids others to swear.* And again; *He that forbids others to swear, interposeth an Oath. The Old Law,* saith the same *Theodoret*, *forbids Perjury,* ὁ μὲν γὰρ νόμος τὸν ὅρκον, *but the New forbids an Oath. Our Lord, making Laws about Oaths,* καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπαγορεύει τὸς ὅρκους, *wholly forbids them.* Qu. 37. in Gen. p. 31. Ep. 78. p. 949. Tom. 4. Dial. 1. p. 23. Fab. Hær. l. 5. c. 16. Adv. Græcos Serm. 9. p. 621.

If thou art a Christian, saith *Isidore Pelusiota, and under the good Pastor, obey his Voice,* μὴ ὀμόσαι ὅλως κελεύοντος, *commanding thee not to swear at all; and if we must not swear, neither must we exact an Oath. God,* saith St. *Jerom*, *permitted the Jews, as being Children, to swear, as he permitted them to offer Sacrifice; not that they did well in it, but that it was better to swear by God than Idols,* Evangelica autem veritas non recipit juramentum, *but the Evangelical Truth permits not an Oath.* And again, *Our Lord commandeth in the Gospel,* Ut non juretis penitus, *That you swear not at all.* L. 1. Ep. 155. In Matth. 5. In Zach. 8. f. 115. b.

Jussit salvator noster ut Christiani homines non jurarent, *Our Lord,* saith *Salvian*, *commanded that Christian Men should not swear.* And the *Council* of *Constantinople*, under the *Patriarch Flavianus*, adds, That, ἐντεταλται ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ μὴ ὀμόσαι, *we are commanded by our Saviour Christ not to swear.* De Gubern. dei l. 3. p. 88. Act. Concil. Const. Act. 1. Tom. 2. p. 129.

Now here I ask, Whether all these plain Testimonies be sufficient to prove, that it was once the Doctrine of this whole *Church* of *Christ*, That swearing was wholly unlawful, and forbidden by those Words of *Christ*, on which they bottom this Assertion? If this be granted; then, seeing it is evident that the present *Church* holds, and by her Practice doth approve the contrary Doctrine, it must be granted that

her present Belief, or Practice, can be no just Evidence, or Proof of what was the Belief and Practice of all the former Ages. But if these Testimonies give not sufficient Evidence, that this was then their Faith, and the received Interpretation of the Text; then let the *Romanists* permit us to deny their *Doctrines* and *Traditions*, till they have proved them to be *primitive*, by more clear, numerous, and early Testimonies, and we ask no more: For then they vainly must attempt to prove that any Text in Controversy betwixt us and them, hath, by *Tradition*, been interpreted against the *Protestants*; it being certain, that no such Testimonies can be produced for that Sence of any Scripture which we Protestants reject; and if the *Fathers*, after so many plain and frequent Attestations, might practise and believe the contrary, to the plain import of their Words in this particular, why not in other Matters also? And to what purpose is it to confirm a Doctrine, or bottom an Assertion upon Two or Three Citations from those *Fathers* who are not to be credited, it seems, in what may be confirmed from Fifty of their plainest Testimonies, and by the Suffrage of a *General Council*.

Apol. 1. p. 55. & p. 44. *Thirdly*, It was the current Doctrine of the *Fathers* for Three whole *Centuries*, That the good *Angels were transported with the Love of Women, and begat Children of them, which are those we now call Dæmons*, or evil *Spirits*. These are the very Words of *Justin Martyr*, who flourished in the Second Century. *Irenæus*, who flourished in the same *Century*, saith, That, *Angeli transgressores commixti fuerunt eis, the Angels which transgressed mixed with them.* And *Clemens* of *Alexandria* thrice informs us, that they fell from Heaven, ἀκρασίᾳ γυναικῶν ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἁλόντες, *through Incontinence and Love of Women.*

Adv. Hær. l. 4. c. 70. p. 412. Pædag. l. 3. c. 2. Strom. l. 3. p. 450. l. 5. p. 550.

Legat. pro Christianis p. 27, 28. In the Third *Century Athenagoras* informs us, That some of the *Angels*, εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν πεσόντες παρθένων, *lusting after Virgins; and being overcome of the Flesh, begat Gyants of them*; and that these *Angels*, and the Souls of these *Gyants* are the *Dæmons* which wander about the World. And *in saying this, I speak*, μηδὲν ἀμάρτυρον, *nothing*, saith he, *without Testimony*; *but only expound*, ἃ τοῖς Προφήταις ἐκπεφώνηται, *that which is mentioned by the Prophets.* *Tertullian* saith, That *they rushed down from Heaven*, Ad Filias hominum, *to the Daughters of Men*; and thence he calls them *Desertors of God*, and, Amatores Fæminarum,

De Virg. vel. c. 7. de cult. fæm. l. 1. c. 2. de Idol. cap. 9.

minarum, *lovers of Women.* St. *Cyprian* twice informs us, That they fell from their heavenly Vigor, *Ad terrena contagia devoluti, being debased to earthly Contagions. They fell,* saith *Minutius,* Terrenis cupiditatibus degravati, *being depressed by earthly Lust. Methodius,* That *they conversed with the Daughters of Men, being taken with the Love of Flesh.* De Idol. van. p. 3. de Habit. virg. p. 99. ed. Oxon. P. 29. Apud phot. cod. 234.

In the Fourth Century, *Lactantius* saith, That the *Devil* tempted them to Vice, *Et Mulierum congressibus inquinavit, and defiled them by Converse with Women*; and so being excluded from Heaven they became his Ministers, and they who were begotten by them became *terrestrial Dæmons.* Hi sunt immundi Spiritus malorum quæ geruntur Auctores, *These,* saith he, *are the unclean Spirits, which are the Authors of all Evil.* The same Assertions may be found in *Eusebius,* in St. *Ambrose,* in *Epiphanius,* or some Author cited by him in his Sixty fourth *Heresy*; by *Pseudo Clemens* in his *Recognitions,* and by *Sulpitius Severus. Petavius,* in his Notes upon *Epiphanius,* saith, Fuit hæc vetustissimorum Patrum fere omnium Sententia filios illos Dei qui Gen. 6. filias hominum adamasse dicuntur, Angelos fuisse, *This was the Opinion of almost all the most Ancient Fathers, That the Sons of God, who are said in* Genesis *the Sixth, to have loved the Daughters of Men, were Angels.* Vetus fuit multorum & gravissimorum Authorum opinio, *It was the ancient Opinion of many and very grave Authors,* saith *Fevardentius* on the forecited place of *Irenæus:* And yet, L. 2. c. 14. p. 216, 217. De præp. Evang. l. 5. c. 4. de Noah & Arca, c. 4. Num. 21. L. 4 c. 26. Hist. l. 1. c. 3.

First, It deserves to be considered, That they grounded this whole Fancy and Exposition, partly upon that *spurious Book* of *Enoch*; which, saith St. *Austin,* Continet istas gigantum fabulas, *contains those Fables of the Gyants*; and where, saith *Origen,* it is said, That *Jared was begotten in the Days,* τῆς τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ καταβάσεως ὅτι τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, *of the Descent of the Sons of God upon the Daughters of Men*; and partly upon the concurring *Tradition* of the *Jews,* who had entertained the same Notion and Exposition of the Place, as we may learn from their own *Josephus* and *Philo,* who from the said *Traditions* tell us, That, πολλοὶ Ἄγγελοι θεοῦ γυναιξὶ συμμιγέντες ὑβριστὰς ἐγέννησαν παῖδας, *many Angels of God, conversing with Women, begot insolent Children, and Despisers of every thing that was good, as trusting to their own Strength.* De C.D. l. 15. cap. 23. In Joh. To. 8. Ed. Huet. p. 132. d. Antiq. l. 1. c. 4. p. 8. Philo de Gigant. p. 284, 285.

Secondly,

Secondly, Conſider that in the very next *Century*, this Fancy was run down, in Terms very opprobrious, and much reflecting upon the Ignorance and Oſcitancy of the former *Fathers: That which makes moſt Men thus Ignorant*, ſaith *Theodoret*, on the place, *is their careleſs reading of the Scriptures.* And there he alſo repreſents the Authors of the former Opinion, as, ἐμβρόντητοί τινες, καὶ ἄγαν ἠλίθιοι, *Men very ſtupid, and ſuch as had a Knock in their Cradles.* *Chryſoſtom* adds, That *they who affirm that theſe things were ſpoken, not of Men, but Angels, were* βλάσφημα φθεγγόμενοι, *ſpeakers of Blaſphemy*; and then he proceeds, ἀναιρέσθαι τὰς μυθολογίας, *to overturn, or to confute the Fables of theſe Men.* And in the very next *Century*, *Philaſtrius Brixienſis*, put this very Doctrine into the *Catalogue* of his *Hereſies*, ſaying, Alia eſt Hæreſis, quæ de gigantibus adſerit, quod Angeli miſcuerunt ſe cum fæminis ante diluvium, & inde eſſe natos gigantes, *There is another Hereſy, which aſſerts, touching the Gyants, That Angels, before the Flood, converſed with Women, and that of them were theſe Gyants begotten.* If then the *Jewiſh Church* received by *Tradition*, a Doctrine ſo contrary to the very Nature of *Angels*, and conſequently to Truth it ſelf: If the *Fathers* of the firſt four *Centuries* were ſo eaſily impoſed upon by their *Traditions*, and their *ſpurious Books*, as to embrace the ſame Opinion, not only againſt Reaſon; but, as *Theodoret*, St. *Chryſoſtom*, and *Auſtin* have demonſtrated, againſt the Evidence of that very *Text* on which they grounded their Opinion; which ſo expreſly ſaith, *The Wickedneſs*, not of the *Angels*, or their Off-ſpring, *but, of Men was great*, and that *all Fleſh had corrupted their Ways*; and that *God* therefore had determined *to puniſh*, not *Dæmons*, or the *Ghoſts* of *Gyants*, but, *the whole Earth*, by bringing of a Flood upon them: If they, I ſay, could read ſo careleſly this *Chapter*, as generally to interpret one Verſe of it in Oppoſition to the plain Import of the whole: If, *Laſtly*, an Expoſition ſo long, and generally received, till the beginning of the Fifth *Century*, could, in that very *Century*, be, by the *greateſt Fathers* of the *Church*, utterly rejected as *Fabulous*, *Blaſphemous*, *Heretical*, καὶ παραπληξίας ἔσχατης, and *guilty of the utmoſt Folly*, then muſt it be extreamly evident,

Quæſt. 47. in Gen.

In locum.

Edit. Sichardi p. 52, 53.

1. That *Tradition*, in this matter, could be no certain Rule unto the *Jewiſh Church*, and therefore could not be *Infallible*.

2. That

2. That the *Fathers* of the *Christian Church* have been imposed upon for some whole *Centuries*, in this Affair, by *spurious Authors*, and by *Jewish Fables*; and therefore they and the *Fathers*, of any other Age, must also be supposed subject to the like Mistakes in other Matters of like Nature.

3. That they were prone, on these Accounts, to interpret *Scriptures* contrary to the plain Import of them, and so cannot be owned as the *Authentick Interpreters* of Holy Writ.

4. Hence also it is clear, that what hath *generally* been received, without any apparent Opposition in one *Age*, may, in the very next *Age*, be as generally rejected with the greatest Scorn and Ignominy, and pass for *Blasphemy* and *Heresy*.

Fourthly, It anciently was held Unlawful for any Clergy-Man to engage himself in *Secular Affairs*. For amongst the Sins which provoked God to Anger, St. *Cyprian* reckons this, Episcopos procuratores rerum secularium fieri, *That Bishops became Proctors in secular Affairs*. The *Sixth Canon* of the *Apostles* decrees, That *a Bishop, Presbyter or Deacon shall be deposed, if he take upon him,* κοσμικὰς φροντίδας, *worldly Cares*. The *General Council* of *Chalcedon*, forbids all *Bishops*, *Clerks*, or *Monks*, ἐπεισάγειν ἑαυτὸς κοσμικαῖς διοικήσεσιν, *to intermeddle with worldly Businesses*. The Second *General Council* of *Constantinople* having said, That the sacred *Canons* deposed those *Presbyters*, or *Deacons* who took upon them *secular Governments*, or *Cares*, ratifies the said *Canons*; declaring, That if any of them did thus imploy himself, he should be expelled from the *Clergy*; for according to the most true Words of our *Saviour*, οὐδεὶς δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν, *No Man can serve Two Masters*; and yet what *Church* at present doth observe these *Canons*, though they were all confirmed, and even ascribed to the Holy Spirit, by the general Council held in *Trullo*, and by the Second *Nicene Council*; or who now thinks himself obliged by that Text to do so? §. 9.

De lapsis p. 123.

Can. 3.

Can. 11.

Θεοπρεπῶς τὰ συγκείμενα, Concil. Trull. Can. 1. ἐξ ἑνὸς γὰρ ἅπαντες τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἁγιάσματος ἐδέξαντο, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα. Conc. Nic. 2. can. 1.

Fifthly, Who knows not that anciently it was esteemed, by the whole *Church* a thing unlawful for a *Bishop*, *Presbyter*, or any of the *Clergy*, to go from one *Church* or *Dioceſs* to another? The first *Nicene Council* declares, That some, who before §. 10.

Can. 15.

before their sitting had done this, did it, παρὰ τὸν κανόνα, *against the Canon*; and decrees, That for the future, neither *Bishop*, *Priest*, or *Deacon* shall ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν μεταβαίνειν, *go from City to City*. The *Council* of *Antioch*, approved by the whole *Church*, renews the same Decree. The *Council* of *Sardica* represents the Attempt of such a Change as, συνήθεια βλαβερωτάτη, *a most pernicious Custom to be pulled up by the Roots*; and as a Wickedness which deserved, αὐστηρότερον ἐκδικηθῆναι, *to be severely punished*; and therefore they declare, That *they who made such Changes should be excluded, even from Lay-Communion*; and they object these Translations to the *Arians* as their great Crime. The *General Council* of *Chalcedon* confirms all the *Canons* made touching this Matter by these *Councils*. *Pope Julius*, not only condemns this Transmigration, but saith, That *he who practiseth it doth*, τὸν παρὰ θεοῦ δοθέντα καταφρονεῖν, *despise the Station God hath given him*. Pope *Leo* adds, That he who doth so, shall not only *be expell'd from the Chair he had invaded*, Sed carebit & propria, *but shall be deprived of his own*. Pope *Damasus* declares, That *he will have no Communion with such Persons*.

Can 21.

Can. 1.

Translationes ab Ecclesia ad Majores apud Hilar. Frag. p. 437.

Can. 1. Apud Athanas. Apol. p. 744.

Ep 84. c 4.

Ἀπὸ τὴν ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας ἀλλοτρίους ἔχομεν. Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 11.

Moreover this Practice they condemn as *Spiritual Adultery*, declaring, That the *Church* to which the *Bishop*, or the *Priest* is chosen, is his Wife; which therefore he cannot dismiss, and take another, without *Adultery*. Thus the *Synod* of *Alexandria* accuse *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* for going from *Berytus* to that City, as having forfeited his *Bishoprick*, and committed Adultery against the Import of that Precept, *Art thou bound to Wife, seek not to be loosed*; *which if it be said of a Woman*, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὅτι ἐκκλησίας, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁπισκοπῆς, ᾗ ὁ συνδεθεὶς ἄλλην οὐκ ὀφείλει ζητεῖν; *how much more of a Church, of the same Bishoprick to which one being tied ought not to seek another? ἵνα μὴ καὶ μοιχὸς φθῇ ταῖς θείαις ἐνεισκῇ γεγραφαῖς, That he may not be found also an Adulterer, according to the Holy Scriptures.* In the *Synod* under *Mennas*, it was also laid to the Charge of *Anthimus*, That, having been *Bishop* of *Trabisond*, *he did*, μοιχικῶς ὑφαρπάσαι, *adulterously snatch that of* Constantinople *against the Ecclesiastical Laws and Canons*. Pope *Calixtus* from the same *Scripture*, determines, That *if a Bishop*, *or Priest leave his Church* or *Parish*, *which is his Wife bound to him whilst he lives*, *he commits Spiritual Adultery*.

Apud Athanas. Apol. 2. p. 727.

Apud Binium Tom. 4. p. 9 Τὴν μοιχικὴν ἁρπαγὴν. p. 15.

Apud. Regin. de Eccles. discipl. l. 1. c. 250.

And

And suitably to the Determinations of so many *Councils*, they who refused to be thus promoted, were highly commended, as observing, τὰς ἐντολὰς Θεῦ, καὶ Ἀποστολικὸν κανόνα, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίας, *the Commands of God, and the Canons of the Apostles, and the Church.* Thus, when upon the Deposition of *Eustathius*, *Bishop* of *Antioch*, they would have preferred *Eusebius*, *Bishop* of *Cæsarea*, to that *See*, he refused the Offer, because, νόμῳ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἐκώλυε, *the Law of the Church forbad it*; and this Fact *Constantine* commended, as *acceptable to God:* καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ παραδόσει σύμφωνον, *and agreeable to the Tradition of the Church.*

Euseb. de vita Constant. l. 3. c. 61.

Sozom. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 19.

Euseb. ibid.

But they who did transgress this *Canon* were removed from that *See* they were translated to, though never so well deserving of the *Church.* Thus *Gregory Nazianzen*, though removed from *Sasima* to *Constantinople* by the *Emperor*; though he had laboured so much in that *Church* to convert the *Heathens* he found there, and hinder the Endeavours of the *Hereticks*; yet the *General Council* of *Constantinople*, *observing*, saith *Sozomen*, τὸς πατρίους νόμους καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν τάξιν φυλάσσοσα, *the Laws of the Fathers, and the Ecclesiastical Order*, took his *Bishoprick* from him, *no ways regarding the great Merits of the Person.* But who now, in the *Church* of *Christ*, regards these *Canons* of so many *General Councils*, or looks upon it as a Crime to admit of, or even sue for a Translation from *a less Bishoprick to a greater*?

Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 7.

It were easy to shew the like Difference betwixt the Practice and Judgment of the present *Church*, and that of former Ages, touching the *corporal* and *pecuniary Punishments* of Men for difference in *Religion*, which they of former Ages most plainly disapproved of, touching the *Suffrage* of the People being requisite to the *Election* of their *Bishop*, which they expresly did assert, disowning such pretended *Bishops* as wanted the Consent and Suffrage of the People; to omit many other Instances which might be easily produced, to shew that Doctrines and Practices have passed for currant, and even *Apostolical*, in former Ages, which are now utterly rejected, and disapproved of in this present Age.

§. 11. But; *Lastly*, though when the whole *Church* is unanimous, and all her Members do agree in the asserting any Doctrine

as an Article of *Christian* Faith, necessary to be owned by all *Christians*; the Plea from the concurring Judgment of the *Church* is highly plausible, and never ought, without the clearest Evidence of Reason, or of *Scripture* to be gainsaid, nor hath the *Church* of *England* ever disowned any such Doctrine; yet when whole *Churches*, or *Nations* are divided in their Sentiments, concerning any Doctrine, and Number may be pleaded by both Parties; then, say we with the *Fathers*, That we must have Recourse unto the *Scriptures*. This is, at present, visibly the State, and the Condition of the *Church* of *Christ*; she agrees now in nothing but the *Apostles*, and the *Nicene Creed*; there is *East* against *West*, and *West* against *East*; *Protestant* against *Papist*, and *Papist* against *Protestant*. Now, in this case, the *ancient Fathers* of the *Church* declare it is our only safe and prudent Course, to fly, as doth the *Church* of *England*, to the *Holy Scriptures*, and to *primitive Antiquity*; and say, That a Necessity is laid upon us so to do. Thus *Hippolytus*, or whosoever is the Author of that Book which bears his Name, having given an Account of the Prevalence which *Antichrist* shall have, clearly insinuates, That the best Preservative against him is, *Scripturas audire, to hear the Scriptures*; and that *Christ* will pronounce them Blessed who have done so: And that they who do not, *Diligenter legere Scripturas, diligently read the Scriptures, shall run up and down, saying, Where is Christ? and shall not find him.* The *Author* of the imperfect Work upon *Matthew*, which passeth under the Name of *Chrysostom*, speaking of the Times in which *Heresy* prevails, saith, *Then let them who are in* Judæa *fly to the Mountains*; *that is*, Qui sunt Christiani conferant se ad Scripturas, *Let them who are Christians have Recourse to the Scriptures, to the Writings of the Apostles and Prophets.* And *why*, saith he, *doth Christ at this time command*, Omnes Christianos conferre se ad Scripturas, *all Christians to fly to the Scriptures. Because*, saith he, *in this time, since Heresy hath got the Churches, there can be no Proof of true Christianity*, Neque refugium potest esse Christianorum *aliud* volentium cognoscere fidei veritatem, *nisi scriptura divinæ*; *the Christians, who are desirous to know the true Faith, can have* no other Refuge but the Holy Scriptures. *Before there were many Ways of shewing which was the Church of Christ; but now, if Men be willing to discern her,*

P. 60.

P. 13.

Hom. 49. p. 174.

Nullo

Nullo modo cognoscitur quæ sit vera Ecclesia Christi nisi *tantummodo per Scripturas*; *the true Church of Christ can by no other way be known, but* only by the Scriptures; *for now, all those things, which are properly of Christ in truth, these Heresies have in Schism; they, in like manner, have Churches, the Divine Scriptures, Bishops, the other Orders of the Clergy, Baptism, the Eucharist; all other things, and even Christ himself: Now in the Confusion of so great Similitude; he that is willing to know which is the true Church of Christ,* Unde cognoscat nisi tantummodo per Scripturas? *Whence can he know it but* only by the Scriptures? *Before it was known by Miracles who were true Christians, and who false; but now,* Signorum operatio omnino levata est, *the working of Miracles is intirely diminished; and the working of feigned Miracles,* magis apud eos invenitur qui falsi sunt Christiani, *is chiefly found amongst those who are false Christians; for the full Power of working Miracles is to be given to Antichrist. The Church of Christ was formerly known by her Manners, the Conversation of all, or most of her Members being Holy; but now Christians are like to, or even worse than Hereticks. He therefore who would know which is the true Church of Christ;* Unde cognoscat nisi tantummodo per Scripturas? *Whence can he know her but* only by the Scriptures? *Whence, our Lord, knowing that there would be such a confusion of things in the last Days, commands,* Ut Christiani qui sunt in Christianitate volentes firmitatem accipere fidei veræ, *ad nullam rem fugiant nisi ad Scripturas, That Christians, who are willing to remain firm in the true Faith, should fly to nothing but the Scriptures.* P. 175.

The true *Chrysostom* gives exactly the same Advice in the like Case; for to that Enquiry, *What shall we say to the Greeks? There comes one of them, and saith, I would be a Christian,* ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα τίνι προσθῶμαι, *but I know not to whom I should join myself, for there is much Contention, Controversy, and Tumult among you Christians; What Opinion shall I chuse? every one saith, Truth is on my Side; Whom shall I credit, who know nothing of the Scriptures, and hear them all pretending to them?* To this Inquiry *Chrysostom* answers, *This is much for us; for did we say you must believe our Discourses, thou hadst reason to be troubled,* εἰ ὑμᾶς ταῖς γραφαῖς λέγομεν πιστεύειν, ἅπλαι καὶ ἀληθεῖς; *but since we say you must believe the Scriptures, and they are plain, and* Hom. 33. in Act. Tom. 4. p. 799.

true, 'tis easy for you to pass your Judgment; if any Man consents with them, he is a Christian; if he contradicts them, he is far from this Rule. Behold here the *Heathen*, sent by St. *Chrysostom* to pass Judgment betwixt the *Orthodox*, and all sorts of *Heretick*s, from *Scripture* alone; and told, that it is *easy* for him so to do, because the *Scriptures are a plain Rule*, whereby to judge in Matters of this Nature: *But*, saith the *Heathen*, *one of you affirms, That the Scripture saith thus; the other, That it speaketh otherwise; interpreting it to another Sence. But what of all this*, saith *Chrysostom*, νῦν ἐκ ἔχεις, ἐδὲ κείσιν; *for hast thou not an Understanding, and a Judgment?* Where again the *Heathen* is supposed able, by his own Judgment, to discern who wrests, who rightly doth interpret *Scripture*. *But how can I do this*, saith the *Greek*? *I know not how to judge of the Doctrines; I come to be a Learner, and you make me a Teacher: If any one object thus*, saith *Chrysostom*, ἐρωτήσωμεν αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ σκῆψις ταῦτα καὶ πρόφασις, *we should ask him whether this be not Dissimulation and Pretence; for if your Reason taught you to condemn Heathenism, it may also teach you to judge betwixt us and Heretick*s; *do not therefore dissemble or make Pretences*, πάντα γὰρ ῥάδια, *for all things are easy. Thou knowest what to do, and leave undone, do therefore what thou oughtest, and with right Reason seek of God, and he will fully reveal this to thee, for he is no respecter of Persons; it is not possible that he who heareth without Prejudice should not*
P. 800. *be perswaded*, ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰ κανών τις ἦν πρὸς ὃν πάντα ἀπευθύνεσθαι ἐχρῆν, καὶ πολλῆς ἂν ἦν σκέψεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παραμετροῦντα ῥᾴδιον ἦν λαβεῖν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν; *for as if there were a Rule to which all things were to be adapted, it would be easy to perceive who takes wrong Measures; so is it here*: To this Rule you see, *viz.* the *Holy Scriptures*, even the *Heathen* is sent, as to that which is sufficient to direct him to *Christian Truth*, when there is, μάχη παρ' ἡμῖν πολλὴ, καὶ στάσις, *much Controversy, and Contention amongst Christians concerning it.*

Commonit. c. 6. Lastly, *Vincentius Lirinensis* lays down the same Rule; For *if the Contagion*, saith he, *though new, endeavour to infect the whole Church, as in the case of the* Arians; *then, whosoever would discern the Catholick Faith from Heretical Pravity, must be careful to adhere to Antiquity, viz.* To that Sence of *Scripture*, which
C. 3, 4, 8, 25, 33, 39, 41. *it is manifest our Ancestors held, and must believe that without Doubtfulness, which all in like manner, with one consent, held, writ,*

and

and taught, openly, frequently, and perſeveringly, he being only firm in Faith, who determines, Id ſolum ſibi tenendum, credendumque, quicquid univerſaliter *antiquitùs* Eccleſiam Catholicam tenuiſſe cognoverit, *That alone is to be held, and believed by him, which he knows the Catholick Church* anciently *held. But when Schiſms and Hereſies have grown ancient in the Church, and the Poiſon of them hath ſpread largely* (which, ſay we, is the preſent Caſe of the *Church*) *then,* ſaith he, Nullo modo oportet nos, niſi aut *Sola,* ſi opus eſt, *Scripturarum Auctoritate, convincere, we ought only, if need be, to convince them by the Authority of Scripture, or to ſhun them, as being condemned,* Jam antiquitùs, *by ancient general Councils of Catholick Prieſts;* and when our *Adverſaries* aſſault us with either of theſe two Weapons, they will find us ready, and able to defend our ſelves. Cap. 41.

Mr. *Mumford* ſhews, that Prayer for the Dead, is at leaſt, as ancient as *Tertullian*; and that from the Fourth Century, till the Reformation, it generally obtained in the *Church*; and is not this enough to prove it an *Apoſtolical* Tradition, as St. *Auſtin*, and ſome others repreſent it. *Object.* 6. P. 401--406.

To this I have already returned one Anſwer, by ſhewing, that *Communicating* Infants obtained in the ſame Century in which *Tertullian* lived; and that from the Fourth to the Twelfth *Century*, it was generally practiſed, and held *neceſſary* for the Salvation of the Infant; and yet the *Trent Council* hath declared, That it was neither neceſſary, nor *Apoſtolical.* And there is one thing farther obſervable, to compleat this Parallel, That *Pſeudo-Dionyſius*, in that very place where he diſcourſes of Prayers for the Dead, undertakes alſo to account for that other Cuſtom, παῖδας ὅπως τὰ θεῖα συνίεναι δυναμένους, μετόχους γίγνεσθαι τ ἱερᾶς θεογενεσίας καὶ τῆς ἱερωτάτων τ θεαρχικῆς κοινωνίας Συμβόλων, of Adminiſtring, not only Baptiſm, but the moſt ſacred Symbols of the Divine Communion to Children, not capable of underſtanding Divine things. That this was then done, he ſaith expreſly, not only here, but in theſe following Words, μεταδίδωσι δὲ τῷ παιδὶ τῆς ἱερῶν Συμβόλων ὁ ἱεράρχης, *The Prieſt alſo delivers to the Child the Sacred Symbols,* which his *Paraphraſt* varies thus, μετέχει καὶ τῆς μυσηρίων τὸ βρέφος, *The Infant alſo partakes of the Myſteries.* And theſe things, ſaith he, our Maſters, πρὸς τ ἀρχαίας παραδόσεως εἰς ἡμᾶς περήκασιν, *have* *Answer.* Vide ſupra §. 6. Eccl. Hier. c. 7. §. 3. quæ eſt de precib. pro mortuis. p. 417. P. 419. Pachymeres P. 436.

have brought down to us from an ancient Tradition; so that the Practice, as it was as early, so was *Tradition* equally pretended for it.

(*a*) *Answer to the Jes.* ch. 7. (*b*) De pœnis & satisf. l. 5. (*c*) Sect. 1.

Secondly, It hath been lately shewed by the Judicious (*a*) Bishop *Usher*, the learned (*b*) *Dall.* and by the Author of a late excellent Treatise of (*c*) *Prayer for the Dead, and Purgatory*; That the *Ancients* prayed for the Dead upon these Five Accounts.

Dall. ibid. c. 7. 1. As believing the Doctrine of the *Millenium*, or the Saints Reign on Earth a Thousand Years.

Dall. ib. Ush. p. 232, &c. 2. As supposing, that in the general *Conflagration* of the World, at the last Day, all should pass through the Fire, and feel the Torment of it more or less.

Dall. ibid. c. 3, 4, 5, 6. Ush. ibid. 3. As thinking that the Souls of just Persons departed, were not to be admitted into the highest *Heavens*, or the Fruition of Gods immediate Presence till the Resurrection, but were till then reserved in *Abraham*'s Bosom.

Dall. ibid. c. 9. 4. As thinking, That the Sentence was not instantly pronounced at the Day of their Death, but was reserved to that of Judgment, when the Just should have a publick Absolution, and the full Crown of Righteousness awarded to them.

Dall. ib. c. 12. 5. As surmising, That even *wicked Persons*, by their Prayers, Alms, and Oblations, might receive, *Aut plenam Remissionem, aut tolerabiliorem damnationem, either a full Remission, or a more tolerable Damnation.* And indeed, I think it very difficult to name one *Ancient Author*, by whom these Prayers are mentioned, who held not one or more of these Opinions, which might give Rise unto this Custom; that of the *Millenium*, and of the non-Admission of Souls into the highest *Heavens*, being almost generally received in the Second Century, in which we hear nothing of Prayers for the Dead.

Now all these Opinions are generally condemned, and discarded by the *Church* of *Rome*, and if they may reject all the apparent Grounds, recorded in the *Ancients* of this Practice, and censure the chief Reasons upon which they did it, why may not the *Tradition* also be rejected, as being founded upon precarious Doctrines, which they themselves deny to be *Apostolical*?

Thirdly, I answer, That if by praying for the Dead, Mr. *M.* only means, the using of such Prayers as St. *Paul* made for

for *Onesimus*, *viz.* That God would *Grant him Mercy at that Day*, *viz.* The Day of Judgment; or such as our *Church* useth in her *Liturgy*, That God would *deliver us in the Hour of Death, and in the Day of Judgment*; and that *all they who are departed in the true Faith of God's Holy Name, may*, at the Day of Recompence, *have their perfect Consummation and Bliss, both in Body and Soul.* I say, if he intends this only, it is no more than we our selves do by our Practice and Subscriptions own. 2 Tim. 1. 18.

The Doctrine we deny, is that which is contained in the definition of the *Florentine Council*, in these Words; *If those who have truly repented dy in the Love of God, before they have satisfied for their Sins of Commission and Omission, by worthy Fruits of Penance, their Souls are purged after Death by purgatory Punishments; and that they may be relieved from those Punishments, it is profitable for them to have the Aid of the living*, viz. *The Masses, Prayers, and Alms, and other Acts of Piety, performed by the Faithful; and that they being thus purged, are presently after received into Heaven, and admitted to the immediate Vision of God.*

Ἐὰν οἱ ἀληθῶς μετανοήσαντες ἀπαλάνωσιν ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγάπῃ, πρὶν τοῖς ἀξίοις μετανοίας καρποῖς ἱκανοποιῆσαι περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτημένων ὁμῶν καὶ ἠμελημένων τὰς τούτων ψυχὰς καθαρτικοῖς πυρίαις καθαίρεσθαι μετὰ θάνατον. ὥστε ὠφελεῖσθαι αὐτὰς τῶν τοιούτων πιστῶν ὀπικουρίας δηλονότι τὰς ἱερὰς θυσίας καὶ εὐχὰς καὶ ἐλεημοσύνας, καὶ τἆλλα τῆς εὐσεβείας ἔργα — καὶ ἔτι τὰς καθαρσίους εἰς ἐφαρὸν εὐθὺς ὑποληφθείσας καὶ καθαρῶς θεωρεῖν αὐτὸν τὸν ἕνα καὶ τριαδικὸν θεὸν καθώς ἐστιν, defin. concil. Florent apud Bin. Tom. 7. p. 851. & p. 564.

The Doctrine we deny, is that which in the *Trent Council* is delivered thus: *The Catholick Church, instructed by the Holy Spirit, hath in S. Councils, and in this General Synod, taught from the Holy Scriptures, and the ancient Tradition of the Fathers, That there is a Purgatory, and that the Souls there detained are helped by the Suffrages of the Faithful, and especially, by the acceptable Sacrifice of the Altar; which Sacrifice,* say they, *is offered according to the Tradition of the Apostles, not only for the Sins, Punishments, and Satisfactions of the Faithful living, but also for the Dead in Christ not fully purged.* And therefore she defines, That *if any one say that, after Justification,*

Purgatorium esse, animasque ibi detentas fidelium suffragiis, potissimum vero Altaris acceptabili Sacrificio, juvari, *Sess.* 25.

Sed & pro defunctis in Christo nondum ad plenum purgatis, *Sess.* 22. *cap.* 2.

Ut nullus remaneat reatus pœnæ temporalis exolvendæ vel in hoc sæculo vel in futuro in purgatorio, *Sess.* 6. *can.* 30.

fication, the Fault of the Penitent is so remitted, and the Guilt of eternal Punishment so blotted out, that there remains no Guilt of temporal Punishment to be suffered in this World, or in the future, in Purgatory, before he can have admittance into the Kingdom of Heaven; let him be Anathema. Now to prove this Doctrine from the *perpetual Tradition* of the *Church* of *Christ*, Mr. *M.* must not only prove the Antiquity of Prayer for the Dead, which no body denies; but,

Apud. Bin. Tom. 7. p. 838.

1. That some Souls dying in *Christ*, or departing hence in the *Love of God*, are detained in *Purgatory*; or, as the *Florentine Council* doth express it, ἐν βασανιστηρίῳ, *in a place of Torments.*

2. That they are there detained to undergo some *temporal Punishment* for their Sins, or *to be fully purged from them after Death by purgatory Torments.*

3. That by the Prayers, Alms, and Masses performed by the Living, they are relieved from those Punishments, and are advanced from *Purgatory* to *Heaven*, from Torment to the Vision of *God* before the Resurrection of the Body, and the Day of Judgment: And when Mr. *M.* will undertake to prove these things, *Ex antiqua Patrum traditione*, *from the Tradition of the Fathers* of the first Five *Centuries*, or from the *Tradition of the Apostles*, he will justify the *Decrees* of these *Councils*, and confute the *Protestants.* But this, if he be well acquainted with the Writings and Customs of the *Ancient Church*, he must know to be a vain Attempt; it being evident that they knew nothing of these Doctrines; yea, that they often spake things, as expressly contrary to every one of these Particulars, as Light is opposite to Darkness: For,

4. Even from the Prayers used by the *Ancients*, and from the Sentiments of those that used them, we have most certain Demonstrations, that these Doctrines were not received in the *Ancient Church* of *Christ*.

It is the Observation of St. *Chrysostom*, That even their *Funeral Hymns* taught them to believe that the Faithful, immediately after Death were Happy, That they returned then unto their Rest, and were delivered from all their Labours: *We send out*, saith he, *the Departed*, μετ' ὑμνῶν, *with Hymns*;

Hom. 14. in 1. ep. ad Tim. p. 309.

then

then is there Joy and Gladness, every one praying thus to dy, ἀναπύσασθαι τῆς πόνων καὶ τῆς ἀγώνων, *to cease from their Labours, and Conflicts,* πάντων ἀπαλλάχθαι τῆς δεινῶν, *to be delivered from all dreadful things,* ἰδεῖν τὸ χριστὸν, *and to see Christ.* And inveighing against the evil Custom of Lamenting the Faithful at their Death, he saith, *Tell me what do the burning Lamps import, is it not that we send them forth as Champions? What mean the Hymns, do we not by them glorify God, and give Thanks,* ὅτι λοιπὸν ἐστεφάνωσε τὸν ἐντελῆ ὄντα, ὅτι τῆς πόνων ἀπήλλαξεν, ὅτι τῆς δειλίας ἐκβαλὼν ἔχει παρ' ἑαυτῷ; *That from henceforth he hath crowned the Departed, that he hath delivered him from all his Labours; that freeing him from Fear, he hath received him to himself? Are not these the Import of our Hymns and Psalms? and all these are the Actions of Men rejoycing. Mark what thou singest at that time: Return unto thy Rest, O my Soul, for the Lord hath dealt graciously with thee: I will fear no Evil, for thou art with me; thou art my Refuge from the Trouble that compasseth me about. Mind what these Psalms import: But thou wilst not do it, being drunk with Grief: Dost thou say, Return unto thy Rest, O my Soul, and weepest? Are not these things seen, and Hypocrisy; for if thou really believest what thou sayest, thou weepest superfluously; if thou dost not, Why dost thou sing, why dost thou suffer what is done, and dost not drive away the Singers?* And again, *Let the manner of his Interment shame thee: Psalms, and Thanksgivings, and the Catalogue of his Progenitors, are things done, not that thou mayst weep, but mayst give Thanks for them,* ἅτε ὃν μείζονα κληθέντας ἡμῶν, *as being called to greater Honour;* and *consider to whom they are gone, even to that place where is* Peter *and* Paul, *and the whole Choire of the Saints. Now,* saith he, *if an Heathen see thee weeping, he will be ready to say, Thou wouldst not do so, didst thou indeed believe,* ὅτι πρὸς βελτίονα λῆξιν ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖνος, *that he was gone hence to a better Mansion of Rest.* And, lastly, *Do you not see,* saith he, *what we do to them who are gone before us; we send them forth with Psalms and Hymns, signifying our Thanksgiving to our Lord; with Lamps and Incense we attend them,* δείκνυντες ὅτι τὸ σκοτεινὸ βίον λυθέντες πρὸς τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἐπορεύθησαν, *shewing that being delivered from this Life of Darkness, they are gone to the true Light.*

Hom. 14. in 1. Ep. ad Tim. P. 309.

Hom. 4 in Epist. ad Hebr. P. 453, 454.

Tom. 5. Hom. 61. p. 420, 421. Ἀπῆλθε ἔνθα Παῦλός ἐστιν, ἔνθα Πέτρος, ἔνθα τῶν ἁγίων ὁ χορὸς ἅπας. ibid.

Tom. 6. Hom. 116. p. 944.

Τῶν δικαίων τὰ πνεύματα ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σε εἰσὶν ὧν ἡ μὴ ἅψηται βάσανος. l. 8. c 41. Wisd. 3. 1.

The Prayers used for the Dead in the *Apostolical Constitutions*, i. e. the most ancient of that kind, which are extant, suppose the Souls, for which they prayed, ἀναπαυσάμενοι ἐν χειρῷ, *resting in Christ, and in the Hands of God*; *so that no Torment can touch them*; and yet their Prayer for them is, *That God would forgive them all their voluntary, and involuntary Sins*; *That he would place over them kind Angels, which should conduct them into the Regions of pious Souls, resting in the Bosom of* Abraham, Isaac, *and* Jacob, *with all, who from the beginning, have pleased God, and to that place where there is neither Sorrow, Grief, nor Sigh, but* χῶρος εὐσεβῶν ἀνήνιος, *the Region of pious Souls free from Grief.*

Ἔνθα ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός.

De Hier. Eccl. c. 7. p. 405, 406, 407. Pachym. p. 427.

Pseudo Dionysius Areopagita, in his Discourse touching those things which are performed about the Dead, declareth, That *the Faithful come to the Term of their Life*, ὡς ὅπι τέλος ἱερῶν ἀγώνων, *as to the end of their sacred Conflicts*; *and that being arrived at it*, τῆς ἱερῶν ἔτι κοίμησις ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ, *they sleep in Joy, that being come to the end*, τῆ τῇδε βίᾳ, *of this present life*, τὴ θείας ἡδονῆς ἀποπληρεῦσθαι, *they are filled with divine Pleasure, as well knowing they for ever shall enjoy*, τὰ κτηθέντα καλὰ, *the good things they possess.* P. 407, 408. Pachymeres, p. 428. *That the Relations of the Faithful do pronounce him blessed, as being come desirably*, πρὸς τὸ νικηφόρον τέλος, *to his triumphant End*; *that they bring him to the Priest*, ὡς ὅπι δόσιν στεφάνων, *as to the conferring of his Crown, and therefore pour out Psalms of thanksgiving to the Author of his Victory.* That *others, tho' unfit to be partakers of the Holy Communion, are admitted to these Funeral Solemnities*; P. 410. 411. *that seeing him who died piously in the Liturgick Offices*, ὡς κοίνωνον ὄντως ὄντα τῆς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἁγίων ἀναπαύσεως, *declared to be one who indeed enjoys Communion with the Saints, who have been from the beginning of the World, they may desire the same End.* P. 416. *That he is anointed with Oil, to testifie that now the Combatant is come to the End of his sacred Conflicts.* Pachym. p. 434. That *they bury his Body honourably*; *for, seeing he consisted of a Body and a* Pachym. Ibid. *Soul*; ἵνα τί τῆς ψυχῆς αὖλιζομένης ἐν ἀγαθοῖς, *why, when the Soul enjoys its good things, should the Body be neglected, and not honourably deposited?*

P. 411. And then he tells us, That the Prayers which the *Priest* made for him, was, *That the Divine Goodness would forgive him all his Sins committed through humane infirmity, and would place him in Light, and in the Region of the Living, in the Bosom of* Abraham,

Abraham, Isaac *and* Jacob, ἐν τόπῳ ἔνθεν ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη, καὶ λύπη, καὶ στεναγμὸς, *in the Place from which is banished all Grief, Sorrow and Sighing.* For Explication of which Prayer, He, and his *Paraphrast* there Note,

First, That these things, thus prayed for, are, Δῆλα τὰ τῶν ἁγίων μακαριώτατα γέρα, *The plain and the most blessed Rewards of Holy Men.* Ibid.

Secondly, That the *Bosom of these Patriarchs is,* αἱ θειότατοι καὶ μακάριαι λῆξεις, *the most divine and happy places of Rest which receive Pious Men.* Ibid.

Thirdly, *That as we shadow forth the good things designed for us by a Kingdom, a Supper, Light and Glory; so the mention of Darkness, Gnashing of Teeth, of Grief, Sorrow and Sighing, signifie,* τὰ ἐκεῖσε δυσχερῆ, *the troublesom things* by others to be suffered in the future Life, That accordingly *the Bosom of the Patriarchs, and all the Saints, are their most blessed Mansions, and that the Metaphor seems to be taken from those Havens, or Bosoms of the Sea, to which those who are in a Tempest repair, that they may be at Rest; for as it is with them, so they who are in this Life tossed with Tempests,* ἤδη τοῖς κόλποις ἐκείνοις ἐλλιμενίζονται, *then rest in those Bosoms of the Patriarchs, as in an Haven.* Pachymeres P. 430.

Moreover, to this Question or Objection, *Why should the Priest pray God to pardon the Sins of the Dead, and to give him a portion in Light with Divine Spirits, since every one receives from divine Justice, a retribution according to what he hath done in this present life; for the dead person having compleated all the Actions of his Life, what can the Prayer of the Priest do to procure him a place of Rest,* περὶ τὴν ἀξίαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν ἐνδεᾶ ζωῆς ἀμοιβαίαν, *besides that of which he was worthy, and which was consonant to his Actions done in this Life?* P. 412.

Now to this Objection he returns this Answer, That *the Priest,* in these Prayers, *is,* ἐκφαντορικὸς τῶν θεαρχικῶν δικαιωμάτων, *an Expositor of Divine Retributions; and knowing from the Scriptures, that the divine Clemency doth overlook the Spots contracted by humane Frailty:* Αἰτεῖ αὐτὰ γένεσθαι, *He asks that those things may be done, and that the sacred Retributions may be given to such as have lived holily, knowing the Promises of God to be infallible; and that which is asked,* κατὰ θεσμὸν ἱερὸν, *according to the Holy Institution, shall entirely happen to those who are made perfect, according to the divine Life; that he desires only the things* P. 414, 415.

Pachymeres P. 434. *which are acceptable to God, and,* τὰ πάντως δωρηθησόμενα, *will most certainly be given as being just and promised by God.*

Here then we see expressly that in the judgment of the *Church*, and those renowned *Fathers*, who composed and used these Prayers,

1*st.* That they conceived that the Faithful, for whom they put them up, did immediately after death *cease from their Labours and their Conflicts*; that their Souls were *delivered not only from the Suffering*, but even from *the fear of all things dreadful*; that they were in a Place or State *where no Torment could touch them, and from which, Sighing, Sorrow, and Grief, were banished.*

2*dly.* That *from henceforth they were crowned*, were *with God*, and *in the Hands of God, at Rest in Christ, called to greater Honour, gone to the Choire of all Saints, to the place where blessed* Paul *and* Peter *are*; to the place *of Rest*; to *the true Light*; to *the Bosom of* Abraham; that *they slept in Joy*; *were filled with Pleasure from the enjoyment of good Things*; were *come to a triumphant End*; to *the Fellowship of all Saints*; to *the Haven of Rest:* And that the purposes of their Prayers for them were to assure them, from the Institution, and Promises of God of the Enjoyment of these things; whence it is evident, that Ease and Freedom from all pain is not more opposite to intense Torments; a Place of Happiness, Rest, Joy and Pleasure, to that of the extreamest Misery, than were Prayers for the Dead unto the *Romish Purgatory.* Now if such Prayers as these of the *Ancient Church*, exclusive of the Pains of *Purgatory*, and made expressly for the exemption of all pious Souls from Grief and Torment, and which assure us of their immediate Happiness after Death, will gratifie the *Romanists*, we may quickly put an end to this Controversie: But such Prayers as suppose the Souls of Righteous Persons in a State of Torment, and suffering the punishment of those Sins of which the Guilt is pardoned, as they are Novelties with which the *Church* of God was not acquainted in the five first *Centuries*, so can we see no reason to admit of them, but the most cogent Reason to the contrary. For,

Fifthly, Were pious Souls detained in such a miserable State, and subject to intense Torments, perhaps of many Years duration; and could the Prayers, the *Alms*, the *Masses* of

of good Men on Earth, procure them eaſe under, or a more ſpeedy exemption from this miſerable plight, and their advancement to the *Viſion of God*, it muſt be the moſt meritorious and *heroick* Act of Charity to be ſtill praying, ſtill multiplying of our *Alms* and *Maſſes*, for the deliverance of theſe good Souls from *Purgatory Torments*; and therefore doubtleſs, that Divine Wiſdom which hath been in the *New Teſtament* ſo exact and copious in requiring all the minuteſt Acts of Charity to Men on Earth, which doth ſo oft and vehemently preſs us by the higheſt motives, to ſhew all kindneſs to their Bodies; to comfort them in all their Sorrows and Afflictions; to pity, and, as much as we are able, to relieve them under all the Wants, Diſtempers, Miſeries, Afflictions of this preſent Life. I ſay, doubtleſs, That *Divine Wiſdom* would never have been wholly ſilent, as the *New Teſtament* moſt ſurely is, in reference to this great Act of Charity to the diſtreſſed Souls in *Purgatory*; not giving us in all the *Goſpels* or *Epiſtles*, one Exhortation to Pray, to offer *Alms*, much leſs to offer the *tremendous Sacrifice* for the delivery of them from that place of Torment; not giving the leaſt hint of any benefit which would accrue to us, or them, by doing ſo; nor one *Example* of any pious Perſon, who ever put up a Prayer for them; nor any Intimation of their ſad Eſtate, and how much it deſerved our Pity and Relief; (but leaving it to theſe poor Souls, after they had been ſhrewdly ſinged in theſe Flames, to trot in after-Ages back to Earth, to acquaint Holy Men with their ſad plight, and to entreat theſe Kindneſſes in their Behalf; or to *John Gerſon*, and Sir *Thomas Moore*, to make their *Complaints*, and tender *their Supplications* to the Living out *of their devout Charity, and tender Pity, to Help, Comfort and Relieve the ſilly Souls in Purgatory.*) Which, ſurely, is a ſtrong Preſumption, that this is not a proper Act of *Chriſtian Charity*.

See Biſh. Uſh. of Purg. p. 174.

Moreover, to engage all *Chriſtians* to Acts of Charity, and Kindneſs, to their needy Members here, our *Lord* informs us, That he will paſs the final Sentence with a chief Reſpect unto theſe Actions, that he will ſay unto us, *Come ye bleſſed, for I was hungry and thirſty*, and *you gave me meat and drink; naked, and you cloathed me; ſick, and you viſited me; in priſon, and you miniſtred to me.* Since then the Souls in *Purgatory*

Matth. xxv. 35, 36.

gatory are all the living Members of *Chriſt*'s Body: Seeing they there are in a State more worthy of our Pity, than the moſt ſick, afflicted, or needy of *Chriſt's* Members upon Earth; and 'twould be greater Charity, if we were able, to relieve them then, than under any Miſeries they here endure, how came our *Bleſſed Saviour* to forget to add, *I was in the infernal Priſon, and you prayed me thence; tormented with the pains of Purgatory, and you miniſtred to my Releaſe?* Hebr. xiij. 12. *Remember them who are in Bonds*, ſaith the *Apoſtle*, *as bound with them; and thoſe who are in Adverſity, as being alſo in the Body:* By which words he ſeems plainly to reſtrain this our remembrance of our fellow Sufferers, to what they endure whilſt they are *in the Body*; calling upon us to ſympathize with them, to help them by our Prayers, our *Alms*, and by what ever elſe may comfort and ſupport them in this afflicted State, from this conſideration, That it is ſuch as we alſo may be ſubject to; why therefore doth he never call upon us to remember them who are *in Bonds* in *Purgatory*, thoſe who are there, κατεχόμενοι, in a far more afflicted State, as knowing, if he believed the Doctrine of *Purgatory*, it would be ſo with us, when ſeparated from the Body? St. *James* ex- Jam. v. 14, 15. horts the ſick to *ſend for the Rulers of the Church*, that they may *pray over them*; adding, for their Encouragement to do ſo, That *the Prayer of Faith ſhall ſave the ſick*; and that *if he hath committed Sins, they ſhall be forgiven him*; and that *the effectual fervent Prayer of a Righteous Man availeth much*; but, if their Prayers would avail alſo for the forgiveneſs of thoſe Sins for which he was to fry in *Purgatory*, why was he not as careful to preſcribe this means in reference to that end? Why left he no Inſtructions to theſe ſick Perſons to deſire the like Prayers for their Souls, when ſent unto that place of Torments? Why did he give no Exhortations or Encouragements unto the *Rulers* of the *Church* to be employed in theſe good Offices? Is it thus in the *Church* of *Rome?* Do not their *Prieſts* pray without ceaſing for the Souls in *Purgatory?* Do they not repreſent this as the higheſt Act of *Chriſtian Charity*? Are they not ſtill exhorting others to perform it? What therefore can we think of theſe things? Can we imagine that *Roman Catholicks* have more affection for diſtreſſed Souls than our Compaſſionate *High-Prieſt*, and all his

Bleſſed

Blessed *Apostles*? Or, rather must we not conceive this Silence of our *Lord* and his *Apostles*, in that which fills up almost every part of *R. Charity* and Devotion, a demonstration that *Christ* and his *Apostles* knew nothing of their Doctrine, nor of the benefit of Prayers for Souls in *Purgatory*?

FINIS.

A

DEMONSTRATION

THAT THE

Church of Rome,

AND HER

COUNCILS

HAVE

ERRED:

BY SHEWING,

That the COUNCILS of *Conſtance*, *Baſil*, and *Trent*, have, in all their Decrees touching Communion in one Kind, contradicted the Received Doctrine of the *Church* of *Chriſt*.

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

In ANSWER to

The XXI. Chapter of the Author of *A Papiſt Miſrepreſented, and Repreſented.*

LONDON,

Printed by *J. Leake*, and are to be Sold by *Randal Taylor*, M DC LXXXVIII.

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Guil. Needham.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

The Contents *of the* Preface.

This Diſcourſe plainly overthrows all the Foundations of the Romiſh Faith, ſhewing 1. That the Romiſh Councils and the Church of *Rome*, cannot be the ſole authentick Interpreters of Scripture, or the true Judges of Tradition, §. 1. 2*ly*. That they were not aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt in making this Decree touching Communion in one Kind, §. 2. 3*ly*. That the Councils of *Conſtance*, *Baſil*, and *Trent* were not true General Councils, or that ſuch Councils muſt be ſubject unto Error, §. 3. 4*ly*. That there is no Certainty of the Romiſh Faith by oral Tradition, §. 4. 5*ly*. That theſe Councils ridiculouſly do aſſert, That they made their Decrees touching Communion in one Kind conſulting the Advantage and Salvation of Chriſtian People, §. 5. 6*ly*. That the Decrees of the Councils of *Piſa*, *Conſtance*, and *Baſil* concerning the Superiority of a General Council over the Pope, and their Authority to decree Matters of Faith without him, muſt be allowed to be valid, or we can have no Aſſurance of the Validity and Infallibility of any of their Councils, §. 6.

BY *way of Preface to this Diſcourſe I ſhall endeavour briefly, and plainly to demonſtrate,*

1. *That it plainly overthroweth all the Certainty of the* Romiſh *Faith, and that if they have made theſe* Definitions *and* Decrees *in oppoſition to the plain Sence of* Scripture, *and the Inter-*

pretations of it by the Holy Fathers, *and to the full Tradition of the* Church *in former Ages, theſe their received* Councils *cannot be by Gods Appointment, the* Judges *of our* Controverſies, *the* authentick Interpreters of Scripture, *or aſſiſted by the* Holy Ghoſt *in making theſe Deciſions, nor can they be Aſſertors of, or Adherers to* primitive Tradition, *but rather plain Deſertors of it. And,*

§. 1. First, *Whereas they challenge as their undoubted Right, Authority to be the ſole* authentick Interpreters of the Sence of Scripture, *and the true Judges of the* Tradition *of the* Church *of* Chriſt. *Hence we may learn what excellent* Interpreters *they are of* Scripture *and* Tradition; *For, whereas the* Trent Council *hath in General defined that it belongeth to the* Church *alone,* (a) Judicare de vero ſenſu, & interpretatione Sanctarum Scripturarum, To judge of the true ſence and meaning of the Holy Scriptures: *And particularly, That* being taught by the Holy Spirit, (b) *Atque ipſius Eccleſiæ judicium & conſuetudinem ſecuta,* And following the Judgment and Cuſtom of the Church, *ſhe made the forementioned* Decrees *touching* Communion *in one Kind.*

(a) *Seſſ.* 4.

(b) *Seſſ.* 21. *c.* 1.

Secondly. *Whereas the* Council *of* Conſtance *ſaith, That they made their Decrees concerning the ſame Matter,* (c) Plurium doctorum tam divini quam humani juris deliberatione præhabitâ, After mature Deliberation had with many Doctors, skilful both in divine and humane Laws. *And laſtly, whereas the* Council *of* Baſil *hath declared, That they determined the ſame Matter,* (d) Poſt diligentem perſcrutationem divinarum Scripturarum ſacrorumque Canonum, & doctrinarum à Sanctis Patribus, & Doctoribus traditarum, in hac Synodo, longis temporibus habitam; After a diligent Search made, in this Synod, for a long time, of holy Scriptures, of the ſacred Canons, and of the Doctrines delivered by the holy Fathers. *I ſay, Whereas they do expreſly, and confidently pretend theſe things; I think it will be evident from this Diſcourſe, That in thoſe Matters they plainly have decreed againſt the clear and formerly received Sence of* Scriptures, *againſt the* Doctrines *delivered by the* Holy Fathers, *and by the ſacred* Canons, *and againſt the Judgment and Cuſtom of the* Church *of God in former Ages. So that if it belong unto the* Church *alone* to judge of the true Senſe and Meaning of the Holy Scriptures *theſe* Councils, *and thoſe* Churches *which have embraced their Interpretations of the* Scriptures *concerned in this Diſpute,*

(c) *Seſſ.* 13.

(d) *Seſſ.* 30.

Diſpute, could not be the Church Repreſentative *or* Catholick, *but falſly did, and do pretend to theſe Titles. If it belong unto the* Church *to teach us what is* Tradition, *they who aſſert theſe things as ſuitable to the Doctrines delivered by the Holy* Fathers, *and to the Judgment of the* Church, *cannot deſerve that Title.*

Again, Thirdly, *Whereas the* Trent Council *ſaith, That in making theſe Decrees ſhe was* (e) Inſtructed by the Holy Ghoſt, who is the Spirit of Wiſdom and of Underſtanding, of Counſel and of Piety, *whereas the* Council *of* Conſtance *and of* Baſil, *in making their* Decrees *touching this Article; Declare they were* a Holy General Synod, *in Spiritu Sancto legitimè congregata,* Met rightly together in the Holy Ghoſt: *Hence it is evident that,* 1. *They falſly pretended to the Aſſiſtance of the Holy* Spirit, *who being the* Spirit of Truth, *the Inditer of the Sacred* Scripture, *would not aſſiſt them to determine contrary to the Truth delivered there; and being alſo the Spirit promiſed to aſſiſt his* Church, *and guide her true and living Members* into all *ſaving* Truth, *could not aſſiſt them to Decree againſt the Practice, and the Judgment of the* Church *of* Chriſt *for a Thouſand years.* §. 2.

(e) *Ipſe Synodus à Spiritu Sancto, qui eſt Spiritus ſapientiæ & intellectus, Spiritus conſilii & pietatis, edocta. Seſſ.* 21. *c.* 1. *Ibid.*

2. *Hence alſo it muſt follow that theſe* Councils, *tho, as to theſe Definitions, they are own'd as truly* General, *by the whole* Church *of* Rome, *were not true* General Councils, *or that true* General Councils *confirmed by the* Pope, *and owned by the whole* Church *of* Rome, *may erre in Matters of Faith, in the Interpretation of the Holy* Scriptures, *and in their Judgment of* Tradition. §. 3.

3. *And whereas our late* Roman Diſputants *have laid the whole Certainty of their Faith upon the Infallibility of* oral Tradition, delivering to them the ſame Doctrine to day which was delivered yeſterday, and ſo up to the time of our Saviour, *it muſt be as evident they have no Certainty of* Roman *Faith, as it is evident from this, and other late Treatiſes, That they have varied from the* Tradition *of the* Church *in the Practice of* latin Service, *the* Veneration of Images, *and the* Subſtraction *of the* Cup, *and we deſire nothing more of the moſt wavering Perſons, than that they would not go over to that* Church *till they ſee greater Evidence that they have never varied from what was once taught and delivered in the* Church *of* Chriſt, *than theſe Diſcourſes offer to evince that they have actually done it.* §. 4. *Mr. G. & Mr. M.*

4. *Moreover*

§. 5. 4. *Moreover hence we may learn how excellently these* Councils *have consulted for the Advantage, and the Salvation of Christian People. The Fathers of the* Council *of* Constance *pretend to have made their Decrees in reference to this Matter,* (f) Saluti fidelium providere satagentes, Endeavouring to provide for the Salvation of the Faithful, *The* Council *of* Basil *preface their Decree against Communion in both Kinds, with a Pretence that they had honestly consulted,* (g) Quid circa perceptionem S. Eucharistiæ tenendum sit & agendum pro utilitate & salute populi Christiani, What was to be held or done about the receiving of the Eucharist for the Advantage and Salvation of Christian People. *The* Council *of* Trent *insinuates that she hath established this Custom, because it was only such a Change in Dispensation of this Sacrament as the* Church (h) Utilitati suscipientium magis expedire judicaret, Judged most expedient for the Benefit of the Receivers.

(f) *Sess.* 13.

(g) *Sess.* 30.

(h) *Sess.* 21. *c.* 2.

It therefore seems our Lord, *and his* Apostles, *and the whole* primitive Church *for a Thousand Years, saith their* (i) Cassander, *for a Thousand and two hundred Years, saith* (k) Cardinal Bona, *were wickedly unmindful of the* Advantage *and* Salvation of Christian People, *for our* Lord *instituted, and in compliance with his Institution, his* Apostles *and the whole* Christian Church, *for the forementioned* Centuries, *did minister the* Sacrament *in both Kinds, till those good Souls, filled with true Zeal for the* Salvation of all christian People, *Et spiritu pietatis edocti,* And taught by the Spirit of true Piety, *forbad them to receive* the Cup of Life; *the* Apostles, *and all the ancient* Fathers *and* Councils *of the* Church *were either so ignorant, or heedless, as that they never thought of making any Laws against* Christ's Institution, *till the* Councils *of* Basil, Constance *and* Trent, assisted with the Spirit of Wisdom, Understanding and Counsel, *found it expedient so to do, and for the Benefit and* Salvation *of the Laity, to decree peremptorily that they hereafter never should receive* the Cup of Blessing and Salvation, *That they should never drink of* the Blood of the New Covenant, *the Blood of their* Redemption, the Blood shed for the Remission of their Sins. *They were so ignorant, or so regardless of the Reverence due to the* Holy Eucharist, *That neither the Perils which might happen to it from* the long Beards of the Communicants, *or by* growing acid, *or by being* shed, *could make them think it fit to alter the Institution of our* Lord, *or the Practice*

(i) *Consult. Art.* 22. *p.* 981.

(k) *Rerum liturg. l.* 2. *c.* 18. *p.* 862.

Practice of the Church. *They thought ſo little of* the Scarcity of Wine *in ſome Countries, and of the* Averſation *that ſome others had unto the taſt or the ſmell of it, that none of all theſe weighty Reaſons, though they were the ſame in the Firſt Ages of the* Church, *as in the Thirteenth and the Fourteenth* Centuries, *could move them, out of Reverence to our* Lord's *Inſtitution, to forbid the Practice of it, till theſe* (l) Graviſſimæ Rationes, Moſt weighty Reaſons, *being deliberately conſidered by the* Roman Catholick Church, *She, to prevent thoſe dreadful Perils, and theſe Scandals, introduced this new Cuſtom, and confirmed it* for a Law *in Oppoſition both to our* Saviour's Inſtitution, *and to the Practice of the* Church *in which ſhe had continued for a Thouſand Years to the great Damage, and the Hindrance of the Salvation of her People, till theſe* Councils *ſo happily beſtir'd themſelves for their* Advantage *and* Salvation.

(l) *Catech. Trid. Part. 2. c. 4. Sect. 66.*

And Thirdly, Whereas theſe Councils, *in framing theſe Decrees ſtyle the Practice of Communicating under one Kind* (m) Romanæ & Univerſalis Eccleſiæ conſuetudo approbata, The approved Cuſtom of the Roman and Univerſal Church, *and of the* (n) Holy Catholick Church, *and the Declaration made concerning it at* Baſil, *is called* Declaratio Catholicæ veritatis, (o) The Declaration of the Catholick Truth: *Not to obſerve at preſent how horribly Uncharitable theſe* Councils *are, in excluding out of the* Catholick Church, *and conſequently from Salvation, all who had not conſented to the Violation of our* Lord's Inſtitution, *and to the Alteration of the Practice of the* Church *of* Chriſt, *for a whole Thouſand Years; That is, not only all who in the* Weſt *refuſed to make ſo bold with our* Lord's Inſtitution, *but all the* Greek *and* Eaſtern Churches; *I ſay, not to inſiſt on this, hence it is evident, That the preſent Practice and Judgment of what they call the* Catholick and Univerſal Church, *can be no certain or ſufficient Proof of* Tradition Apoſtolical, *ſince in this Matter, ſhe hath both practiſed and decreed in Oppoſition to the plain Judgment and* Tradition *of the* Church *of* Chriſt *for Ten whole Centuries.*

(m) *Concil. Conſt. Seſſ.* 13.
(n) *Conſil. Trid. Seſſ.* 21. *Can.* 2.
(o) *Seſſ.* 30.

§. 6. *To theſe Conſiderations, which concern the Definitions of theſe* Councils *touching Communion in one Kind, I add theſe following Remarks touching theſe* Councils, *and the* Decrees *which they confirmed in their* Aſſemblies.

1. *Therefore, touching the* Councils *of* Conſtance *and of* Baſil, *let it be conſidered, that they conſtantly declare, That they were* Holy

Holy Synods, assembled in the Holy Ghost, and representing the Church Catholick. *The* General Council *of* (p) Pisa *which agreed with them in their Sentiments, and met about the same Affairs ascribes unto it self the same great Titles.*

(p) *Sess.* 8. 14.

2. *Note that there were present at the* Council *of* Pisa, *saith* (q) Binius, Three Patriarchs, Twenty three Cardinals, Thirty Arch-Bishops, Two hundred and eighty Governors of Monasteries, the Divines, and Legats of the Princes of *Europe. There were present at that* Council, *saith* (r) Richerius, an Hundred and eighty Arch-Bishops and Bishops, Three hundred Governours of Monasteries, an Hundred and twenty Masters in Theology, Three hundred Doctors of the canon and the civil Law, the Legats of Christian Princes, and the Legats and Procurators of all the Universities of Europe.

(q) *Concil. To. 7. p.* 994.

(r) *Hist. Consil. General. l.* 2 *c.* 1. *p.* 35.

At the Council *of* Constance, *saith* (s) Binius, *there were* Four Patriarchs, Twenty nine Cardinals, Forty seven Arch-Bishops, an Hundred and sixty Bishops, and of Abbots, Provosts, and Priors, and of all sorts of Clerks a very great Number.

(s) *To.* 7. *p.* 1134.

To the Council *of* Basil, *saith the same* (t) Binius, *came* a very great Multitude of Prelates from the whole Latin World.

(t) *To.* 8. *p.* 525.

Having premised these things, I ask whether these Councils *knew themselves full and entire Representatives of the* Church Catholick, *and* Councils assisted by the Holy Ghost, *or they did not? If they did know themselves to be true* General Councils, *representing the* Church Catholick, &c. *then they undoubtedly were so. And then why were they represented by the Fifth* Lateran Council *as* schismatical seditious Councils, and of no Authority; *Why are they stiled* Concilia Reprobata, Reprobated Councils, *by the greatest Part of* Roman Catholicks, *in reference to some of these things which they profess to have decided under this* Majestick Character? *Why is it yet left free for any* Romanist *to reject their Authority, and Decrees in many Matters? Moreover, if they were true* General Councils representing the whole Church, *and* assisted by the Holy Ghost, *either such* Councils *must have erred in what they have decreed as matter of Faith, and therefore cannot be Infallible, and then the whole* Church Representative, *and* Councils assisted by the Holy Ghost *may erre in matters of Faith, or if they did not erre, it must be matter of Faith, That* a General Council is superior to the Pope. *Secondly,* That General Councils may infallibly determine matters of Faith without him, yea,

Concilium Constantiense ubi definit Concilium esse supra Papam, reprobatum est in Concilio Florentino & Lateranensi ultimo. Bellar. de Concil. l. 1. c. 7. de Concil. partim Reprobatis.

yea, againſt him. Thirdly, *That* the pertinacious Reſiſters of this Doctrine were Hereticks, *and therefore that* Eugenius *the* 4th. Julius *the* 2d. Leo *the* 10th. *and the* 5th. Lateran Council *were* Heretical.

If they did not know the Truth of what they thus aſſert, how ſhall private Perſons be able to diſcern what ſuch Aſſemblies, *and ſo many* Univerſities *and* Churches *throughout the World conſenting with them, and owning them as ſuch, could not diſcern? That is, how ſhall they know when* Councils *are truly* General, *when they truly repreſent the* Church Catholick, *and truly are* aſſiſted by the Holy Ghoſt? *Was not this one of their* Decrees, *That for the future,* Quilibet in R. Pontificem eligendus, Every one that was to be choſen Pope ſhould in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt with Heart and Mouth Profeſs to God Almighty, and to bleſſed *Peter*, firmly to believe, and hold, as long as he lived, the holy Catholick Faith, according to the Traditions of the Apoſtles, the general Councils, and in particular, of the general Councils of *Lateran*, *Lyons*, *Vienna*, *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, and to keep that Faith to a tittle unchanged, (a) *Et uſque ad animam & ſanguinem confirmare, defenſare & prædicare,* And to preach, confirm and defend it with their Life and Blood? *Did not the following* Popes, *till after the Time of* Eugenius *the* 4th. *make this Profeſſion? Yea, were not the* Inquiſitors *of* Hereticks *obliged by the* Council *of* Conſtance *to enquire of any who lay under Suſpicion of* Hereſy, (b) Whether he believed, held, and aſſerted, That every general Council, and particularly that of *Conſtance* repreſents the Univerſal Church, and whether he believed that what that Council, repreſenting the whole Church, approved in favour of Faith, and the welfare of Souls, was to be approved by all the Faithful, and what it condemned as contrary to Faith and good Manners, was as ſuch to be condemned? *And after this Profeſſion of theſe* Popes, *this Inquiſition made by all concerned to find out, and proſecute Perſons ſuſpected of* Hereſy, *could they be doubtful whether theſe* Councils *were truly General, or no? Would they condemn Men of* Hereſy *for not believing theſe Articles, if they themſelves did not believe them? What Hopes*

(a) *Conſil. Conſt. Seſſ.* 39. *Baſil. Seſſ.* 23. 37.

(b) *Utrum credat, teneat, & aſſerat, quod quodlibet Concilium Generale, & etiam Conſtantinenſe Univerſalem Eccleſiam repræſentet. Item utrum credat, quod illud quod Sacrum Concilium Conſtantinenſe Univerſalem Eccleſiam Repræſentan, approbavit & approbat in favorem fidei, & ſalutem animarum, quod hoc eſt ab univerſis Chriſti fidelibus approbandum, & tenendum: Et quòd condemnavit & condemnat eſſe fidei, & bonis moribus contrarium, hoc ab eiſdem eſſe tenendum pro condemnato, credendum, & aſſerendum.* Seſſ. 45. apud Binium Tom 7. p. 1124.

can private Persons have, that they shall surely know when Councils *represent the* Church, *and are accepted by it, if the Agreement of so many* Nations, *so many* Universities, *so many* Cardinals, Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Divines *and* Doctors, *the Profession of so many* Popes, *the Practice of so many* Inquisitors, *do not prove that these* Councils *were once accepted by the* Church.

Again, Was there any Scripture, *or* Tradition *of the* Church *which plainly taught the contrary; if not, there can be none now, and so no Man can have just Cause, from* Scripture *or* Tradition, *to doubt the Infallibility of these* Councils, *That* they represented the whole Church, and were assisted by the Holy Ghost, *That they were* above the Pope, *and* Representatives of the Church Catholick without Dependance on him. *If either plain* Scripture, *or* Tradition *contradicted these their Assertions and Determinations, then must these great* Assemblies, *and all the* Universities, Nations, *and* Churches *which owned them as true* general Councils, *be accounted ignorant of what plain* Scripture *or* Tradition *delivered touching a Matter of Faith of so great Import to the Union, the Peace and Reformation of the* Church, *and why then may not others be ignorant of other Matters plain in* Scripture, *or* Tradition, *without Peril? why may we not suppose, or at the least, suspect, That other* Councils, *less numerous, have been so?*

Again, These Councils *of* Constance, *and* Basil *have declared and decreed, That* (a) general Councils have Authority immediately from Christ, which every one, of whatsoever State or Dignity, though it be Papal, is obliged to obey in things pertaining to Faith, the Extirpation of the said Schism, and the general Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members. *That* the Pope himself is bound to stand to the Declaration and Definition of these Councils. Whatsoever Christian, *saith the* (b) Council *of* Constance, refuseth to profess, That he believes, asserts and holds this, he shall be proceeded against, as one suspected of Heresy. *This, saith the* Council *of* Basil, *is* (c) *Veritas fidei Catholicæ*, A Truth belonging to the Catholick Faith, and whosoever pertinaciously resists it, *censendus est Hæreticus*, Is to be deemed an Heretick. It is an Article of Faith which cannot be neglected, *say they, Sine interitu salutis*, Without the Loss of Salvation. *They also decreed, That* it was not in the Power of the Pope to dissolve, prorogue, or transfer a general Council to another place, without

(a) *Concil. Basil. Sess. 2. apud Bin. To. 8. p. 22. Sess. 18. p. 55.*

(b) *Sess. 45.*

(c) *Sess. 33. p. 95.*

without the Consent of the said Council. *And this* Decree *is also stiled* (a) An Article of Faith, which he who pertinaciously doth resist is to be deemed an Heretick. *They also urge in Confirmation of these Decrees,*

(a) *Ibid. Sess.* 33. p. 59. & *Sess.* 38. p. 101.

1. *That they were established by* Martin *the* Fifth, *confirming the* Decrees *of the* Council *of* Constance, *and by* Eugenius *the* Fourth, *confirming that of* Basil, *and particularly that of the Eighth Session, That* (b) during that Council, there could be no general Council assembled elsewhere, *and that* if any one presumed to make or erect another Assembly under the Name of a general Council, he would not erect a Council of the Church Catholick, but a Conventicle of Schismaticks.

(b) P. 33.

Secondly. *That by Virtue of these* Decrees (c) *Martin* the Fifth was chosen Pope, *and John* the Twenty third, *and Benedict* the Thirteenth were deposed, and that after the Death of *Martin* the Fifth, *Eugenius* the Fourth was chosen Pope by virtue of the same Decrees. So that if they were not valid, these neither could be true Popes, nor the Cardinals, Arch-Bishops, or other Clerks promoted by them could have good Titles to these Promotions.

(c) *Sess.* 29. p. 83. p. 101.

Thirdly. *That* (d) if the Pope had the Authority over general Councils, which these Decrees denied to belong to him, the Pope might without Resistance, at his Pleasure, corrupt all Christianity, and being accused by a Council of Heresy, or any other Crime, might presently dissolve the Council to escape being judged by them.

(d) *Sess.* 30. p. 84. *v. p.* 138, 139, 178.

Fourthly. *That* (e) no skilful Person ever doubted of this Article, That the Pope was subject to the Judgment of Universal Councils in things which concern the Faith. *That* (f) the Universal Church, and Christian Religion acquiesced in this Article of Faith, *Firmiter credens non posse fieri dissolutionem Synodi sine consensu ejus*, Firmly believing, that a Dissolution of the Council could not be made without its Consent. (g) That it was by all confessed.

(e) *Decret.* 5. *Concl.* p. 117.

(f) P. 153, 155, 180.

(g) P. 149.

Fifthly. *That* (h) if these Decrees were not to be admitted, it must follow, that all these Councils had actually erred, and that they who were Members of them, were schismaticks, *and that the Church which judged that they could not be dissolved without their own Consent, hath also erred.*

(h) P. 136, 139.

Now, I say, were these truly Articles of Faith, or not? If they

were, why are they not received by the Church of Rome? Yea why are they rejected by the greateſt part of (o) Romiſh Doctors? Why were they practically condemned by the Council of Florence aſſembling in oppoſition to one of theſe Articles? And why is not that Council held by the Church of Rome Schiſmatical, as it muſt have been, if the fore-mentioned Decrees be true? Why were they dogmatically Condemned in the Fifth Council of Lateran?

(o) Concilii Baſilienſis nihil eſt ratum & probatum niſi quædam diſpoſitiones. Bell. de Concil. l. 1. c. 7.

If they were not Articles of Faith, why were they owned as ſuch by ſo many Councils, ſo many Nations, ſo many Univerſities? Why doth the General Council of Baſil ſo frequently inſiſt upon this plea in defence of them, that they were determinations, Univerſæ Eccleſiæ, of the Univerſal Church, that they had been declared in many Councils, atque per Univerſalem Eccleſiam approbatæ, and approved by the Univerſal Church? That, tota Eccleſia, & populus Chriſtianus, the whole Church, and all Chriſtian People had acquieſced in them. That they were Declarations of the Catholick Faith, quas univerſa tenuit Eccleſia, which the Univerſal Church held. May we not here turn all the Arguments of the Romaniſts upon them, by which they do endeavour to ſhew that 'tis in us unreaſonable, abſurd, and inſolent to condemn the Decrees of their ſuppoſed General Councils, and of theſe two in particular, decreeing for the Subſtraction of the Cup? May we not complain of them in the words of the Council of Baſil, that refuſing to follow, as an infallible Rule, the Doctrine of the Catholick Church in things reſpecting Faith, judicium proprium in adverſum obduratis animis ſequi volunt, they chuſe on the contrary with obdurate minds to follow their Private Judgment? May we not ask them in the words of the ſame Council, Whether they dare condemn all the Cardinals, Patriarchs, Biſhops, the Emperor, the Kings, the Princes and others, who by themſelves or others were preſent in this Council; & denique Eccleſiam per orbem diſperſam hoc Concilium approbantem, and laſtly the Church diſperſed throughout the World approving this Council? May we not argue thus with them, If thoſe Declarations of Faith and Divine Right, which have ſo oft and ſolemnly been made by the Univerſal Church, and by General Councils declared conſiſtorially to be lawful by the Popes themſelves, even at the very time that they made them: Si poſt hæc omnia; If, I ſay, after all theſe things, theſe Declarations may be rejected and trampled upon, as being erroneous, muſt

P. 89. P. 153. P. 155. P. 180. P. 117. P. 149. P. 179.

muſt not the whole Church be accuſed of Error, and the Declarations of General Councils touching matters of Faith be henceforth disbelieved? *Yea laſtly may we not conclude with* R. H. *in a like caſe*, (p) *That* if the Decrees of ſo many Synods, (*viz.* at Piſa, Conſtance, Sens, Baſil, Bourges) ſo often weighing the Adverſaries Reaſons and Evidences, was not ſufficient for ſetling ſuch a point, at leaſt as to the obedience of future ſilence and non-contradiction, and as to ſuffering the Church to enjoy her Peace; what can hereafter be ſufficient, or can we ever hope that any Controverſie ſhall be finally determined, or ended by a future Council, if this (*of the Superiority of a General Council above a Pope*, &c.) is not by theſe forepaſt? Can there be any Ground here to queſtion the integrity or lawful proceedings of ſo many Councils all concurring in the ſame Judgment in this matter? or could there be any new Light in this Point attainable by private Doctors, or by following Councils of the Church of *Rome*, of which thoſe Councils were not capable or had no notice of, *whatſoever* R. H. *elſewhere ſpeaks of*, (q) A moral certainty, that ſo many and ſuch perſons as meet in their ſuppoſed General Councils, could not conſpire to falſifie the Truth, *That* (r) none can be ſuppoſed fit to judge of them, *That* (s) Men vainly pretend to be certain of what ſuch Councils, and a major part of the Church, having the ſame means of certainty, judge falſe, or that their private Judgments can have clear Scripture or Tradition, which they could not diſcern, *I ſay, All theſe things in this inſtance do ſo viſibly recoil upon them, that it is needleſs to inſiſt upon it.*

(p) *Rat. account Diſc.* 1. *ch.* 6. §. 59. *p.* 78.

(q) *Diſc.* 1. *c.* 3. §. 37, 38. *p.* 26.

(r) *Diſc.* 3. §. 44. *p.* 28.

(s) P. 143, 179.

Laſtly, Two things I deſire may be conſidered and attended to in peruſing this Diſcourſe.

The First *is, That though the* Ancients *alledged here, directly oppoſe the Doctrines and Determinations of theſe* Councils, *and the Practice of the* Church *of* Rome *eſtabliſhed by them; yet do I not for that Reaſon only conclude her guilty of Sin and Error in denying the Cup to the Laity, for I am far from holding every thing taught or practiſed by the* Ancients, *as certainly true and neceſſary, and therefore fear not any Retortions of this Nature, from our* Adverſaries: *Had I deſigned any thing of that Nature, I would more copiouſly have inſiſted on thoſe Arguments from Scripture, whence that concluſion can alone be made, and which I therefore have ſo briefly touched upon,*

upon, because I was so happily prevented in that matter by the unanswerable Treatise on this Subject against the Bishop of Meaux, *with which I was unwilling to interfere; but finding that the forementioned* Bishop *had with great confidence appealed for this matter, to the* constant practice *and to the* Principles *of the* Primitive
P. 160, 161. Church, *and told us, That* the constant Practices of the Primitive Church received with universal approbation from the Origin of Christianity, till the time of the Council of *Constance*, do invincibly demonstrate, that the Council did but follow the *Tradition of All Ages* when it defined, That the Communion under one kind was as good and sufficient as under both, *with many other things of a like nature, in which he is also followed by the late Writers of the same Communion: And finding also that the once exploded* Blackloists *were again admitted to plead the infallibility of the* Roman Church *from* practical Tradition, *and that this was done upon the strength of these two Propositions:*

J. S. 1. *That* the Church of *Rome* hath always held close to Tradition, and received still her Doctrine by Tradition from the Father to the Son, from the first to the second, and so to the present Age.

2. *That* she could not mistake the sense of Tradition in particular points. *In contradiction to these confident Assertions I have here shewed, by confronting the Doctrines and Sayings of the* Fathers, *to the expres Determinations of their* Councils.

1. *That the present* Church *of* Rome *hath varied in this matter from* Antiquity, *both in Doctrine and Practice, and that* Tradition *plainly contradicts all their Assertions and Decrees relating to it: And therefore that all her late* Defenders *are much mistaken, or, which is worse, would lead others into a known Error, when they undertake to perswade them that the practice of their* Church, *in denying the Cup to the* Laity *and to* Priests non-conficient, *is warranted by Tradition and Primitive Practice, and by the* Principles *on which they builded that pretended Practice.*

2. *That in this* particular Point *she hath either actually mistaken the Sence of* Tradition, *or actually deviated from* Tradition. *And seeing whether she does now differ from or agree with the* Primitive *Belief, and Practice in this* Article, *is a matter of* Fact, *and so may be determined by the Testimony of good* Witnesses *of what was practised and believed in their Times, and by plain Allegations of matter of* Fact, *without* Infallibility: *In plain reason, and from*

her

her own avowed Principles it follows, that her Authority in ſaying ſhe does not differ from the Tradition *of the* Ancients, *and much more in aſſerting, That ſhe hath always held to it, and therefore could not miſtake the Sence of it, can be of no force againſt plain evidence of* Fact *to the contrary. If then the difference betwixt the Belief and Practice of the* Ancients, *and of the* preſent Church *of* Rome *in this matter be evident, as I think I have made it, it muſt be owned that the preſent received Tradition of that* Church *can be no certain Rule of Truth, and no ſure Argument that ſuch was the Tradition of the* Primitive Church, *ſince in this Controverſie ſhe hath actually varied from the Tradition of the* Ancients.

And thus far, 1. *and no farther, would I be thought to drive the Argument drawn from the Citations of the* Ancients. *The Right or* Authority *claimed by that* Church, *will be beſt judged of by other* Intrinſick Arguments, *which ought to have the greater force when it appears that* Preſcription *is againſt our* Adverſaries. *Only I cannot but admire why the* Trent Council *ſhould found their Power of making ſuch a Change in our* Lord's *Inſtitution, on thoſe words of the* Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* iv. 1 (t) But let a Man account of us, ὡς ὑπηρέτας χριστοῦ καὶ οἰκονόμους μυστηρίων θεοῦ, & diſpenſatores myſteriorum Dei, as Miniſters of Chriſt, and Stewards of the Myſteries of God. *Since in that very place it is immediately added, That* of a Steward it is required that he be found Faithful, *that is, ſaith* (u) Chryſoſtom, *that* he do not uſurp Authority over the things of his Lord, but adminiſter them as a Steward, οἰκονόμου γὰρ τὸ διοικεῖν τὰ ἐγχειρισθέντα καλῶς, for it belongeth to a Steward to adminiſter, *or diſtribute,* well to the Family the things committed to his hands. *And St.* Baſil (x) *ſaith,* It is the property of a faithful Miniſter, whatſoever things are commited to him by his Lord, to diſtribute them to his fellow Servants, and to preſerve them for him, without Adulteration or Deceit, *or purely and* entirely, *ſaith the* Latin.

(t) *Id autem Apoſtolus non obſcure viſus eſt innuiſſe cum ait, ſic nos exiſtimet,* &c. Seſſ. 21. c. 2.

(u) Ἵνα μὴ ὡς δεσπότης ἑαυτῷ ἐκδικῇ ἀλλ' ὡς οἰκονόμῳ διοικῇ. In Locum.

(x) Εἰς τοὺς συνδούλους οἰκονομῆσαι ταῦτα διασῶσαι τούτοις ἀνοθεύτως καὶ ἀκαπηλεύτως. Hæc ipſis integra cuſtodiat, Tom. 2. de vera ac pia fide p. 385. *b.*

2. *The* Second *thing which I deſire may be conſidered, is, That nothing in the following Citations can be urged againſt the* Church *of* England, *as Erroneous in this Matter. For ſince ſhe profeſſeth* Art. 6.

to

to admit nothing as neceſſary to be believed, *but what is either expreſſed in, or fairly deducible from* Scripture, *and that* it is not neceſſary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly alike: *How can it reflect upon her, that S.* Cyprian, *for Example, held it neceſſary* to mix the Wine with Water, *or that others have held it neceſſary to uſe* Unleavened Bread, &c. *All that her* Sons *are in this Caſe obliged to, is only to give fair and ſatisfactory Reaſons, why theſe things are not neceſſary, which they are both able and willing to do; whereas if a diſagreement between the* preſent Church *of* Rome, *and the* Primitive Chriſtians *be once proved againſt them in any of their* Articles, *all their fine Pleas for the certainty of their* Traditions, *the* Infallibility *of their* Councils, as proceeding upon Tradition, *and* meeting only to conſult about the Tradition of the Church diffuſed, *and all the* Prejudices *they advance againſt the* Proteſtants *from the preſent* Tradition *of their* Church, *muſt be confeſſedly vain and* Sophiſtical. *And the attending to this difference of* Principles *in each* Church, *will ſhew how much the Teſtimonies of the* Ancients *do affect the one, and how little they concern the other, and ſo will prevent the Objections of an Unwary, and the Cavils of a captious Reader.*

Art. 34.

Mr. M. Queſt. of Queſt. p. 395, 396, 397.

THE

THE INTRODUCTION.

Shewing what the Councils of Conſtance, Baſil, *and* Trent *have determined, touching Communion in one kind.*

THOUGH in many other Doctrines, and Practices of the *Church* of *Rome*, ſhe contradicteth the plaineſt Evidence of *Scripture* and *Tradition*, as in the *bowing down to Images*, the *Celebration* of the *Maß* in *Latin*, where it is a Tongue *unknown* to the Generality of them that hear it; yet in none of them hath ſhe ſo openly affronted, and defied both the Inſtitutions of the *H. Scripture*, and the continual Practice, and declaration of the *Church* of *Chriſt*, as in her practice of the *Subſtraction* of the *Cup* from *Lay Communicants*; and in the Propoſitions, Aſſertions, and Decrees, ſhe hath eſtabliſhed to excuſe that practice.

In that of *Honorary Worſhip* of the *Images* of *Saints*, her ſecond *Nicene Council* doth very frequently, though, ſay the *Fathers* met at *Frankford* *, very *impudently*, pretend to *Apoſtolical Tradition*. The *Trent Council* uſher in their *Decree* concerning the *Honour* and *Veneration* to be imparted to them, with an inſinuation, that it is made *juxta Catholicæ, & Apoſtolicæ Eccleſiæ uſum, à primævis Chriſtianæ Religionis temporibus receptum* †: *According to the uſe of the Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, received from the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity*. But when they come to ſettle *as a Law* this *Defalcation* of the *Cup*, they do it without any of theſe colours, or pretences, yea with confeſſed deviation both from our *Saviour*'s Inſtitution and *Tradition*, and from the conſtant practice of the firſt, and pureſt Ages of his *Church*. Declaring, and defining, as the *Trent Council* doth, That (*a*) *although*

* Præfat. p. 10.

† *Seſſ.* 25.

(*a*) *Seſſ.* 21. C. 1, 2.

though our Redeemer, and our Lord, in his Laſt Supper did inſtitute this venerable Sacrament, and deliver it to the Apoſtles in both ſpecies, yet (b) if any perſon ſay the Holy Catholick Church was not by juſt cauſes and reaſons moved to give it to the Laity, and Prieſts not conſecrating, in one ſpecies only, let him be accurſed. And as the *Council* of *Conſtance* doth, That * *although in the Primitive Church the Sacrament was received by the Faithful under both ſpecies, yet is the Cuſtom of receiving it by Lay-Men, and by Prieſts not conſecrating, to be received as a Law.*

(b) *Ibid.* Can. 2.

* Quod licet in primitiva Eccleſia hujuſmodi Sacramentum reciperetur a fidelibus ſub utraq; ſpecie, tamen hæc conſuetudo, *viz.* communicandi Laicos, tantummodo ſub ſpecie panis habenda eſt pro lege quam non licet reprobare. *Concil. Conſtant. Seſſ.* 13.

That theſe *Decrees* are evidently repugnant to the inſtitution of our *Lord* and *Saviour*, and to the practice of the whole *Church* of *Chriſt*, for above a Thouſand Years, hath been proved beyond all poſſibility of contradiction, in a late excellent Treatiſe, in Anſwer to a Diſcourſe of Mr. *Condom* on this Subject. That the ſame *Decrees*, and almoſt every propoſition, declaration, and aſſertion, which have been advanced, and invented by the *General Councils* of *Conſtance*, *Baſil*, and of *Trent*, in favour of them, are manifeſtly oppoſite and repugnant to the received *Traditions* of the *Church* of *Chriſt*, and to the Sence and the Expreſſions of the *Fathers* of the *Chriſtian Church*, I undertake, by God's Aſſiſtance, in the enſuing Pages to demonſtrate, by ſhewing,

Firſt, What theſe *Councils* have determined in this matter. And,

Secondly, What hath, in contradiction to them, been aſſerted, and declared by the *Fathers* which flouriſhed in the *Church* of God.

Now the *Church* of *Rome* hath by the *Councils* of *Conſtance*, *Baſil* and *Trent*, declared and defined as followeth.

1. Firſt, (c) *That the Laicks and Prieſts, who do not conſecrate, are not obliged by divine Precept to receive the Sacrament in both kinds.* That (d) *though Chriſt, in his Laſt Supper, inſtituted this venerable Sacrament under the ſpecies of Bread and Wine, yet do not that inſtitution and delivery, bind all the Faithful, by the Law of Chriſt, to receive both ſpecies; and that they who aſſert the contrary, ſpeak raſhly and preſumptuouſly.*

(c) Sancta Synodus declarat, & docet nullo divino præcepto Laicos & Clericos, non conficientes obligari ad Euchariſtiæ Sacramentum ſub utraq; ſpecie ſumendum. *Syn. Trid. Seſſ.* 21. *c.* 1.

(d) Et *cap.* 3.

2. That

2. That (e) *it cannot be doubted, without prejudice to the Christian Faith, but that Communion in one kind only is ſufficient to Salvation.* Whoſoever doth affirm the contrary to either of theſe Declarations, ſaith the *Trent Council, let him be Anathema.*

(e) Neque ullo pacto dubitari poſſe, ſalva fide, quin illis alterius ſpeciei communio ad ſalutem ſufficiat. *Ibid.* Et *Seſſ.* 13. *Can.* 3.

3. That (f) *the Church of Chriſt, for juſt and weighty reaſons, hath approved the Communion of Laicks and Prieſts not conſecrating, under one kind only; and hath defined it for a Law, That* (g) *although Chriſt himſelf did miniſter this venerable Sacrament to his Diſciples in both kinds, the ſpecies of Bread and Wine; and though it was ſo received by the Faithful in the Primitive Church, yet the contrary Cuſtom that the Prieſts, who do conſecrate, ſhould receive in both kinds, and the Laity ſhould receive only the ſpecies of Bread, was rationally introduced, and is to be received as a Law, which none muſt change or reject at his pleaſure, without the Authority of the Church.*

(f) Sancta mater Eccleſia—gravibus & juſtis cauſis adducta, hanc conſuetudinem ſub altera ſpecie communicandi approbavit, & pro lege habendum decrevit, quam reprobare, aut ſine Eccleſiæ authoritate pro libito mutare non licet. *Concil. Trid. Seſſ.* 21. *c.* 2.

(g) Concilium S. Generale Conſtantienſe in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregatum, declarat, decernit & definit, quod licet Chriſtus poſt cœnam inſtituerit, & ſuis Diſcipulis adminiſtraverit ſub utraq; ſpecie panis & vini hoc venerabile Sacramentum—& ſimiliter, quod licet in primitiva Eccleſia hujusmodi Sacramentum reciperetur a fidelibus ſub utraq; ſpecie, tamen hæc conſuetudo ad evitandum aliqua pericula & ſcandala eſt rationabiliter introducta quod a conficientibus ſub utraq; ſpecie, & a Laicis tantummodo ſub ſpecie panis ſuſcipiatur, unde cum hujuſmodi conſuetudo ab Eccleſia, & Sanctis Patribus rationabiliter introducta, & *diutiſſime* obſervata ſit, habenda eſt pro lege quam non licet reprobare, aut ſine Eccleſiæ authoritate pro libitu mutare. *Concil. Conſtant. Seſſ.* 13.

4. That *to ſay that it is* (h) *Sacrilegious, or unlawful to obſerve this Law or Cuſtom, is to be deemed Erroneous, and they who pertinaciouſly do ſo aſſert, are to be puniſhed, and driven from the Church as Hereticks, they acting damnably who endeavour to reprove this cuſtom as Sacrilegious.* That (i) *if any Prieſt communicates the People under both kinds, he is to be excommunicated, and proceſs is to be di-*

(h) Quapropter dicere hanc conſuetudinem aut legem obſervare ſit ſacrilegum aut illicitum, cenſeri debet erroneum, & pertinaciter aſſerentes oppoſitum præmiſſorum tanquam Hæretici arcendi ſunt, & graviter puniendi. *Ibid.*

(i) Quod nullus Presbyter ſub pœna excommunicationis, communicet populum ſub utraq; ſpecie panis & vini. Item ipſa Sancta Synodus decernit & declarat ſuper iſta materia, ut effectualiter puniant eos contra hoc decretum excedentes, qui communicando populum ſub utraq; ſpecie panis & vini exhortati fuerint, & ſic faciendum eſſe docuerint, & ſi ad pœnitentiam redire non curaverint, animo indurato, per cenſuras Eccleſiaſticas per eos ut Hæretici ſunt coercendi. *Ibid.*

rected by the Authority of the General Council of Constance to all Patriarchs, Primates, Arch-bishops, Bishops, and their Vicars in Spirituals, commanding them under the penalty of Excommunication, that they effectually punish those, who, contrary to this Decree, exhort the People to Communicate in both kinds of Bread and Wine, and take upon them so to minister the Sacrament unto them, and to deal with them as Hereticks, if they continue obstinately without Repentance in so doing. Yea the Trent Council hath pronounced an Anathema upon all those (k) who shall say she was not moved by just Causes and Reasons to make this Law, that non-conficient Priests and Laicks should communicate in Bread alone, or in that species only, or that she erred in making of that Law.

(k) Si quis dixerit Sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam non justis causis & rationibus adductam fuisse ut Laicos, atque etiam Clericos non conficientes, sub panis tantummodo specie communicaret, aut in eo errasse, Anathema sit. *Concil. Trid. Sess.* 21. *Can.* 2.

5. That (l) though Christ instituted this Sacrament in both kinds, and so delivered it to his Apostles, yet must it be confessed, that whole, and entire Christ, and a true Sacrament is received under one kind only, and that therefore, as to the benefit of the Sacrament, they are not deprived of any Grace necessary to Salvation, who receive one kind only; yea, that it is most true, that as much is contained under either species, as under both, for whole Christ is under the species of Bread, and under every part of it; under the species of Wine, and every particle of it.

(l) Insuper declarat, Quamvis Redemptor noster in suprema illa cœna hoc Sacramentum in duabus speciebus instituerit, & Apostolis tradiderit, tamen fatendum esse etiam sub altera tantum specie totum atque integrum Christum, verumque Sacramentum sumi, ac propterea, quod ad fructum attinet, nulla gratia necessaria ad salutem eos defraudari, qui unam speciem solam accipiunt. *Concil. Trid. Sess.* 21. *Cap.* 3. Si quis negaverit in venerabili Sacramento Eucharistiæ sub unaquaque specie & sub singulis cujusque speciei partibus, separatione facta, totum Christum contineri, Anathema sit. *Sess.* 13. *Can.* 3.

6. That (m) by force of the natural Connexion and Concomitance, which is betwixt the parts of Christ's raised Body, Christ's Body is under the species of Wine, and his Blood under the species of Bread; and so whole Christ under each species, and every particle of them, it being firmly to be believed, and in no wise doubted, that the whole Body and Blood of Christ is contained as well under the species of Bread, as under that of Wine, and not the Flesh only under the

(m) Nullatenus ambigendum est, quod non sub specie panis caro tantum, nec sub specie vini sanguis tantum, sed sub qualibet specie est integer totus Christus. *Concil. Bas. Sess.* 30. *Concil. Constant. Sess.* 13. Vi naturalis illius connexionis & concomitantiæ, qua partes Christi Domini — inter se copulantur. *Concil. Trid. Sess.* 13. *Cap.* 3.

species

ſpecies of Bread, nor the Blood only under the ſpecies of Wine; and (*n*) this *whoſoever ſhall deny*, ſaith the *Trent Council*, *let him be Anathema.*

(*n*) Si quis negaverit in Sanctiſſimæ Euchariſtiæ Sacramento contineri vere, realiter & ſubſtantialiter corpus, & ſanguinem, una cum anima & divinitate Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, ac proinde totum Chriſtum — Anathema ſit. *Ibid. Can.* 1.

7. That no man muſt dare hereafter (*o*) *to preach, teach or believe otherwiſe than is by theſe Decrees explained and defined.* Theſe are the *Doctrines*, *Decrees*, and *Definitions* of theſe *Councils*, and how extreamly oppoſite they are unto the formerly received Doctrines of the Church of Chriſt, and to the plain Aſſertions of the *Ancient Fathers*, ſhall be my buſineſs in the enſuing Sections to demonſtrate.

(*o*) Cunctis Chriſti fidelibus interdicit, ne poſthac de iis aliter *vel credere*, vel docere, vel prædicare audeant, quam ex his decretis explicatum atque definitum. *Conc. Trid. Seſſ.* 21. *Cap.* 1. *Seſſ.* 13. *præfat.*

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

The Contents.

Shewing in oppoſition to the decrees of the Councils of Conſtance, Baſil *and* Trent, *that the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, till the* 12*th. Century, taught, that the Laity by divine precept were obliged to receive both ſpecies, which is proved from the Teſtimonies of* Juſtin Martyr, *Cent.* 2. §. 1. *Of* Cyprian, *Cent.* 3. §. 2. *Of* Baſil, Ambroſe, *and the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, Cent.* 4. §. 3. *Of* Chryſoſtome *and St.* Auſtin, *Cent.* 5. §. 4. *Of* Cæſarius Arelatenſis, *and* Procopius Gazæus, *Cent.* 6. §. 5. *Of* Iſidore Hiſpalenſis, *and the Council of* Braga, *Cent.* 7. §. 6. *Of venerable* Bede, *Cent.* 8. §. 7. *Of* Hincmarus Remenſis *and* Paſchaſius, *Cent.* 9. §. 8. *Of* Lanfrank *and* Anſelme, *Cent.* 11. §. 9. *Of* Paſchal, Hugo de Sancto Victore, Arnoldus Carnotenſis, *St.* Bernard, *and* Rupertus Taitienſis, *Cent.* 12. §. 10. *Of* Albertus Magnus, *Cent.* 13. §. 11. *Five Corollaries from the Doctrine of the Fathers in this Point,* §. 12.

§. 1.

(a) Sanct. Synodus declarat & docet nullo divino præcepto Laicos & Clericos non conficientes obligari ad Euchariſtiæ Sacramentum ſub utraque ſpecie ſumendum. *Seſſ.* 21. *Cap.* 1. *Concil. Conſt. Seſſ.* 13.

FIRST then whereas the *Councils* of *Conſtance*, *Baſil* and *(a) Trent* have declared, defined and determined, That *the Faithful Laity and the Clergy that do not conſecrate, are not obliged by divine precept to receive the Sacrament of the Euchariſt in both the ſpecies of Bread and Wine.* The *Fathers* do, in oppoſition to this Doctrine, either expreſly, or by plain conſequence aſſert that the *Laity*, as well as *Prieſts*, by divine precept, are obliged to receive the Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper* in both kinds, and that the precept, *drink ye all of this*, was by our *Lord* directed, *as well to Lay-men as to Prieſts. Juſtin Martyr*, in his Second *Apology*, relates the practice of the *Chriſtians* thus, *After the Preſident hath given thanks, and all the People ſaid* Amen, *(b) the Deacons give to every perſon preſent to participate of the Bread, Wine and Water, which are bleſſed, and this food we call the Euchariſt, which none but he that believeth our Doctrine, and is Baptized can receive.* And to ſhew us that he did not look upon this

(b) Οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, pag. 97.

this practice as an arbitrary thing, he adds, That (c) *the Bleſſed Apoſtles in their Goſpels had delivered that Chriſt commanded them to do ſo*; for, *he having taken Bread, and given thanks, is by them declared to have ſaid, Do this in remembrance of me, this is my Body*; *and alſo when he had taken the Cup, and given thanks, to have ſaid, This is my Blood, and to have given it to them alone.* Where note firſt, that *Juſtin Martyr* ſpeaks here of a *command* of Chriſt, which cannot poſſibly relate unto the *conſecration*, but to the *participation* of the Elements, the command being, *Do this, Take, eat, Drink ye all of this.* Secondly, he had ſaid before that, *only* (d) *Believers did communicate*; this he now proves, becauſe Chriſt delivered the Elements *to them alone*, commanding them to partake of them. He therefore clearly ſpeaks of delivering the Bread and Wine to the Communicants: Moreover ſpeaking of the ſervice performed by *Chriſtians* on the *Lord's* Day, he ſaith, *Prayers being finiſhed, we offer Bread, Wine and Water, and the Preſident gives thanks and Praiſe, and the People ſay Amen*; *and there is made a Diſtribution of thoſe things which have been conſecrated, and every one partakes of them*; and then he thus concludes, That (e) *Chriſt riſing upon this day, appeared, and taught thoſe things which we have now laid before your Eyes.* He therefore muſt have taught, according to *Juſtin Martyr*, the diſtribution of the Bread and Wine to every Communicant. Here then obſerve to the confuſion of the *Trent Council*, Firſt, That it was the *Tradition* of the *Apoſtles* that Chriſt *commanded*, that the Euchariſt under both kinds, ſhould be given to every one preſent at the Sacrament, and that the diſtribution of thoſe things which were conſecrated, ſo that *every one ſhould partake of them*, is that which *Chriſt* taught. Secondly, That they declared that Chriſt gave this commandment in his *Goſpels*, whence it is evident, that the *Apoſtles*, and all the Chriſtians of their times, and of the times of *Juſtin Martyr*, did interpret the Inſtitution of the Sacrament by Chriſt, as a *command*, that every faithful Perſon preſent ſhould partake both of the conſecrated Bread and Cup, and that both ſhould be diſtributed to them.

(c) Οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γεγραμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, ὅτως παρέδωκαν ἐντετάχθαι αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰεσοῦν, p. 98.

(d) Ἡ τροφὴ αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία ἧς οὐδένι ἄλλῳ μεταλαβεῖν ἔξον ἐστιν, ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι, &c. p. 97. ε. μόνοις αὐτοῖς μεταδίδναι, p. 98.

P. 98.

(e) Ἐδίδαξε ταῦτα ἅπερ εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ ὑμῖν ἀνεδώκαμεν, p. 99. B.

St.

§. 2. St. *Cyprian* in his *Epiſtle* to *Cæcilian* complains of ſome, who *out of Ignorance, or Simplicity, in ſanctifying of the Cup of the Lord, and* (*f*) in the Miniſtration of it to the People, *did not that which Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord and God, the Author and Teacher of that Sacrifice, did and taught, becauſe they uſed only Water, and mixed not Wine with it in the Cup they conſecrated, and diſtributed among the People.* Where note that this they did not out of any prophane Opinion of the Wickedneſs of drinking Wine, as the *Aquarii*, and *Encratitæ*, and the *Tatiani* did, but only out of *Ignorance and Simplicity*, and therefore he informs us, That they did this only in their *morning Sacrifice*, that the *Heathens* might not conclude that they were *Chriſtians*, and ſo hale them away to *Martyrdom, becauſe they ſmell'd of Wine:* And that (*g*) *in their evening Sacrifice* they *offered a Cup mixt*, according to Cuſtom. Now againſt this humane and novel Cuſtom he argues,

(*f*) In calice Domini ſanctificando & plebi miniſtrando. *Ep* 63. *ed. Oxon. p.* 148.

(*g*) Cum ad cœnandum venimus mixtum calicem offerimus. *p.* 155, 156.

Firſt, From the Cuſtom of (*h*) *moſt Biſhops in the Church of Chriſt*; *Who*, ſays he, *keep to the evangelical Truth, and the Tradition of our Lord, and do not, by any new and humane Inſtitution, recede from that which Chriſt our Maſter hath commanded and performed.* Whence it is evident, that in the Judgment of St. *Cyprian*, Chriſt both *commanded*, That the Cup mixed with Water ſhould be *adminiſtred to the People*, and did ſo adminiſter it.

(*h*) Quanquam ſciam Epiſcopos plurimos Eccleſiis Dominicis in *toto mundo* divina dignatione præpoſitos Evangelicæ veritatis ac *dominicæ traditionis* tenere rationem, nec ab eo quod Chriſtus magiſter & præcepit & geſſit, humana & novella inſtitutione decedere. *Ibid. p.* 148.

Secondly, From the Neceſſity of obeying Chriſt's Inſtitution, and Command; for ſaith he, (*i*) *I thought it both Religious and Neceſſary to write theſe Letters to you, That, if any be yet held under this Error, ſeeing the Light of the Truth, they may return to the Root and Original of the Tradition of our Lord.*—— *For when any thing is* injoined *by the Inſpiration and Command of God, it is neceſſary that the Faithful Servant ſhould obey his Lord, and he will be excuſed of all Men, That he arrogantly aſſumeth nothing to himſelf, who is compelled to fear the Anger of the Lord, if he do not what he hath commanded.* St. *Cyprian* therefore did believe that Chriſt required, That the Cup, offered in Remembrance of him, ſhould

(*i*) Religioſum pariter & neceſſarium duxi has ad vos literas facere, ut ſiquis in iſto errore adhuc teneatur, veritatis luce perſpecta ad radicem atque originem *traditionis dominicæ* revertatur—— Quando aliquid Deo inſpirante & mandante præcipitur, neceſſe eſt domino ſervus fidelis obtemperet, excuſatus apud omnes quod nihil ſibi arroganter aſſumat qui offenſam domini timere compellitur niſi faciat quod *jubetur. ib.*

ſhould be mixed with Wine and Water; and being thus offered, ſhould be diſtributed to the People; and that he who did not ſo Adminiſter, did *arrogantly aſſume unto himſelf*, and had juſt Cauſe *to fear the Indignation of his Lord.*

Thirdly. This he proves alſo from the Exhortation and Command of Wiſdom; * *Come, eat of my Bread, and drink of the Wine that I have mingled*: Where by mixed Wine, *the Cup of the Lord mixed with Wine and Water, is*, ſaith he, *prophetically ſpoken of*; adding, That *we could not drink the Blood of Chriſt, had not He firſt been preſſed, and trampled upon*; and, (*k*) *had not he firſt drunk the Cup in which he drunk to Believers.* Moreover, *as Chriſt*, ſaith he, *commanded the Water of eternal Life to be given to Believers in Baptiſm; ſo alſo by the Example of his Maſterſhip, he taught the Cup was to be mingled with Wine and Water: For about the Day of his Paſſion taking the Cup, He bleſſed it, and gave to his Diſciples; ſaying, Drink ye all of this, for this is my Blood of the New Teſtament which is ſhed for many for the Remiſſion of Sins.*——*And the Apoſtle* Paul *ſaith, the Lord Jeſus, the ſame Night in which he was betrayed took Bread, and giving Thanks, he brake it, and ſaid, This is my Body which ſhall be delivered for you, do this in Remembrance of me; likewiſe, after Supper, he took the Cup, ſaying, This Cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood; this do, as oft as you drink it, in Remembrance of me; for as oft as you eat this Bread and drink this Cup, yow ſhew the Lords Death till he come. Now*, ſaith he, (*l*) *if it be* commanded *by our Lord, and the ſame thing be confirmed, and delivered by his Apoſtle, That as oft as we drink in Commemoration of our Lord, we ſhould do that which our Lord did; we find that is not obſerved by us which is commanded, unleſs we do the ſame things which our Lord did, and mingling the Cup of the Lord after the ſame manner, we recede not from the divine Inſtitution.*

* *Prov.* ix. 5.

(*k*) Niſi Chriſtus calicem prior biberet in quo credentibus propinaret. *p.* 150.

(*l*) Quod ſi a Domino præcipitur N. B. & ab Apoſtolo ejus hoc idem confirmatur & traditur, ut quotiescunque biberimus in Commemorationem Domini hæc faciamus quod fecit & Dominus, invenimus non obſervari a nobis quod mandatum eſt, niſi eadem quæ dominus fecit, nos quoque faciamus. *p.* 152.

Laſtly. *If any of our Predeceſſors*, ſaith he, *out of Ignorance, or Simplicity, did not hold, and obſerve that* (*m*) *which the Lord taught us to do by his Example, and* command; *Gods Mercy may ſhew Pardon to him, whereas no Pardon will be ſhewed to us, being inſtructed and admoniſhed to offer, as our Lord did, his Cup mixed with Wine, if we do not ſo. Whereforc we have directed*

(*m*)—Quod nos dominus facere exemplo & Magiſterio ſuo docuit, &c. *p.* 156, 157.

Letters to all our Colleagues, That the evangelical Command, *and the Tradition of our Lord, ſhould be every where obſerved, and that there ſhould be no receding from that which Chriſt both taught and did.*

Here then is all that *Proteſtants* aſſert againſt the Definitions of the *Councils* of *Conſtance*, *Baſil* and *Trent*, *viz.*

1. That our *Lord* taught both by Example, and *command* the Miniſtration of the Cup, or that this was enjoined *by Inſpiration and* Command *of God.*

2. That *Chriſt* in miniſtring the Cup *drank to Believers*, and, That *he commanded them to drink it*, by ſaying, *Drink ye all of this*; and that the ſame thing is confirmed by the *Apoſtle*, *ſaying*, *This do, as oft as you drink it, in Remembrance of me.*

3. That this *evangelical Command*, and *Tradition* of *Chriſt* is to be every where obſerved, and that none ſhould recede from what he did *both teach and do*, none ſhould recede from the *divine Inſtruction*; that it is neceſſary that *the Faithful Servant ſhould obey his Lord*, and that he may juſtly fear his Anger if he do not what he hath commanded.

Now that St. *Cyprian* in this *Epiſtle* ſpeaks not only of the *Conſecrution*, or *Oblation* of the *Cup*, but alſo of the *Diſtribution* of it, and the *Participation* of it by the *People*, is evident beyond all Contradiction. For,

1. He expreſly ſpeaks of ſanctifying the Lords Cup, and *miniſtring it to the People.* N. B. and of the Blood of the Lord (*n*) *drank off by them*; and of the Cup which in the *Pſalmiſt*'s Phraſe, *inebriates the Drinkers of it.*

(*n*) Epoto Sanguine Domini. P. 153.

2. He adds, that ſome perhaps might plead in favour of that Practice, he condemns, That they uſed only Water, leaſt their Perſecutors, *perceiving that they ſmelled of Wine in the Morning*, might hence conclude, they had received the Sacrament, and gather thence that they were *Chriſtians*; which could by no means be objected, if he argued only for the *Conſecration* of Wine, and not for the *Participation* of it by *Believers alſo*, ſeeing they could not ſmell of that which they did not partake of.

P. 155. 3. He ſaith, That *if the fear of ſmelling of Wine ſhould keep Men from doing what Chriſt did, and* commanded *to be done in commemoration of himſelf, the Brotherhood would be withdrawn from the Paſſion of Chriſt in the times of Perſecution, whilſt they thus learned to be aſhamed of his Blood in the Oblations:* Whereas, if it belonged

longed not to them to drink of the Blood of the Oblation, jure communicationis, *by right of participation*, as St. *Cyprian* says it did, if they were not obliged to drink of it *in remembrance of him*, this consequence must be infirm.

4. Whereas they who did celebrate this Sacrifice with Bread and Water consecrated in the Morning Sacrifice, thought this a good excuse, that in the Evening Sacrifice they used Wine mixed with Water. St. *Cyprian* saith, That *this excuse is not sufficient*; partly, because *the People could not be all invited to the Evening Sacrifice*; partly, because *in every Sacrifice we make mention of Christ's Passion, and so must do no other thing in any Sacrifice than what Christ did*; which Reasons can carry no weight in them, but upon supposition of an obligation on the People to communicate of the consecrated Wine and Water. P. 136.

Lastly, He adds, That *if we blush to drink the Blood of Christ, we cannot be prepared to pour out our Blood for Christ*; which not the Priest alone, but all the People must be prepared to do; it therefore is extreamly evident, that here St. *Cyprian* discourseth not only of the Priest's obligation to *consecrate* Wine mixed with Water, but also of the Peoples obligation to *partake* of the *Cup* so consecrated. Ibid.

§. 3.

In the *Apostolical Constitutions* the *Apostles* are introduced, giving this order, (o) *When the Sacrifice is offered, let every order of Believers receive by themselves of the Lord's Body, and of his precious Blood.* The Title of which Constitution is, *What every one of the Clergy and Laity* ought to do *in the Assembly.* In the Sacramental Thanksgiving they speak thus, *We give thee thanks O Father for Christ's precious Blood shed for our sakes, and for his precious Body,* (p) *the* Antitypes *of which we now celebrate, he having commanded us to shew forth his Death.* This Prayer all the Faithful make, and all that are Baptized are the persons who are thus to shew forth his Death. In the Prayer after the divine Oblation, they say thus, (q) *Let the Bishop Communicate, then the Priests, Deacons,* &c. *Amongst the Women, the Deaconnesses, Virgins and Widows, then the Children, then all the People in their Order; and the Priest, let him tender the Oblation, saying, The Body of Christ, and let the Receiver say,* Amen; the

(o) Τὶ ἔχας Θ ἐπιτελεῖν ὀφείλει τ συναθροισμένων κλήρικων ἢ λαικῶν ἐν τῇ συνάξει. l. 2. c. 57.

(p) Οὗ χ ἀντίτυπα ταῦτα ἐπιτελοῦμεν αὐτὸ διαταξαμένε ἡμῖν καταγγέλλειν τ αὐτ θάνατον. l. 7. c. 25.

(q) *Lib.* 8. *cap.* 13.

the Deacon, let him hold the Cup, and giving it, ſay, The Blood of Chriſt, the Cup of Life, and he that drinketh it let him ſay, Amen.

(r) Ταῦτα περὶ τῆς μυστικῆς λατρείας διατασσόμεθα ἡμεῖς οἱ ἀπόστολοι ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις, &c. c. 15.

And in the cloſe of theſe Preſcriptions are theſe words, (r) *Theſe things we the Apoſtles have commanded you Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons to obſerve, touching the Myſtical Service.*

St. *Baſil* is an expreſs aſſertor of the ſame Doctrine; for he ſpends a whole Chapter to prove that he who is regenerated by *Baptiſm,* (s) ought *afterwards to be nouriſhed by the participation of the divine* Myſteries in the plural, not by one of them only, and (t) *how this ſhould be done,* Chriſt, ſaith he, *hath taught* us, *ſaying, unleſs you eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and* drink his Blood, *you have no Life in you. He that eateth my Fleſh, and* drinks *my Blood, hath eternal Life,* &c. And *at the cloſe of the Goſpels it is written, that Jeſus taking Bread, and giving thanks, brake, and gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid, Take, eat, this is my Body broken for you, this do in remembrance of me; and taking the Cup, and giving thanks, he gave it to them, ſaying, Drink ye all of this,* &c. *The Apoſtle alſo doth atteſt theſe things, ſaying, I received from the Lord that which I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jeſus, in the Night in which he was betrayed, took Bread, and giving thanks, brake it, and ſaid, This is my Body broken for you, do this in remembrance of me: Likewiſe after Supper, he took the Cup, ſaying, This Cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood, do this in remembrance of me; for as oft as you ſhall eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, you ſhew forth the Lord's Death till he come.* (u) *What therefore do theſe words profit us? That eating and drinking we might be always mindful of him who died for us, and roſe again.* Which words are as full a confutation of the *Roman* Doctrine, as can be deſired by any *Proteſtant.*

(s) Ὅτι δεῖ τὴν ἀναγεννηθεῖσα διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος τρέφεσθαι λοιπὸν τῇ μεταλήψει τῶν θείων μυστηρίων. Tom. 1. l. 1. de Bapt. c. 3.

(t) Καὶ πῶς τοῦτο γένηται ἐδίδαξεν ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν — Ἀμὴν Ἀμὴν, λέγω ὑμῖν. p. 580

(u) Τί οὖν ὠφελεῖ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα; ἵνα ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες ἀεὶ μνημονεύωμεν τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντος. p. 581.

For they expreſly teach, that every Baptized perſon (x) is bound to partake of *both the Myſteries,* of the Bread and of the Cup, that our Lord hath taught him how he ſhould be nouriſhed by theſe myſteries, even by eating Sacramentally of his Fleſh, and drinking Sacramentally his Blood.

(x) Ὅτι ἀναγκαία πρὸς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Moral. Reg. 21. Tom. 2. p. 431.

That

That the words of the Inſtitution of this Supper mentioned in the *Goſpels*, and in particular thoſe words, *Drink ye all of this*, belong to *all Believers*, even as much as the forementioned words, *He that eats my Fleſh and drinks my Blood, hath eternal Life, &c.* they being here introduced to prove, that all Believers ought to be nouriſhed by the holy Myſteries; that therefore,

2. *Do this*; in both theſe Places is not a Command directed to the *Apoſtles* to *Sacrifice* Chriſts Body and his Blood; but to Believers to eat and *drink* them. And,

4. That we are to remember and *ſhew forth Chriſts Death*, not only by eating, but by *drinking* alſo.

St. *Ambroſe* ſpeaking of theſe Sacraments, as he, and many of the *Ancients* call the conſecrated Bread and Wine, informs us, that Chriſt ſpeaks of them in the *Song of Songs*, ſaying, (*y*) *Eat my Brethren, and be inebriated; for as oft as thou* drinkeſt, *thou receiveſt Remiſſion of Sins, and art inebriated with the Spirit.* And the ſame *Ambroſe* elſewhere ſaith, *If as oft as this Blood is poured out, it is poured out for the Remiſſion of Sins,* (*z*) *I* ought *alwaies to* receive *it, that my Sins may always be* remitted. In which Words he not only aſſerts, That Chriſt's *Blood* poured out, *ought* to be received; which cannot be done, by receiving it only by Concomitance with the Body, but alſo that our Lord *commands* his Brethren not to eat only of theſe *Myſteries*, but *to be inebriated*, and ſaith, That we are thus *inebriated by drinking*.

(*y*) Edite inquit fratres mei & inebrianimi. *De Sacram l.* 5. *c.* 3. quoties enim bibis, remiſſionem accipis peccatorum & inebriaris in Spiritu. *ibid.*

(*z*) Debeo illum ſemper accipere, ut ſemper mihi peccata dimittantur. *l.* 4. *c.* 6.

St. *Chryſoſtom* is copious on this Subject; for, ſaith he, *many things conduce to chriſtian Love,* (*a*) *one Table is offered to all; the ſame Drink is given to all, and not only ſo, but it is given out of one Cup: For the* Father *being willing to induce us to love one another,* ordered this, *making us to drink out of one Cup, which is an Inſtance of intenſe Love:* So that the Sacrament of the *Cup*, according to St. *Chryſoſtom*, was of the Inſtitution of the *Father*; and he thus ordered Matters for the Advancement of his great Commandment of *Chriſtian Love.* In his Twenty ſeventh *Homily* upon the Firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthi-* §. 4.

(a) Μία τράπεζα πέκειται πᾶσιν, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποτὸν ἅπασι δέδοται. in Matt. Hom. 32. p 223.

ans,

ans, he saith, That *as Christ said over the Bread, and over the Cup, do this in Remembrance of me*; (*b*) *revealing to us the Cause of giving us this Mystery*: So doth St. Paul *here say*, *As often as you eat this Bread and* drink *this Cup, you shew the Lord's Death.* Christ therefore did command the drinking of this Cup, and did it for a Cause which will remain to the Worlds End, and equally concern all *Christians, viz.* The *Remembrance* and *Annunciation of his Death.* And in his Fifteenth *Homily* upon the First of *Timothy* he brings in Christ thus speaking to the Laity, as well as Clergy, *I have united, I have joined you to my self*; (*c*) *I have said* eat me, drink me: And whether *Christ*, or the *Trent Council* should be obeyed in this Matter, it is not hard to judge, especially if we consider, That in the Judgment of St. *Chrysostom*, Christ did not only institute, but command these things to be done. His Words are these: *As chiefly we remember those Words which we last hear from our departing Friends, and are wont to say, by way of Admonition to their Heirs, if they dare to transgress their Commands, consider this is the last Voice which your Father uttered, and till his last Breath he required these things.* Even so Paul *being willing hence to render his Discourse formidable: Remember*, saith he, *that he gave this his last Mystery, and in that very Night in which he was to be slain for us*, (*d*) τὰυτα ἐνετείλετο, *he commanded these things.*

(*b*) Ὁ χειςὸς τῦτο ἐφη ἀιτίαν ἐκκαλύπτων ἡμῖν τ τῦ μυςηείυ δόσεως. p. 421.

(*c*) Φάγε με εἶπον, πίε με. p. 316.

(*d*) In Cor. 1. Hom. 27. pag. 421.

St. *Austin* doth sufficiently inform us of the same thing by asking of this Question; *When our Lord saith, Except ye eat my Flesh and drink my Blood, you shall have no Life in you; how is it that the People are so much restrained from the Blood of the Sacrifices which were offered for Sins? If by those Sacrifices this one Sacrifice was signified,* (*e*) *from taking of the Blood of which Sacrifice, not only no Man is restrained, but* All Men are exhorted to drink it, *who will have Life, for surely such an* Exhortation *must be equivalent to a Command.*

(*e*) Ab hujus Sacrificii sanguine sumendo in alimentum, non solum nemo prohibetur, sed *ad bibendum omnes* exhortantur, qui volunt habere vitam. *qu.* 57. *in Levit.*

§. 5. *It is worth the Enquiry*, saith (*f*) *Procopius Gazaus, how it comes to pass, That when in the Law the eating of Blood is forbidden. Now Christ commandeth us to eat his Blood.*

(*f*) In Levit. p. 327.

Isidore

Iſidore Hiſpalenſis, ſaith, in Alluſion to the Words of *Wiſdom*, That *Chriſt, the Wiſdom of God, hath built him an Houſe, the Church, in which he hath ſlain the Sacrifices of his Body, in which he hath mingled the Wine of his Blood in the Cup of the divine Sacrament; and prepared his Table, that is, the Altar of the Lord, when ſending forth his Servants the Apoſtles, and Teachers to the Fooliſh, that is, to all Nations that knew not the true God, he ſaith unto them,* (*g*) *Come, eat my Bread, and* drink my Wine *which I have mingled, that is, take ye the Meat of my ſacred Body, and receive the Cup of my ſacred Blood.* His Command therefore, according to *Iſidore*, was by his *Apoſtles* ſent to all Nations, and to the Fooliſh among them to *drink the Cup of his ſacred Blood.* §. 6.

(*g*) Dixit, eis venite, comedite panem meum & bibite vinum quod miſcui vobis, id eſt Sancti corporis eſcam ſumite, & poculum ſanguinis ſacri percipite. *De Gent. vocat. cap.* 26.

The *Council* held at *Braga* in the ſame *Century*, ſpeaking of thoſe who delivered to the People a piece of Bread dipp'd in the Wine for the whole Communion, confutes this Practice, by recurring, not only to the Cuſtom of the *Church*, but alſo to the Doctrine of the *Goſpel*, and the *Command* of *Chriſt*; for, ſay they, (*h*) *how Repugnant this Practice is to the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and Cuſtom of the Church, may eaſily be proved from the Fountain of Truth, who gave the Cup by it ſelf, ſaying*, Drink ye all *of this, as he took the Bread by it ſelf, ſaying, Take, eat*, &c. Hence then we learn, That the Fountain of Truth *commanded*, and the Doctrine of the *Goſpel* requireth, That all the People ſhould receive the Cup; and that they ſhould receive it ordinarily apart from the Bread.

(*h*) Quidam in Sacrificiis Domini —Euchariſtam vino madidam pro complemento communionis credunt populis porrigendam — Quod quam ſit Evangelicæ & Apoſtolicæ Doctrinæ contrarium non difficile ab ipſo fonte veritatis probabitur a quo ordinata ipſa ſacramentorum Myſteria proceſſerunt. — Seorſim enim panis, ſeorſim & calicis commemoratio memoratur. *Concil. To.* 6. *p.* 563.

Regino quotes from *venerable Bede* theſe Words, (*i*) *When the infirm Perſon hath been anointed, he preſently is to be refreſhed with the* Body *and* Blood *of our Lord, that he may deſerve to be quickned with Life Eternal in his Soul, when his corporal Life is* §. 7.

(*i*) Poſtquam infirmus ſacra Unctione fuerit delibutus, ſtatim corpore & ſanguine Domini recreandus eſt, ut de cujus vita temporali deſperatur, vivificari in anima vita æterna mereatur, ait enim Dominus, qui manducat, &c. Proinde Sancti Canones præcipiunt ut nulli fideli in extremis poſito Communio denegetur. *De Eccleſ. Diſc. l.* 1. *c.* 119. *p.* 77.

deſpaired

deſpaired of; *for our Lord ſaith*, *He that eats my Fleſh*, *and* drinks *my* Blood, *hath eternal Life*; *and unleſs you eat —— you ſhall have no Life in you*: *And hence the ſacred Canons command that the Communion ſhould be denyed to none of the Faithful in the Cloſe of this Life.* Where we learn, 1. What was then underſtood by the Word Communion, *viz.* the receiving of both Species, the Body and the Blood, and how theſe Species were to be received, *viz.* The Fleſh was to be eaten, and the Blood to be drunk. 2. Why they were to be both received, *viz.* Becauſe of our Lords Sayings, *John* vi. And 3*ly*. We alſo learn, for Confutation of Mr. *Condom*'s firſt pretended Practice of the *Church*, That the Sick were to receive the Body and the Blood, and that the *Canons* of the *Church* required that they ſhould not be withheld from them.

Zacharias Chryſopolitanus, cites from the ſame *Bede* theſe Words, (*k*) *Hence it is that he ſaith*, *Drink ye all of this*, *both with the Heart and with the Mouth*, *that ye may be Partakers of my Paſſion.*

(*k*) Hinc eſt quod ait, Bibite ex hoc omnes & ore & corde, ut ſitis participes paſſionis meæ. *Monoteſſ. p.* 306.

§. 8. *Paſchaſius Ratbertus* ſaith, *It is Chriſt alone who breaketh this Bread*, *and diſtributeth it to Believers by the Hands of his Miniſters*, (*l*) *ſaying*, *Take ye*, *and* drink *ye all of this*, *as well Miniſters as the reſt of the Faithful*: *This is the Blood of the new and everlaſting Teſtament.* *Caſſander* informs us, That the *Gloſs* called *expoſitio quadruplicis Miſſæ*, expounds the Words thus, (*m*) *Drink ye of this Cup of Blood*, All *without exception of Perſons.* *Hincmarus Remenſis*, having cited the ſame Words, adds (*n*) *Hæc dixit & dicit*, *This he ſaid then*, *and this he ſaith now.* All plainly contradicting the *R. Gloſs* (and Mr. *Condom*'s Expoſition) That theſe Words, *Drink ye all of this*, *were only ſpoken to*, *and concern'd only the Apoſtles.*

(*l*) Similiter & calicem porrigit eis dicens, accipite & bibite ex hoc *omnes tam miniſtri quam reliqui credentes. cap.* 15.

(*m*) Ex hoc ſcilicet Calice ſanguinis omnes ſcilicet ſine perſonarum acceptione. *De Com. ſub utraque ſpecie*, *p.* 1043.

(*n*) Tom. 2. p. 90.

§ 9. *Lanfranck*, *Arch-biſhop* of *Canterbury*, ſpeaks thus to *Berengarius*; *If thou couldeſt with Chriſtian Caution underſtand theſe things which ought to be underſtood literally*, *and ſpiritually*,

ſpiritually, (*o*) *thou wouldeſt without doubt believe that which the univerſal Church believes; thou wouldeſt publiſh what the Doctrine of the Apoſtles hath appointed to be publiſhed through the World,* viz. *That the* Body *and* Blood *of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is to be eaten and* drunken, *both by the Mouth and Body, and by the Mouth of the Heart; that is, both bodily and ſpiritually.* And *Anſelm* his Succeſſor in the ſame See, ſaith, *We ought to eat and drink this Sacrament two ways,* (*p*) *with the Mouth of the Heart, and of the Body.* The doing both theſe things, the drinking of the Blood of *Jeſus* with our Mouths, is that which ought to be done, that which the Doctrine of the *Apoſtles* hath appointed to be publiſhed.

(*o*) Proculdubio crederes quod univerſalis Eccleſia credit, prædicares quod Apoſtolica Doctrina in tota mundi latitudine prædicandum inſtituit, carnem ſcilicet & ſanguinem Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti & ore, & corpore, & ore cordis, hoc eſt, corporaliter, & ſpiritualiter manducari & bibi.— *De Sacr. Euch. f.* 131, 132.

(*p*) Ore cordis & ore Corporis. *Com. in* 1 *Cor.* 11.

Pope Paſchal writes to *Pontius, Abbot* of *Clun,* thus; (*q*) *Cyprian* writing to *Cæcilius* ſaith, *When any thing is required by the Inſpiration, and* command *of God, it is neceſſary that the faithful Servant ſhould obey his Lord.*——*Therefore in taking the Body and Blood of our Lord, according to the ſame* Cyprian, *let the Tradition of the Lord be obſerved, nor let that be departed from by any humane and novel Inſtitution which Chriſt our Maſter* commanded *and did.* He therefore owned the taking of the Cup apart from the Bread, to be a *Command* of *Chriſt,* which no *new Inſtitution* of Men could alter. *Our Lord Jeſus,* ſaith (*r*) *Hugo de Sancto Victore, inſtituted the Sacrament of the Body and the Blood of Chriſt, and commanded that they ſhould afterwards do the ſame thing in remembrance of himſelf.* (*s*) *Rupertus Tuitienſis* informs us, That *our Lord preſcribing the whole manner of eating his Fleſh, and drinking his Blood, ſaith,* * *Do this in remembrance of me.* §. 10.

(*q*) Scribens ad Cæcilium B. Cyprianus ait, quando aliquid Deo inſpirante, & mandante præcipitur, neceſſe eſt domino ſervus fidelis obtemperet, excuſatus apud omnes quod nihil ſibi arroganter aſſumat, ne aliud fiat a nobis quam quod pro nobis Dominus prior fecit, igitur in ſumendo corpore & ſanguine Domini, juxta eundem Cyprianum, *Dominica traditio ſervetur,* nec ab eo quod Chriſtus Magiſter & præcepit, & geſſit *humana, & novella inſtitutione,* diſcedatur; novimus enim per ſe panem, per ſe vinum ab ipſo Domino traditum, quem morem ſic ſemper in Sancta Eccleſia conſervandum docemus atque præcipimus, præterquam in parvulis, & omnino infirmis qui panem abſorbere non poſſunt. *Ep.* 32. *De non porrigenda Communione intincta. Concil. Tom.* 10. *p.* 656. (*r*) Lib. 2 de Sacram. Part. 8. Fol. 395. (*s*) In Johan. *Cap.* 6. * Vid Theoph. in Matth. *c.* 26. *p.* 162.

Arnoldus Carnotenſis delivers the ſame Doctrine moſt expreſly: For, ſaith he, (*t*) *the Doctrine of the Sacrament is new, and the evangelical Schools firſt brought forth this Command. This Diſcipline was firſt made known unto the World by Chriſt our Teacher, That Chriſtians ſhould drink Blood, the Uſe of which the old Law did forbid; for the old Law forbids the eating Blood, the Goſpel commands it ſhould be drunk: In which Commands the Chriſtian Religion ought chiefly to diſcern this, That the Blood of Beaſts, in all things differing from the Blood of Chriſt, hath only the Effect of temporal Vivification, and cannot profit to eternal Life; *but we* drink *of the Blood by his* Command, *being made Partakers of eternal Life with him, and by him. Chriſt himſelf is the Butler, who hath reach'd forth this Cup, and taught that we ſhould not only outwardly be daſhed with this Blood, but inwardly, by the powerful Aſperſion of it, ſhould be fortified in our Souls.* *Petrus Cluniacenſis*, in the ſame Age ſpeaks thus, (*u*) *Chriſt commands, do this, not another thing; this which you have received to eat, which you take to* drink, viz. *My Body and Blood; this, ſay I, do in memory of me.——That which he did, he commanded them to do; That which he diſtributed to them, he would have them diſtribute to others. Chriſt*, ſaith St. *Bernard, the Day before his Paſſion, preſcribed to his Diſciples the Form of this Sacrament. He gave Efficacy to it*, i. e. (*x*) *He commanded it to be done. The Preſcription of the Form was under Bread and Wine; note the Order: Firſt he waſhes his Diſciples Feet, then, going back to the Table, He ordains the Sacrifice of his Body and Blood; giving the Bread apart, and the Wine apart, ſaying thus of the Bread, Take and eat, this is my Body; and of the Wine thus, Drink ye all of this.* And again, *De Sacramento quidem Corporis & ſanguinis ſui nemo eſt qui neſciat hanc quoque tantam & tam ſingularem alimoniam ea primum die exhibitam, ea die commendatam, & mandatam deinceps frequentari. *Serm.* 3. *in ramis Palm. fol.* 30. b. ** *Concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, there is no Man who knoweth not, that upon that Day, That great and*

ſingular

(*t*) Scholæ Evangelicæ hoc primum magiſterium protulerunt.

Lex quippe eſum ſanguinis prohibet, Evangelium præcipit ut bibatur.

* Bibimus autem de ſanguine, Chriſto ipſo jubente. *Inter opera Cypr. adſcript. p.* 41.

(*u*) Cum Chriſtus imperet N. B. dicens, Hoc facite, hoc plane, non aliud, hoc idem quod accipitis ad comedendum, quod ſumitis *ad bibendum*, corpus ſcilicet meum & ſanguinem, hoc inquam facite in meam commemorationem, quid ultra certe quæritis? — Quia quod fecit eos facere præcepit, quod eis diſtribuit hoc eos aliis diſtribuere voluit. *Ed. Eraſm. f.* 209.

(*x*) Hujus Sacramenti formam præſcripſit, efficaciam exhibuit, i. e. fieri præcepit. *De Cœna Dom. c. qui incipit*, Panem Angel. *f.* 320. b.

ſingular Nouriſhment was firſt exhibited, on that Day commended, and commanded *henceforth to be frequented.*

§. 11.

(*y*) *Albertus Magnus* teacheth, That *after Chriſt had exhibited his Body under the Species of Bread, he afterwards exhibited his Blood under the Species of Wine, and by the apoſtolical Statutes* commanded both *to be ſacramentally celebrated in the Church*; and having proved from the *Evangeliſts St. Matthew, Mark*, and *Luke*, That Chriſt celebrated both apart.—— *From all theſe things*, ſaith he, *'tis known or underſtood, that Chriſt, under one Species of Bread, delivered his Body, and under the other Species of Wine, his Blood, and ſo appointed it to be obſerved*; *and ſince Chriſt's Action is our Inſtruction*, Pro certo hæc duo nobis ſervanda eſſe præcepit, *He* commanded *theſe* Two *things moſt certainly to be obſerved, and therefore under* One Species we deliver *the Body, and under the other the* Blood. Where we ſee the Practice of the *Church* was then to deliver both Species, and that the Command of *Chriſt* was then conceived to be their Motive ſo to do, according to that ſaying of *Durantus*, (*z*) *In the primitive Church all that heard Maſs, uſed to communicate, becauſe the Apoſtles all drank of the Cup, the Lord ſaying*, Drink ye all *of this.*

(*y*) Hoc dicimus, Quod poſtquam Chriſtus exhibuit corpus ſuum ſub ſpecie panis, tunc etiam poſtea exhibuit ſanguinem ſuum ſub ſpecie vini, & utrumque Sacramentaliter eſſe celebrandum præcepit in Eccleſia per ſtatuta Apoſtolica, & ideo Eccleſia inſtructa actione Chriſti, utrumque celebrat, diviſim conficiendo corpus ſub ſpecie panis, & diviſim conficiendo ſanguinem ſub ſpecie vini, quod autem duo hæc exhibuerit & celebranda inſtituerit Chriſtus patet, *Matth.* 27. — Ex omnibus iſtis accipitur quod Chriſtus ſub una ſpecie panis corpus ſuum tradidit, ſub altera ſpecie vini tradidit ſanguinem, & *ſic ſervandum inſtituit*, & cum Chriſti actio ſit noſtra inſtructio, pro certo hæc duo nobis ſervanda eſſe præcepit, & ideo ſub una ſpecie corpus, & ſub alia *tradimus* ſanguinem, *Sum. de Sacr. Euch. Diſt.* 3. *tr.* 2. *c.* 5.

(*z*) In primitiva Eccleſia omnes qui celebrationi Miſſarum intererant ſingulis diebus communicare ſolebant, eo quod Apoſtoli omnes de calice bibebant, Domino dicente, Bibite ex hoc omnes, *Rat. l.* 4. *c.* 53.

§. 12.

Here then, beſides what hath already been obſerved from theſe Paſſages, we farther learn;

1. That every Order of Believers ought to receive of the Lords Body, and of his precious Blood *apart*; That they ought *to* drink this Cup *with the Mouth of the Body.*

2. That the *Tradition* of our *Lord* is to be obſerved, and not departed from, by reaſon of any *humane and novel Inſtitution.*

3. That the *Apoſtles* commanded theſe things to be obſerved, that the Doctrine of the *Goſpel*, and the Cuſtom of the *Church* require the Cup ſhould be received apart, that this the *univerſal Church believes*, and the Doctrine of the *Apoſtles* hath appointed this to be publiſhed throughout the world, that the Blood of our *Lord Jeſus* is to be drunk by the mouth of the Body, that the *Goſpel* commands it ſhould be drunk, that the *Apoſtolical Statutes* commanded both to be celebrated in the Church, that God himſelf ordered that we ſhould all drink out of one Cup, and that this is required by the inſpiration and command of God; that Chriſt ſaid, *Eat me*, *Drink me*, that he *exhorted all Men to drink* of his Blood; that he ſent forth his *Apoſtles* and Teachers, to invite them to drink of the Wine that he had mingled, and to receive the Cup of his ſacred Blood; that he *commanded* theſe things, that he ſo appointed it to be obſerved, and that we drink of the blood of Chriſt *by his command.*

Interim autem dum ab eo in hoc mundo peregrinamur, *Corpore & ſanguine ejus* in via paſcimur, ſicut Apoſtolis ſuis hoc Myſterium in cœna ultima ante mortem ſuam tradidit, & nobis ſequentibus frequentandum *per eos mandavit. Guitm. de. Sacram. lib.* 3. *fol.* 91. b.

4. That the command, *Drink ye all of this*, was by *Chriſt* directed *as well unto the People as the Miniſters*, *to all without exception*, that what Chriſt did he commanded his followers to do, *what he diſtributed to them*, *he would have them diſtribute to others*, and that in the *Primitive Church all communicated*, becauſe Chriſt ſaid to his Apoſtles, *Drink ye all of this.*

5. That by receiving of both kinds, they ſhewed forth Chriſt's Death, and this is as much as any *Proteſtant* hath ſaid, or needs to ſay.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Contents.

Whereas these Councils take upon them to Decree this Sacrament shall be celebrated otherwise, than by their own confession it was instituted by Christ, The Fathers in the general assert, That this Mystery ought not to be celebrated otherwise than it was delivered by Christ and his Apostles, §. 1. *When some delivered the Bread dipp'd in the consecrated Cup as a compleat Communion, they condemned this practice as varying from the Institution and from the practice of the Church,* §. 2. *They condemned the offering on the Altar, other things besides Bread, Wine and Water for the same Reasons,* §. 3. *They condemned the using Wine not mixed with Water on the same account,* §. 4. *They condemned the celebration of this Mystery in consecrated Bread and Water only from the same grounds,* §. 5. *Inferences against Communion in one kind from the premises,* §. 6.

SEcondly, whereas the Councils of *Constance* and of *Trent* confess, That Christ instituted this venerable Sacrament *under both species*, and so delivered it to his Apostles, and that the *Primitive Church* did practise suitably unto this Institution, and yet deny that there lies any Obligation on *Christians* from this Institution, or this practice to administer it, or to receive it in both kinds, asserting they have power as *dispensatores Mysteriorum Dei*, *Dispensers of the Mysteries of God*, to make this change in the Administration of this Sacrament, whereas, I say, these are the bold Assertions of the forementioned *Councils*; in opposition to them the Sayings of the *Fathers* are very clear and pregnant, in which they plainly shew they thought themselves, and all that bare the Name of *Christians*, obliged to observe the Institution of the Sacrament, which by the Confessions of the *Councils* of *Trent* and *Constance*, was in both kinds, and in the distribution of it, to do as *Christ* the Author of it did, *viz.* to give both species apart to the Communicants, which came to be partakers of this Holy Sacrament. And,

Sess. 13.
Sess. 21. c. 3.
Sess. 21. cap. 2.

1. The

§. 1. 1. The Author which passeth under the Name of *Ambrose*, in his Comment on these words, *He that eateth this Bread, or drinks this Cup unworthily*, &c. saith thus, (a) *He pronounces him unworthy of the Lord, who otherwise doth celebrate this Mystery than it was delivered by him; for he cannot be devout who presumes to do it otherwise, than it was given by the Author.* And this good Rule in after-Ages was approved of, and even transcribed by the *Ritualists*, and by the *Commentators* on the same place, (b) *He eats unworthily*, saith Haymo, *that is, not observing order, who either celebrates*, or takes *that Mystery otherwise than it was delivered by the Holy Fathers.* St. *Anselm* in his Comment on the same Chapter saith, That "St. *Paul* reproved the *Co-*" *rinthians* because they did not well observe what "he had delivered, touching this matter, he having delivered "to them what the Lord delivered to him, and therefore "that which they ought to retain reverently and inviolably; adding, That (c) *he eats and drinks unworthily, who either celebrates or* receives *that Mystery otherwise than it was delivered by our Lord.* The *Gloss* cites the same words from *Ambrose*, *Aquinas* from the *Gloss*. *He is unworthy*, saith Hugo, *who celebrates the Mystery otherwise than by Christ it was delivered.* And he, saith *Lyra*, is unworthy, (d) *who observes not the Custom instituted by Christ.* *Gregory* the Third condemns the placing Two or Three Cups upon the Altar at once, as being not agreeable to the practice of our Lord. For, saith he (e) *In the Solemnities of the Mass that is to be observed which our Lord Jesus gave to his Disciples, for he took the Cup, and gave it to them saying, This is the Cup of the New Testament in my Blood, this do as often as you take it.* And (f) *Rabanus Maurus* saith, *It is not lawful to offer any other thing in the Sacraments, than that which our Lord himself appointed, and by his Example taught us to do.*

(a) Indignum dicit esse domino qui aliter mysterium celebrat quam ab eo traditum est, non enim potest devotus esse qui aliter præsumit quam datum est ab Authore. *In locum.*

(b) Indigne dicit, i. e, ordine non observato, viz. qui aliter Mysterium illud celebrat vel sumit quam traditum est a sanctis patribus. *Haym. in locum, p.* 130.

(c) Qui aliter mysterium celebrat quam a Christo traditum est. *Ibid.*

(d) Qui non observat ritum a Christo institutum. *Ibid.*

(e) In missarum solenniis observandum est quod dominus noster Jesus Christus Sanctis suis distribuit discipulis, accepit enim calicem & dedit eis, dicens, Hic est calix Novi Testamenti in meo sanguine, hoc facite quotiescunque sumitis. *Ep. ad Bonifacium.*

(f) De Instit. Cler. *l.* 1. *c.* 31.

§. 2. 2*dly*. Some in the *Church* did frequently attempt the alteration of *Christ*'s Institution by giving to the People the Bread dipp'd

dipp'd in the ſacred Blood for a compleat Communion, but againſt theſe Innovators in the Fourth Century, *Pope Julius* oppoſed himſelf, laying down this for his Rule, That it was by no means lawful for any to *recede* from our *Lord*'s Inſtitution, Practice and Example. His Words are theſe, (*g*) *We have heard that ſome perſons, being guilty of Schiſmatical Ambition, do, againſt the divine Orders, and Apoſtolical Inſtitution, deliver to the People the Euchariſt dipp'd in the Blood for an intire Communion. How contrary theſe things are to the Evangelical and Apoſtolical Doctrine, and oppoſite to the Eccleſiaſtical Cuſtom, it is not hard to prove from the Fountain of Truth, from whom the Inſtitution of theſe Sacramental Myſteries proceeded, for they have no Teſtimony from the Goſpel for this, where Chriſt commended his Body and Blood to his Diſciples, for there is recorded the commendation of his Body and Blood apart.* The Council of (*h*) *Braga* in the Seventh Century in the very ſame words condemns this Practice, blaming them, who, for the whole Communion delivered to the People a piece of Bread dipp'd in the Conſecrated Wine, *Which Cuſtom how contrary,* ſay they, *it is to the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and the Practice of the Church, we may learn from the Fountain of Truth, who gave the Cup by it ſelf, ſaying, Drink ye all of this; as he took the Bread by it ſelf, ſaying, Take, eat,* &c. (*i*) *Micrologus* ſaith, *It is not Authentick that ſome dip the Body of Chriſt, and diſtribute it ſo dipp'd for a full Communion, for the* Roman *Order contradicts it, for in the day of Preparation it commands, that the Wine not conſecrated, ſhould be conſecrated by the Lord's Prayer, and the mixture of the Lord's Body with the Blood, that* the People may fully Communicate, *which would be a ſuperfluous Command, if the Lord's Body dipp'd in the Cup the day before, and preſerved, would ſuffice to Communicate the People with: And therefore Pope* Julius * *writing to the Biſhops of* Ægypt, *doth wholly forbid this Intinction, and teacheth, that the Bread and the Cup ſhould be both taken apart,* according to our Lord's Inſtitution. *Humbertus* in his Diſputation againſt the *Greeks*, ſaith thus, *That*

(*g*) Audivimus enim quoſdam Schiſmatica ambitione detentos, contra divinos ordines & Apoſtolicas inſtitutiones, — intinctam Euchariſtiam populis pro complemento Communionis porrigere. — Quod quam ſit Evangelicæ & Apoſtolicæ doctrinæ contrarium, & conſuetudini Eccleſiaſticæ adverſum, non difficile ab ipſo fonte veritatis probatur, a quo ordinata ipſa Sacramentorum myſteria proceſſerunt. — Ubi Apoſtolis corpus ſuum commendavit & ſanguinem, ſeorſum enim panis, & ſeorſum calicis commendatio memoratur. *Concil. Tom.* 2. *p.* 525, 526.

(*h*) Eadem habet Concil. Bracarenſe. *Tom.* 6. *p.* 562, 563.

(*i*) Ut populus plene poſſit communicare. *cap.* 19.

* Julius quoque Papa ſeorſim panem & ſeorſim calicem, juxta dominicam Inſtitutionem ſumenda docet. *Idem ibid.*

you

you are wont to take the Holy Bread of Life eternal in a Spoon dipped in the Cup, what can you offer for it? (k) *for our Lord did not thus dip Bread in the Cup of Wine, and so give it to his Apostles, saying, Take and eat this in a Spoon, This is my Body; but as the* Roman Church even to this day observes, *he blessed the whole Bread, and distributed it, being broken, to every one apart, saying, Take and eat, This is my Body, to whom he also after Supper reached forth the Cup, saying,* Drink ye all of this, *which* Institution *to be* revered by Men and Angels, *Holy* Zion, *the first Church, even to this Day, as it received from the Apostles, so doth it faithfully retain it.* And then having cited a long passage from the *Church* of *Jerusalem*, he adds, *Hence is it clearer than the light, that the holy Church of* Jerusalem *did of old observe the same Rite of the divine Sacrifice which the holy* Roman *Church ceaseth not hitherto to observe; for we lay upon the Holy Altars thin Cakes of Flour prepared, whole and sound, and Communicate with the People of them, being after consecration broken, and then we are made to drink of the Cup of Wine, and liquid Blood, for we find Bread sopp'd was delivered by Christ to none but the Traytor* Judas, *to signifie that he was to betray him.* Again, he having said, That *Christ* delivered the Bread and Wine apart, and that the *Church* of *Christ* religiously observed his Institution, adds, That (l) *it could not be that any one should prevail to commend this Holy Mystery of Faith more conveniently, or truly, than he who delivered himself an Oblation, and a Sacrifice of a Sweet Odor to God for us, the immaculate Lamb of God, who taketh away the Sins of the World, to whom the most perfect knowledge of any Man being compared, is the highest Ignorance.* In the Year of our Lord 1118. *Pope Paschal* the Second, writes an Epistle to *Pontius*, *Abbot* of *Clun*, after this wise: (m) *Blessed* Cyprian *writing to* Cæcilian *saith, That when any thing is required by God's* Inspiration and Command, *it is necessary that the faithful Servant should obey his Lord, and he will be excused of all Men, that he assumeth nothing arrogantly to himself, nor may any other thing be done by us, than what our Lord first*

(k) Neque enim ipse Dominus panem in Calice vini intrivit, & sic Apostolis dedit, sed sicut Sancta Romana Ecclesia usque nunc observat, panem integrum benedixit, & fractum singulis particulatim distribuit, dicens, Accipite & comedite, hoc est corpus meum; quibus, postquam cœnatus est, calicem porrexit, dicens, Bibite ex eo omnes. Quam *Reverendam Angelis* & hominibus institutionem prima scilicet Ecclesia usque ad hæc moderna tempora, sicut ab Apostolis recepit, fideliter retinuit. — *Apud Baron. Tom.* 11. *p.* 971.

(l) Nec potest fieri ut quilibet convenientius aut verius commendare prævaluisset Sacrosanctum Mysterium fidei, quam ipse qui tradidit seipsum pro nobis oblationem. — *Ibid. p.* 974.

(m) Ep. 32. de non porrigenda Communione intincta. *Concil. Tom.* 10. *p.* 656.

firſt did for us. Therefore in taking the Body and the Blood of Chriſt, according to the ſame St. Cyprian, *Let the Tradition of our Lord be kept, nor let us recede by* any humane and novel Inſtitution *from that which our Lord both commanded and did; for we know that the Bread was delivered by our Lord apart, and the Wine apart, which Cuſtom we* teach, *and* require to be obſerved perpetually *in the* Church, *excepting only in the Caſe of Infants and Infirm Perſons, who cannot receive the Bread. Hildebert, Biſhop* of *Mans,* doth vehemently reprove the Cuſtom of giving the Bread ſopped, uſed in this or ſome other *Monaſtery*; for, writing to the *Abbot* of ſome Monaſtery, he ſaith, *It is judicial obſtinacy to preferr Cuſtom before Truth*: And having proved this from the words of St. *Cyprian* and St. *Auſtin*, he proceeds thus; *This, Brother, I have therefore ſpoken, that being rouzed up, thou maiſt awake, and ſee that* (n) *neither the Goſpels nor Decrees agree with that diſtribution of the Sacrament of the Altar, which is practiſed in your Monaſtery; for there the Cuſtom is to give the Sacrament to none, but in Bread ſteeped in the Wine, which is neither found to be taken from our Lord's Inſtitution, nor from Authentick Sanctions: If you conſult St.* Matthew, Mark *and* Luke, *you will find the Bread to have been delivered apart, and the Wine apart, for we read not that Chriſt gave Bread ſopped to any but that Diſciple, whom he thereby ſhewed to be the betrayer of his Maſter.* (o) *The Euchariſt,* ſaith *Lombard, ought not to be given to any Body ſopped for a Supplement of the Communion, for we read of no ſopped Bread given to any one, but* Judas. Laſtly, a Council held at *London, A. D.* 1175. (p) *forbids any perſon to deliver the Euchariſtical Bread dipped in Wine for a compleat Communion, for,* ſay they, *we read not that our Lord gave the Bread ſopped to any, but to that Diſciple whom he thereby declared to be the Diſciple that was to betray him.*

(n) Traditioni Sacramentorum Altaris quæ in veſtro celebris eſt Monaſterio nec Evangelia conſonant nec decreta concordant: In eo enim conſuetudinis eſt Euchariſtiam nulli niſi intinctam dari, quod nec ex Dominica Inſtitutione, nec ex Sanctionibus Authenticis reperiatur aſſumptum. — *Epiſt.* 64.

(o) Euchariſtia intincta non debet dari populo *pro ſupplemento Communionis. Sent. l.* 4. *Diſt.* 11. *lit.* f.

(p) Inhibemus ne quis quaſi pro complemento Communionis intinctam alicui tradat Euchariſtiam, nam intinctum panem aliis Chriſtum præbuiſſe non legimus, excepto illo tantum Diſcipulo quem intincta buccella Magiſtri proditorem oſtenderit. *Apud Binium, Tom.* 7. *Part* 2. *p.* 642.

Now hence, ſaith (q) *Caſſander*, it appears, That *they who received the Cuſtom of dipping the Bread into the conſecrated Cup,*

(q) De utraq; ſpecie, *p.* 1027.

did believe that both kinds were by all means to be uſed for an entire and full Communion: For, wherefore did they dip the Bread in the Myſtical Cup of our *Lord's* Blood, if one ſpecies by it ſelf would have ſufficed for a full and lawful Communion? And ſeeing they who adminiſtred the Bread dipp'd in the conſecrated Cup, did this becauſe they conceived it neceſſary that both kinds ſhould be received at leaſt together; and they who reprehended this Cuſtom, did therefore reprehend it, becauſe they held that both kinds were to be received apart, according to our *Lord's* Inſtitution, and the conſtant Cuſtom of the *Church*: It is evident, that all did then agree, that both kinds were to be received, and that it was not lawful to receive under the ſpecies of Bread alone.

§. 3. 3*ly*. Others attempted to vary from the Inſtitution of our Lord, and from the practice of the *Apoſtles*, and the ſucceeding Ages of the *Church*, by offering on the Altar or Communion-Table not only Bread and Wine, but alſo *Milk* and *Honey*, *&c.* which thing the *Ancient Fathers* and *Councils* do with one voice condemn, as being contrary to the Inſtitution of our *Lord*. The Title of the Third *Canon* of the *Apoſtles* runs thus *That nothing is to be offered in the Sacrifice, beſides that which our Lord appointed*; and in the body of the *Canon*, the offering Milk or Honey is condemned, as being παρὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου διάταξιν ὅτι τῇ θυσίᾳ, *beſides the Conſtitution of our Lord touching the Sacrifice*, and the *Biſhop* or *Preſbyter* who doth this is to be depoſed, ὡς παρὰ τὴν διάταξιν Κυρίου ποιῶν, *as doing beſides the Conſtitution of the Lord. Our Lord*, ſaith *Zonaras* upon this *Canon*, *delivering to his Apoſtles the celebration of this unbloody Sacrifice to be performed in Bread and Wine*, διὰ τοῦτο. Ἀπόστολοι ἔπεσόν τι περὶ τὴν θυσίαν παραδιδόντες ἀπεῤῥεύσαν. *For this cauſe the Apoſtles forbad any other thing to be brought to the Sacrifice.* The *Church* of (r) *Africa* made a *Canon* to the ſame effect, *viz.* That *it is not lawful to offer any thing in the Sacraments, beſides Bread and Wine, mixed with Water*, and the reaſon there aſſigned is, That nothing elſe is to be offered, *quàm quod ipſe Dominus tradidit, than that which our Lord himſelf delivered.* This *Canon* is cited and confirmed in the Fifth *General Council* held in (s) *Trullo*, for the ſame Reaſon, That, *in this Sacrament things ought to be performed*, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος παρέδωκεν, *according as our Lord himſelf*

(r) Can. 37.

(s) Can. 32.

ſelf delivered. *Pope Julius* in the Fourth, and the *Council* of *Braga* in the Seventh *Century*, ſay not as the *Canons* of the *Eaſtern Church*, that ſome offered *Milk beſides Bread and Wine*, but that they offered, *lac pro vino*, *Milk for Wine*; this practice they condemn in theſe words; (*t*) *When the Maſter of Truth would commend to his Diſciples the true Sacrifice of our Salvation, he gave to none Milk, but only Bread and Wine in the Sacrament; let therefore Milk ceaſe to be offered, becauſe the manifeſt and evident example of Evangelical Truth hath ſhined forth, that, beſides Bread and Wine, nothing elſe may be offered.* And again, *Henceforth it ſhall be lawful to none to offer any thing elſe in the divine Sacrifices, but according to the Sentence of the Ancient Councils, Bread and Wine only mixed with Water.* (*u*) *Strabo* informs us, That *though the uſe of the Sacraments was delivered by Chriſt, and from the Apoſtles and Apoſtolical Men, was diffuſed throughout the whole Catholick Church, yet we underſtand from the Apoſtolical Canons, that, in the firſt Ages, ſome were wont to offer other Oblations, who therefore by the third of their Canons are to be depoſed, as doing* contra Conſtitutionem Domini, *againſt the Conſtitution of our Lord.* And theſe *Decrees* we find in (*x*) *Ivo*, and in (*y*) *Gratian*, and do thence learn, that they continued to be *Authentick* in their Days.

(*t*) Cum enim Magiſter veritatis verum ſalutis noſtræ Sacrificium ſuis commendaret diſcipulis, nulli lac, ſed panem tantum & Calicem ſub hoc Sacramento cognoſcimus dediſſe, legitur enim in Evangelica veritate, accepit Jeſus panem & Calicem, &c. ceſſet ergo lac ſacrificando offerri, quia manifeſtum & evidens exemplum veritatis Evangelicæ illuxit, quod præter panem & vinum, aliud offerri non liceat, *Concil. To.* 2. *p.* 525, 526. *Concil. Brac. To.* 6. *p.* 564.

(*u*) Lib. de rebus Eccleſ. *cap.* 18.

(*x*) Decret. part 2. c. 18.
(*y*) Decret. part 3. de conſecr. diſt. 2. c. 4, 5.

Now here let it be noted, that all theſe *Fathers*, and *Councils* who condemn *intinction*, and the oblation of other things upon the *Altar* beſides Bread, Wine and Water, give this as a ſufficient reaſon for ſo doing, That *theſe things were not agreeable unto that inſtitution which was to be* revered by Men and Angels, from which it was *by no means lawfull to depart*, and *to which Chriſtians were obliged to adhere*; and ſurely they who ſo Religiouſly condemned, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed themſelves againſt the Cuſtom of *intinction*, and of *offering Milk and Honey*, becauſe of the Repugnancy which theſe things bore unto the manner of, and the Rule obſerved in our *Lord*'s Inſtitution of this Sacrament, would have been filled with holy indignation, had they known of any who wholly did with-hold from, or deny the Cup unto the People. Sure they who taught that to

do theſe things againſt the *Divine Orders* and *Apoſtolical Conſtitution*, was to be guilty of *a manifeſt Error*, and of *Schiſmatical Ambition*, could not have paſſed a milder Cenſure on the ſubſtraction of the Cup from all the *Laity*. They who declared, that to do theſe things was to act *contrary to the Evangelical Doctrine*, and *Eccleſiaſtical Cuſtom* or the *Practice* of the *Church*, would have declared with a greater zeal againſt the defalcation of that Cup, of which our *Lord* ſaid in the Inſtitution, *Drink ye all of this*, of which *all the Apoſtles drank*, and which was, in complyance with this Inſtitution and this Example, confeſſedly received by all *Chriſtians* in the firſt Ages of the *Church*. They who would not allow *intinction* to be ſufficient for a *compleat and full Communion of the People*, or for a *Supplement of the Communion*, would much leſs have allowed that the Communion was intire and full, when nothing but the Bread was given to them. They who declared that *nothing could be offered to juſtifie* this variation from our Lord's Inſtitution, could much leſs think that any thing would juſtifie this greater variation from it. They who affirm *it could not be that any one ſhould commend this Myſtery of Faith more conveniently, or truly, than that Jeſus, to whom the moſt perfect knowledge of any Man being compared, is the higheſt ignorance*; and that *the Tradition of our Lord is to be kept, and not receded from on the account of any humane, or novel Inſtitution*, could not imagine the Councils either of *Trent* or *Conſtance* could have any power given by the Author of that Inſtitution, to make a Law for the omitting one part of it, with a (z) *non obſtante* to our Lord's Inſtitution, and to the practice of the *Church*. They, laſtly, who aſſert, *It is judicial obſtinacy to preferr Cuſtom before Truth*, muſt have abhorred that plea for half Communion uſed by the Council of *Conſtance*, that it was a *Cuſtom reaſonably introduced by the Church*, and by the *Holy Fathers*, *and had been long obſerved, and therefore was to be retained as a Law*.

(z) Concil. Conſt. Seſſ. 13.

Again, They who condemn the offering *Milk* and *Honey* on the Altar, as being *beſides the Inſtitution of our Lord*, and for this reaſon do forbid and puniſh it, would more aſſuredly have condemned and puniſhed that defalcation of the Cup, which is confeſſedly contrary to the Inſtitution. They who took care that in this matter things ſhould be done, ὡς ὁ Κύριος παρέδωκεν, *as the Lord delivered them*, would never have allowed that this

this Sacrament ſhould be adminiſtred otherwiſe than he had Inſtituted it to be received. And laſtly, they who argued, *That nothing elſe was to be offered, becauſe nothing elſe was mentioned in the Goſpel*, would never have endured that what was mentioned in the Goſpel, as offered and diſtributed to all, ſhould not only be omitted, but forbidden, under the ſevereſt Penalties.

§. 4.

4*ly*. Some varied from the practice of the *Church* from the beginning, uſed with reſpect to the Cup, and that Two Ways.

1. By uſing in this Sacrament Wine not mixed with Water; this neglect the *Ancient Fathers* and *Councils* do with one voice condemn, as varying from the Inſtitution of our *Lord*, and from the practice of the *Church*, and ſolemnly decree that in conformity to both, the Wine they offered and diſtributed, ſhould be continually mixed with Water. The Conſtitutions of St. *Clemens* ſay, That (*a*) *our Lord mixed the Cup with Wine and Water, and ſanctifying it, he gave it to them, ſaying, Drink ye all of it, and that therefore* κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάταξιν, *according to his Order or Inſtitution, they offered to him this Bread and this Cup.* And this they did, ſaith *Cotelerius*, againſt Two Hereſies, that of the *Monophyſites* and the *Armenians*, who uſed only Wine in the *Myſteries*. The (*b*) *African* Council ſaith, *that nothing is to be offered in the Sacraments but Bread*, & merum aqua mixtum, *and Wine mixed with Water, as our Lord delivered.* *Pope Julius* ſaith, That (*c*) *the Cup of our Lord, according to the commands of the Canons, ought to be offered with Wine mixed with Water*, and that *the Cup of the Lord cannot be Wine or Water alone, but that both muſt be mixed.* The Councils of (*d*) *Worms* and (*e*) *Braga*, condemn the neglect of mixing Water, in the very words of *Pope Julius*. The General Council held in *Trullo* ſaith the ſame thing, condemning the *Armenians* who celebrated the Euchariſt with Wine not mixed with Water, as acting againſt the Tradition of the *Apoſtles*, and Decreeing, That the *Biſhop* or the *Prieſt* who did thus celebrate the Myſteries ſhould be depoſed, (*f*) *as imperfectly ſhewing forth the Myſtery, and innovating in things delivered.*

(*a*) L. 8. c. 12. p. 351.

(*b*) Can. 37.

(*c*) Calix dominicus juxta Canonum præcepta vino & aqua permixtus debet offerri— non enim poteſt Calix domini eſſe aqua ſola, aut vinum ſolum, niſi utrumque miſceatur. *Apud Ivon. Decret. part.* 2. *c.* xi.

(*d*) Concil. Wormatenſe apud eundem, *Cap.* 12. *& Concil. To.* 2. *p.* 526.

(*e*) Calix dominicus juxta quod quidam Doctor ediſſerit, vino & aqua permixtus debet offerri. *Concil. Brac.* 4. *Concil. To.* 6. *p.* 563.

(*f*) Ὡς ἀτελῶς τὸ μυστήριον καταγγέλλων, καὶ ὡς καινίζων τὰ παραδεδομένα. Can. 32.

Iſidore

Iſidore ſaith, That Wine alone cannot be offered in the Sacrifice of the Cup, and that (g) *the ſpiritual Sacrifice is then perfected when they are both mixed.* This mixture ſome of them held neceſſary, becauſe our *Saviour*'s ſide being pierced with a Launce, not only Blood, but Water alſo iſſued thence, *for which cauſe,* ſaith (h) *Zonarus,* ἀναγκαίως ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ νενόμισται, ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς μυστηρίοις ὕδωρ τῷ οἴνῳ προσχυνᾶν, *it was neceſſarily determined by the Church, that in the holy Myſteries Wine ſhould be mixed with Water.* That Wine and Water ought thus to be mixed, ſaith (h) *Pope Alexander, We have received from the Fathers, and even reaſon teacheth, becauſe both flowed from our Saviour's Side in his Paſſion.* (k) [1] *Alcuin,* [2] *Rabanus Maurus,* and [3] *Micrologus,* aſſign the ſame reaſon; others following St. *Cyprian* give this myſtical Reaſon of this mixture, That *in* (l) *Scripture Water ſignifies the People, the Wine ſhews the Blood of Chriſt, and therefore, if Wine alone be offered, the Blood of Chriſt will be without the People, if only Water, the People will be without Chriſt:* So *Pope Julius,* the Councils of (m) *Braga* and *Worms*; but, others ſay, this muſt be done *in complyance with our Lord's Inſtitution,* and the *Practice* of the *Church,* that we may do the ſame thing which our Lord did (n) *& a Magiſterio divino non recedamus, and may not recede from his Command.*

(g) Quando autem miſcetur utrumque, tunc ſpirituale Sacrificium perficitur. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 18.

(h) In Can. 32. Concil. Trull.

(i) — Quia utrumq; ex latere ejus in ſua paſſione profluviſſe legitur. *Apud Ivon. decret. Part.* 2. *c.* 15.

(k) [1] Cap. de celebr. Miſſ. *p.* 88. *c.* 10. [2] *L.* 1. *c.* 19. [3] *C.* 10.

(l) Videmus populum in aqua intelligi, in vino vero oſtendi ſanguinem Chriſti, ergo — ſi vinum tantum quis offerat, ſanguis Chriſti incipit eſſe ſine nobis, ſi vero aqua ſit ſola, plebs incipit eſſe ſine Chriſto. *Julius Concil. Tom.* 2. *p.* 526.

(m) Concil. Brac. Concil. Tom. 6. p. 563.

(n) Amalar. de Eccleſ. Offic. l. 3. c. 24.

§. 5. 2. Others uſed Water without Wine in Celebration of thoſe Myſteries, and that not out of averſation to Wine (which was the cauſe why the *Aquarii,* the *Encratites* and the *Manichæans* did refuſe to drink it in the Sacrament,) for in the Evening-Sacrifice they freely drank it, but to avoid being diſcovered to be *Chriſtians* by ſmelling of it in the Morning. Now againſt theſe perſons St. *Cyprian* argues from the inſtitution of the Sacrament by *Chriſt,* and from his practice in the Oblation and the *diſtribution* of it. (o) *For know,* ſaith he, *that we*

(o) Admonitos autem nos ſcias, ut in calice offerenda dominica traditio ſervetur, neque aliud fiat a nobis, quam quod pro nobis dominus prior fecerit. *Cyp. Ep.* 63. *p.* 48.

are

are admoniſhed to obſerve the Tradition of the Lord, in offering the Cup, and that nothing elſe may be done by us, than that which our Lord did firſt for us. Now *Cyprian* before had ſaid, That *in offering the Cup, and* miniſtering it to the People, *our Lord had uſed Water mixed with Wine.* Again he adds, *if Jeſus Chriſt be the High-Prieſt of God the Father, and firſt offered himſelf a Sacrifice to the Father, and commanded this to be done in commemoration of himſelf*; (p) *ſurely that Prieſt truly officiates in Chriſt's ſtead, who imitates that which Chriſt did, and offers a full and true Sacrifice to God the Father, if ſo he doth begin to offer as he ſaw Chriſt did offer.* —— And again, (q) *To declare the Statutes, and take the Teſtaments of the Lord into our Mouths, and not to do the ſame thing which our Lord did, what other thing is it than to reject his Words, and to contemn the Lord's Diſcipline?* And whereas ſome pleaded a Cuſtom for offering only Water, he ſaith, (r) *We muſt enquire whom the Authors of this Cuſtom followed, for if in the Sacrifice which Chriſt offered, Chriſt alone is to be followed, ſurely that we ought to obey, and do which Chriſt did and commanded to be done; for we muſt not follow the* Cuſtom of Man, *but the Truth of God.* Laſtly, *Becauſe we make mention of his Paſſion in all our Sacrifices, we ought to do nothing but what he did, for the Scripture ſaith, As often as you eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, you ſhew the Lord's Death till he come*; (s) *wherefore as oft as we offer up the Cup in commemoration of our Lord, and of his Paſſion, we ought to do that which it is manifeſt he did.* Now here let it be noted.

(p) Utique ille Sacerdos vice Chriſti vere fungitur, qui id quod Chriſtus fecit imitatur. — *p.* 155.

(q) Exponere enim juſtificationes & Teſtamentum Domini, & non hoc idem facere quod fecerit Dominus, quid aliud eſt quam ſermones ejus abjicere, & diſciplinam Dominicam contemnere. *p.* 157.

(r) — Si in Sacrificio quod Chriſtus obtulerit, non niſi Chriſtus ſequendus eſt, utique id nos obaudire, & facere oportet quod Chriſtus fecit, & quod faciendum eſſe mandavit! — Neque enim hominis conſuetudinem ſequi oportet, ſed Dei veritatem. *p.* 154, 155.

(s) — Quotieſcunque ergo calicem in commemorationem paſſionis ejus offerimus, id quod conſtat Dominum feciſſe faciamus. *p.* 156.

That from the Third to the Twelfth *Century*, this Diſcourſe of *Cyprian* is cited, and approved by all the *Doctors* of the *Weſtern Church*, by *Pope Julius*, by the Councils of *Braga* and *Worms*, by *Iſidore*, by *Alcuin*, *Rabanus Maurus*, *Walafridus Strabo*, by *Micrologus*, *Amalarius*, by *Ivo* and *Gratian*; and particularly that *Amalarius* having cited theſe Words, ("We find that it is not obſerved by us which is commanded, "unleſs we do the ſame things which Chriſt did, and mixing "the Cup after the ſame manner recede not from the divine "Inſtitution.) Ubi ſupra.

(t) Quamvis hoc ille de comixtione vini & aquæ concluſiſſet, tamen de tota Inſtitutione Dominica intelligere poſſumus adimplendum, in quo ſuum mandatum eſt, & Apoſtolorum obſervatio. *De Eccleſiaſt. Offic. l.* 3. *c.* 24.

"Inſtitution.) He adds, That (t) *though* Cyprian *concluded this only of the mixture of Wine and Water, yet may we underſtand it as a thing to be fulfilled in the whole Inſtitution of the Lord, in which is his command, and the Apoſtles obſervation of it.*

§. 6. Now ſurely they who thought themſelves obliged to mix Water with their Wine, becauſe it was *according to our Saviour's Inſtitution*, and *doing of this Action as our Lord delivered it*, and was *according to the Canons and Practice of the Church*, muſt alſo think themſelves obliged for the very ſame reaſons to Miniſter the Cup unto the People preſent at their Sacraments, and ſay unto them as our Saviour did, *Drink ye all of this.*

They who believed they were by no means *to recede from our Lord's Inſtitution in this matter*, could never think it fit to recede from it in the delivery of the Cup.

They who decreed *the Depoſition* of thoſe *Biſhops* or *Prieſts*, who did neglect this mixture, as *imperfectly ſhewing forth this Myſtery*, would more aſſuredly have for that reaſon, depoſed thoſe who robbed the People of the Cup; for ſince, according
1 Cor. xi. 26. to St. *Paul*, we *ſhew forth the Lord's Death, by eating of this Bread, and drinking of this Cup*: It clearly follows, that if he who gives Wine without Water does but imperfectly ſhew forth the Myſtery to them who do receive it, he that neither gives conſecrated Wine nor Water, muſt do it more imperfectly.

They who declared againſt the offering of Water only as a thing unlawful, *becauſe all Chriſtians were obliged to obſerve the Tradition of the Lord, offering the Cup, and miniſtring it to the People*; and to *imitate what Chriſt did*, unleſs they would be thought *contemners of Chriſt's diſcipline*, muſt alſo think themſelves obliged to obſerve the ſame *Tradition* and *Example*, in miniſtring the Cup, and Cenſure in like manner thoſe who do it not.

They who teach, that *not the Cuſtom of Man, but the Truth of God* was to be followed, could never have approved of the plea from Cuſtom, uſed by the *Church* of *Rome*, for defalcation of the Cup.

And

And laſtly, they who looked upon the Inſtitution as *a Command*, and all theſe ſayings of St. *Cyprian*, as Rules to be fulfilled, and followed in the whole inſtitution of our *Lord*, muſt alſo think it a *Command* to miniſter the Cup unto the People; and that thoſe Rules of *Cyprian* did bind them ſo to do. I therefore ſhall conclude this Chapter with that ſaying of *Algerus* *, in the caſe of unleavened Bread. *Who dares except what Chriſt excepted not, or forbid what he in his Sacraments did not forbid, but doing it himſelf*, commanded us to do the ſame thing, *when he ſaith, do this, we are conveniently to underſtand this which I do, but who dares alſo to underſtand this, but do it not of that which I do it? Moreover, if Unleavened Bread be to be changed for Leavened, let the Wine alſo be changed for any other liquor; for as our Lord Chriſt finiſhed the Old Paſſover, and began the New with Unleavened Bread, ſo did he alſo do it with Wine, and* delivered both to us to be equally celebrated in this Sacrament.

* Quis audet excipere, quod ipſe non excepit, aut quis audit prohibere quod ipſe in Sacramento ſuo non prohibuit; ſed ipſe faciens, nos hoc ipſum facere præcepit, cum dicit, Hoc facite, convenienter ſubaudiatur, quod Ego; quis æque competenter ſubaudire audeat, ſed non de hoc unde ego, item ſi mutandum eſt fermentato azymum, mutetur etiam quolibet alio liquore vinum, ſi enim vinum recipitur, cur azymum refutetur, cum ſicut ex azymo, ſic ex vino Chriſtus vetus paſcha finierit, & novum inchoaverit, & utrumque nobis in *Sacramento ſuo* æque celebrandum tradiderit? *Algerus de Sacram. Euch. lib. 2. c. 10. fol. 84. b. 85. a.*

CHAP. III.

The Contents.

In oppoſition to the Decree of the Trent *Council, aſſerting that they who receive in one kind only are not deprived of any Grace neceſſary to Salvation: The Fathers declare,* 1. *That it is neceſſary to partake of the Cup, in order to our Union to Chriſt,* §. 1. *For the Remiſſion of Sins,* §. 2. *For the obtainment of Eternal Life,* §. 3. *An inference from this laſt Particular, to ſhew the falſhood of one Anathema pronounced by the* Trent *Council,* §. 4.

IT is ſure ſome prejudice againſt this *Novel* Doctrine, and Practice of the *Church* of *Rome*, ſome ground to ſcruple and ſuſpect the lawfulneſs of the ſubſtraction of the *Cup*, that it bears ſuch a manifeſt repugnance to our *Lord*'s inſtitution, and

to that Repetition of it which St. *Paul* delivered as a thing carefully to be obſerved; a Tradition to be retained by the *Church* of *Corinth*; and by attendance to which all their miſcarriages, in reference to the Celebration of that Myſtery, were to be corrected: That all the *Fathers* of the *Church* above a Thouſand Years conceived themſelves obliged, by virtue of this Inſtitution, to Miniſter both ſpecies to the People. That they on all occaſions roſe up with ſuch an holy Zeal againſt thoſe perſons who in leſſer matters preſumed to vary from this Inſtitution, condemned all humane Inſtitutions which receded from it, and puniſh'd all Offenders in this kind. But ſuch hath been the Providence of God in reference to this Affair, ſuch the diſcourſes of the *Antients*, with reſpect unto this ſubject, that there is ſcarcely any other Poſition advanced by theſe *Councils* in favour of this Doctrine and Practice of the *Church* of *Rome*, which they do not directly overthrow, or in plain words condemn, almoſt as fully as any *Proteſtant* can do. For,

Seſſ. 21. cap. 3. Seſſ. 13. Can. 3.

Thirdly, Whereas it is defined by the *Trent Council*, that *they are not deprived of any Grace neceſſary to Salvation, who receive one kind only*; and that *it cannot be doubted, without prejudice to the Chriſtian Faith, but that Communion in one kind only is ſufficient to Salvation.* The *Fathers* do, in oppoſition to theſe Aſſertions, plainly and frequently declare, That it is neceſſary to Salvation for *Chriſtians* in the general, to drink Chriſt's Blood in the Sacrament. This will be evident,

1. From theſe Expreſſions, in which the *Fathers* do declare it neceſſary, not only to partake of the Bread, but alſo of the Cup, in order to that *Union* with *Chriſt* which ſure is neceſſary to Salvation; and this they generally gather from thoſe words of Chriſt, *He that eateth my Fleſh, and* drinketh *my Blood dwelleth in me, and I in him. The Doctrine of bleſſed* Paul, ſaith *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem, is ſufficient to aford us full ſatisfaction touching the Holy Myſteries, of which being made partakers, we become of the ſame body and blood with Chriſt; for ſo he ſaith, that our Lord Jeſus, taking Bread, and giving Thanks, he brake, and gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying, Take, eat, this is my Body; and taking the Cup, and giving Thanks, he ſaid, Take, and drink, for this is my Blood; for in the type of Bread, the Body, and in the type of Wine, the Blood is given to thee:* (a) *That partaking of the Body and Blood*

Joh. vi. 56.

(a) Ἵνα γένῃ μεταλαβὼν σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ σύσσωμα καὶ σύναιμος αὐτοῦ. Catech. Myſt. 4. P. 237.

of

of Christ, thou maist be of one Body and Blood with him, for so we are made χειστόφοροι, *bearers of Christ; his Body and Blood being received into our members.* (b) *Those things being taken and drank,* saith *Hilary, produce this effect, that Christ is in us, and we in Christ; and how natural this Unity is, he himself teacheth, saying, He that eats my Flesh and* drinks *my Blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.* *Cyril* of *Alexandria* on these words saith, That (c) *our Lord here shews the great profitableness of this work; for, as if one join Wax to Wax, he will see one part within the other; so, he that receives the Flesh of our Saviour Christ, and* drinks *his Blood, is, as he saith, found one with him. So mixed with and in him, that he is found in Christ, and Christ again in him.* *Oecumenius* upon these words, *The Cup of Blessing, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ?* saith thus, *You know what I say,* (d) *for his Blood knits us to Christ as Members to the Head, by the participation of it. This Meat and Drink,* saith Rabanus Maurus, *signifies the eternal society of the Head and Members: He that* drinketh, *saith he, my Blood, and eateth my Flesh, dwelleth in me,* &c. (e) *wherefore 'tis necessary that we should take the Body and Blood of Christ, that we may dwell in him, and be his Members. Whosoever worthily eateth the Body and the Blood of Christ, shews that he is in God, and God in him.* And *we,* saith (f) Guitmund, *who take the Communion of this Holy Bread and Cup, are made one Body with Christ.* *Theophylact* upon the Tenth to the *Corinthians,* adds, *That which he saith is this, That which is in the Cup is that which flowed from his side, and* (g) *by participation of it we communicate with, that is, we are united to Christ: That Men might not only learn by words,* saith (h) Petrus Cluniacensis, *that they cannot live unless they be joined and united to Christ after the manner of carnal Food and Life, they receive the Body of Christ, and drink the Blood of Christ. We,* saith (i) St. *Bernard, by the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, are joined in an ineffable Unity to Christ, and Christ to us, as he said, He that eateth my Flesh and drinks my Blood, abideth in me, and I in him.*

(b) Hæc accepta & hausta, id efficiunt, ut & nos in Christo, & Christus in nobis sit. *De Trin. l.* 8. *p.* 166.

(c) *In* Joh 6. 56.

(d) Συνάπτει ἡμᾶς τῷ Χριστῷ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ὡς μέλη τῇ κεφαλῇ διὰ τῆς μεταλήψεως. Ed. Gr. *p.* 444.

(e) Necesse habemus sumere corpus & sanguinem ejus, ut in ipso maneamus & ejus corporis membra simus. *De inst. cler. l.* 1. *cap.* 31.

(f) Lib. 2. f. 55. *b.*

(g) Ἐκεῖνα μεταλαμβάνοντες κοινωνοῦμεν, τοῦτέστιν ἑνούμεθα τῷ Χριστῷ. Ad v. 16.

(h) Ed. Erasm. *p.* 217.

(i) Et nos Jesu Christo & Jesus Christus nobis unitate fœderatur inenarrabili, &c. *De cœna Domini, f.* 320. b.

§. 2. 2. This will be further evident from thoſe Expreſſions in which they ſay, That the receiving of the Cup is neceſſary for the *Remiſſion of Sins*, for *without* this *Remiſſion there is no Salvation. When thou receiveſt*, ſaith St. *Ambroſe*, *What ſaith the Apoſtle to thee? As often as we eat this Bread and drink this Cup, we ſhew forth the Lord's Death; if we ſhew forth his Death, we ſhew forth the Remiſſion of Sins; and* (k) *if as often as this Blood is poured forth, it is done for the Remiſſion of Sins*, I ought *always to receive it, that my Sins may always be forgiven, for as oft as thou drinkeſt thou receiveſt Remiſſion of Sins.* Now this Paſſage being cited, and approved by many others in the following Ages, and extant in the (l) *Canon Law*, it will be needleſs to cite more *Authors* to this purpoſe, only let it be noted, that to receive the Blood ſhed for the Remiſſion of our Sins, is to *drink* of it, ſaith St. *Ambroſe*, and well he might, no other way of receiving the Blood, ſhed for the Remiſſion of Sins, being then known, than that of drinking the Sacramental Cup.

(k) Si quotieſcunque effunditur ſanguis in remiſſionem peccatorum funditur, debeo illum ſemper accipere, ut ſemper mihi peccata dimittantur, qui ſemper pecco, ſemper debeo habere medicinam. *De Sacr. l.* 4. *c.* 6. *l.* 5. *cap.* 3.

(l) Diſt. 2. c. 14. Can. de conſecrat.

§. 3. 3. They do expreſly teach, That the Sacramental eating and drinking is ordinarily neceſſary to eternal Life. (m) *Without any doubting or ſhamefaced fear, eat Chriſt's Body, and* drink *his Blood*, ſaith *Nazianzen*, *if thou deſireſt Life. Gregory Nyſſen* condemns *Eunomius* for aſſerting, That *the Myſtical Symbols did not confirm our Piety*; *But we*, ſaith he, *who have learned from the Holy Scriptures, That unleſs a Man be born again of Water*, &c. *and that he who eats my Fleſh, and drinks my Blood ſhall live for ever*: (n) *We believe that our Salvation is corroborated by the Myſtical Rites and Symbols.* (o) *This Blood all Men are exhorted to* drink *who would have Life*, ſaith St. *Auſtin. Charles* the *Great* confuting the vain Imaginations of the Second *Nicene Council*, and comparing the ſacred Blood with *Images*, ſpeaks thus, (p) *Seeing without the participation of this Blood no Man can be ſaved, whereas all Orthodox Perſons may be ſaved without the obſervation of Images, It is manifeſt, that they are by no Man of a ſound Mind, to be compared or equalled to ſo great a Myſtery.* *Alcuin*,

(m) Πίνε τὸ αἷμα εἰ ϛ ζωῆς ἐπιθυμητικῶς ἔχεις. Orat. 42.

(n) Καὶ τῇ τῶν μυϛικῶν ἐδῶν τε καὶ συμβόλων κοινωνίᾳ τὴν σωτηρίαν κεκλήνεσϛ. Tom. 2. contr. Eunom. p. 704.

(o) In Levit. qu. 47.

(p) L. de Imag. 2. c. 27.

Alcuin, the Maſter of *Charles* the *Great* ſaith, *We muſt know that it is not lawful to offer the Cup of the Lord's Blood unmixed with Water; for Wine was in the Myſtery of our Redemption, when Chriſt ſaid, I will not drink henceforth of the fruit of the Vine; and the Water with Blood, flowing from his ſide, ſhewed the Wine preſſed out of the true Vine of his Fleſh with Water;* (q) for theſe are the Sacraments of the Church, without which we cannot enter into Life. (r) *Amalarius* ſaith the ſame. And *our Lord*, ſaith (s) *Rabanus Maurus, having pronounced concerning his Body and Blood, that his Fleſh is Meat indeed, and his Blood Drink indeed; and that he that eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood, hath Eternal Life; he therefore hath not that Life who eateth not that Bread, and drinketh not that Blood; for although Men, who are not in his Body by Faith, may have that Life in this World which is Temporal, they can never have that Eternal Life which is promiſed to the Saints.*

(q) Hæc enim ſunt Sacramenta Eccleſiæ ſine quibus ad vitam non intratur. *De Celeb. Miſſ. p.* 88.

(r) De Officiis Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 26.

(s) De Inſtit. Cler. l. 1. c. 31.

Chriſt, ſaith (t) *Petrus Cluniacenſis, gives his Fleſh and Blood to be eaten and drunken, that as it is diſcerned that without carnal Meat and drink, none can paſs through this temporal Life; ſo it may be believed that without this ſpiritual Meat and Drink, none can obtain eternal Life; for how could he better commend himſelf to the World to be the Life of Men, than by Example of thoſe things in which Man's Life conſiſts? and therefore the Wiſdom of God decreed to give his Fleſh to Men to eat, and his Blood to drink in the ſpecies of thoſe things; when he ſaith, I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life, &c. we learn by hearing, that he is Eternal Life; but when he ſaith, except you eat my Fleſh, &c. we learn by eating, that he is the Eternal Life of Men. That Men therefore might not only learn by Words, but more familiarly by Deeds, that they cannot Live, except they be united to him, they take the Body, they drink the Blood, in the likeneſs of Food, not given by, or taken from any other but Chriſt; to ſhew this, he ſignified that he would give to all Men his Fleſh to eat, and his Blood to drink.*

(t) Fol. 216. b.

And, truly, if any Doctrine can deſerve to be ſuſpected, as new, ſtrange, and incongruous to the Analogy of Faith, it muſt be this, That *the Cup of Life, the Cup of Bleſſing which we bleſs, the Cup of Salvation*, which we take according to our Lord's own Inſtitution, and which we drink of Worthily, is not needful to conferr Life, Salvation, or ſpiritual Bleſſing on the

the worthy Receiver of it. That in all the *Liturgies* of the *Ancient Church*, they ſhould pray conſtantly, that they who worthily Received this Cup, might be *filled thereby with all ſpiritual Benediction, and heavenly Grace*; that in their Diſcourſes on this Subject, they ſhould exhort the People, after they had received the Bread, to drink this Cup for their *Sanctification*, for the *remiſſion of Sins*, for the *obtaining Life*; and tell them it was neceſſary to be drunk of, for all the ends here mentioned, and yet believe it was not needful to conferr Grace, and ſpiritualy Bleſſings on them.

And 4*ly*, This they do generally prove from the Fifth Century, by that known paſſage of our Lord, *Except you eat the Fleſh and drink the Blood of the Son of Man, you have no Life in you.* (*u*) St. *Baſil* is expreſs unto this purpoſe, ſaying, That *the Baptized perſon ought to be nouriſhed with the food of Eternal Life; and that the communication of the Body and Blood of Chriſt is neceſſary to Eternal Life:* And proving both from theſe words, *Verily I ſay unto you, except you eat*, &c. *He that eateth my Fleſh and drinketh my Blood hath Eternal Life.* St. *Chryſoſtom* upon this Text, ſpeaks thus, *Becauſe they had ſaid before, it was impoſſible to eat his Fleſh, and drink his Blood.* (*x*) *He here ſhews, not only that it is not impoſſible, but that it is very neceſſary; and therefore introduceth theſe words, He that eateth my Fleſh*, &c. *He continually ſpeaks of the* Myſteries, *ſhewing the neceſſity of the thing, and that it always ought to be done. Againſt the* Pelagians, ſaith *P. Gelaſius*, (*y*) *our Lord pronounceth that he who eateth not the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drinks his Blood, hath no Life in him; where we ſee none exempt, nor dares any ſay, that an Infant can obtain Eternal Life without this Sacrament --- It is not only ſaid, Except a Man be born again of Water*, &c. *but unleſs, He eat --- and drink*, &c. *and that this is ſpoken of Eternal Life none can doubt; becauſe many who receive not this Sacrament, have this preſent Life.* St. *Auſtin* Aſſerts above Twenty times, the abſolute neceſſity that Infants ſhould partake of Chriſt's Body, and drink his Blood, by reaſon of theſe words (*z*) *Chriſt*, ſaith

(*u*) Tom. 1. p. 580. Tom. 2. p. 431.

(*x*) Δείκνυσιν αὐτὸς ὁ μόνον ἐκ ἀδύνατον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα ἀναγκαῖον--δείκνυς τὸ πρᾶγματος τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸ πάντως γίνεσθαι δεῖ. Tom. 2. p. 748.

(*y*) Dominus Jeſus (contra Pelagianos) cœleſti voce pronunciat, Qui non manducaverit, &c. Ubi utique neminem videmus exemptum, nec auſus eſt aliquis dicere parvulum ſine hoc Sacramento ſalutari ad æternam vitam poſſe produci— *Ep. Univ. Epiſc. per Nicænum. Concil. Tom. 4. p. 1177, 1178.*

(*z*) Omnino & parvulorum ſalvator eſt Chriſtus, omnino niſi ab illo redimantur peribunt, quum ſine carne ejus & ſanguine vitam habere non poſſunt, hoc ſenſit, hoc credidit, hoc didicit, hoc docuit Joannes. *Tom. 7. l. 1. contra Jul. Pelag. ed. Frob. p. 949.*

ſaith

ſaith he, *is altogether the Saviour of Infants, and unleſs they be redeemed by him, they will utterly periſh, ſeeing without his Fleſh and Blood they cannot have Life. This St.* John *thought and believed, learned and taught.* And again, (a) *when Chriſt ſaith, Unleſs you eat his Fleſh and drink his Blood you have no life in you, can I ſay the Child can have Life, who ends his Life without that Sacrament?* And a third time, *He having ſaid, Unleſs you eat,* &c. *and he that eats my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood hath eternal Life:* (b) *How is it that you* (Pelagians) *promiſe the Kingdom of Heaven to Children not born of Water and the Spirit, not fed with the Fleſh of Chriſt, nor having drunk of his Blood which was ſhed for the Remiſſion of their Sins? Behold, he that is not Baptized, and he that is deprived of the* Vital Cup *and Bread, is divided from the Kingdom of Heaven.* And of what Sacrament he conceives our *Saviour* to have ſpoken in theſe words, he more expreſly tells us, ſaying, (c) *Let us hear our Lord ſpeaking, not of the Sacrament of Baptiſm,* N. B. *but of the Sacrament of his Holy Table, to which none comes who is not rightly Baptized, Except you eat —— and drink,* &c. *What do we farther ſeek for? Dares any Body ſay, this Sentence belongeth not to Children, or that they can have Life in themſelves, without the Participation of the Body and the Blood of Chriſt? But he that ſaith this, doth not attend, that if that Sentence comprehends not all, ſo that they cannot have Life without the Body and the Blood of Chriſt, thoſe of Riper Years are not obliged to regard it:* And to refer you to the (d) Margin for the reſt, his Concluſion is this, (e) *If then ſo many divine Teſtimonies accord in ſaying, That neither Salvation nor Life eternal is by any to be hoped for, without Baptiſm, and the Body and the Blood of our Lord, they are in vain promiſed to Children without them.* Now here it is to be admired, that Men of Sence and of Integrity, ſhould ſay, St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks all this *of ſuch a participation of the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt, as may be had in Baptiſm,* when he not only ſpeaks in divers of

(a) An dicente Chriſto, Si non manducaveritis, &c. dicturus fueram parvulum habiturum vitam qui ſine iſto Sacramento finiiſſet hanc vitam. *Ibid. l.* 3. *c.* 1. *p.* 991. d. 992. a.

(b) Quo igitur vitam regni cœlorum promittitis parvulis non renatis ex aqua & ſpiritu Sancto, non cibatis carne neque potatis ſanguine Chriſti? *Where the Marginal Note is,* Euchariſtia parvulis ſub utraque ſpecie. *Tom.* 7. *contr. Pelag. Hypognoſt. c.* 5. *p.* 1405. b. c.

(c) Dominum audiamus non quidem hoc de Sacramento ſancti lavacri dicentem, ſed de Sacramento ſacræ menſæ ſuæ, quo nemo niſi rite baptizatus accedit, Niſi manducaveritis, &c. *Tom.* 7. *l. de peccat. Meritis & Remiſſ. c.* 19. *p.* 666.

(d) Vide Dallæum de Cult. Latin. l. 5. cap. 3.

(e) Si ergo, ut tot, & tanta divina teſtimonia concinant, nec ſalus, nec vita æterna ſine baptiſmo & corpore & ſanguine Domini cuiquam ſperanda eſt, fruſtra ſine his promittitur parvulis. *Lib.* 1. *de peccat. Meritis & Remiſſ. c.* 24. *p.* 670.

theſe

theſe places firſt of the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and after of the Supper of the Lord, but ſometimes of this Sacrament by way of diſtinction from that of Baptiſm, ſometimes of the Sacrament of the *Lord's Table*, and of that eating and drinking of Chriſt's Body and Blood, *quod per corpus geritur, which is done by the Body.* And when this Text from the Fifth to the Twelfth *Century*, was by the *Fathers* ſtill interpreted of the *Lord's Supper*, and Children were admitted to that Sacrament, and to the drinking of the Cup on that account. *Iſidore Pelenſiota* in the ſame Age extolling the *Sacerdotal* Order, ſaith, That *by their means we are regenerated, (f) and made partakers of the divine* Myſteries, *without which no Man can attain the Heavenly rewards, as is apparent from the Heavenly Oracles, now ſaying, That unleſs a Man be born again,* &c. *and anon, Unleſs we eat,* &c. *we have no life in us:* Which Argument he ſeems to have borrowed from St. *Chryſoſtom*, who ſaith, (g) *If none can enter into the Kingdom of Heaven who is not born again of Water,* &c. *If he that doth not eat the Fleſh of the Lord, and drink his Blood, is deprived of Eternal Life, and all theſe things are not otherwiſe communicated, but by the Hands of the Prieſt, who can, without theſe Men avoid the Fire of Hell, or enjoy the Crowns laid up in Heaven?* *Amphilochius* ſaith, (h) *It is impoſſible that any one ſhould be ſaved, unleſs he be regenerated by Baptiſm, and made partaker of the Life-giving Antitypes of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.* (i) *Iſidore Hiſpalenſis* cites, and approves that paſſage of (k) St. *Cyprian*, in his Treatiſe on the *Lord's Prayer, It is to be feared, leaſt any one, being long ſeparated from the Body of Chriſt, ſhould be far from Salvation; Chriſt having ſaid, Unleſs you eat,* &c. *Hincmarus Remenſis* ſaith, That Chriſt ſpoke thoſe words *of his Body and Blood inviting his Servants to his Table*, that (l) *this, and Baptiſm are the Sacraments of the* Church, *without which we cannot enter into true Life.* (m) *Rabanus* ſpeaks thus, *The Truth*

(f) Τῶν θείων μετέχομεν μυςηείων ὧν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνων μεθέξεως ἐκ οἷόν τε γεφῶν. l. 2. Ep. 52.

(g) Hom. 3. de Sacerd. tom. 6. p. 16. l. 38.

(h) Εἰ μὴ μεθέξει τῆς ζωοποιῶν ἀντιτύπων τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριςοῦ. In Vit. Baſil. c. 17. p. 221.

(i) De Eccleſiaſt. Officiis, l. 1. de Sacrificio, c. 18.

(k) Timendum eſt ne dum qui abſtentus ſeperatur a Chriſti corpore procul remaneat a ſalute, comminante ipſo vel dicente, Niſi ederitis carnem filii hominis & biberitis ſanguinem ejus, non habebitis vitam in vobis. *Cypr. de Orat. Dom. p.* 147. *Et Raban. Maur. de inſtitut. Cler. l.* 1. *c.* 31. (l) Locutus eſt nobis de corpore & ſanguine ſuo, commendans talem eſcam, & talem potum, Niſi manducaveritis, &c. hæc ſunt Sacramenta Eccleſiæ ſine quibus ad vitam quæ vera vita eſt non intratur. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 92. (m) Habet vitam æternam; hanc ergo non habet qui iſtum panem non manducat, nec iſtum ſanguinem bibit, nam temporalem vitam ſine illo habere homines poſſunt, æternam vero omnino non poſſunt. *Auguſt. Tract.* 26. *in Joh. p.* 229. Sinc iſto cibo & potu. *Raban. M. de inſtit. Cler. l.* 1. 31.

ſaith,

saith, My Flesh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed. —— *Men may have temporal Life without this Meat and Drink,* eternal they can never have. Which Words he borrowed from St. *Austin*'s Comment on the Sixth of *John*. *Regino* cites this passage from the *Capitulars* of *Charles* the *Great*, That (*n*) *great discretion is to be used as to the Receiving of the Body and Blood of Christ, for care is to be taken, least being deferred too long, it tend to the Destruction of the Soul, our Lord having said, Unless you eat,* &c. (*o*) *Humbert* in his Disputation against the *Greeks*, saith, That *Christ testified with an Oath, that without this refection, that Life which is Christ cannot be had, saying, Verily I say unto you, except,* &c. *The Flesh is taken by it self*, saith Lanfranck, *and the Blood by it self, not without a certain Mystery, though in another Sence whole Christ is said to be eaten, viz.* By spiritual desire of eternal Life, and Meditation of his Passion; (*p*) *both these Comestions* are necessary —— *for hence it is read in the Gospel, that unless we eat, &c.* (*q*) *Rupertus Tuitiensis* saith, That *least any Man should think he hath recovered by Faith alone, the Life of his Body and Soul, without the visible meat and drink of the Body and Blood of Christ, and consequently needs not the Sacrament, Christ repeats the same thing again touching the eating his Flesh and drinking his Blood; by this undoubtedly testifying that he doth not truly believe, whosoever despiseth to eat and to drink; for although thou be a Faithful Man, and profess thy self to be a Catholick, if thou refusest to eat of this visible Meat and Drink, even by this, that thou presumest that this Meat and Drink is not necessary to thee, thou cuttest thy self off from the Society of the Members of Christ, which is the Church.*

(*n*) De Eccl. discipl. l. 1. can. 195.

(*o*) Quasi quodam jurejurando protestatur dicens, Amen, Amen, &c. *Apud Baron. Tom.* 11. *p.* 1007.

(*p*) Utraque comestio necessaria, utraque fructuosa, altera indiget alterius, ut boni aliquid operetur — hinc in Evangelio legitur nisi manducaveritis, &c. *De Sacr. Euch. p.* 126, 127.

(*q*) Comment. in 6. Joh.

§. 4. Now if that sence which the constant interpretation of the *Fathers* hath put upon these words, from the Fifth to the Twelfth *Century* be owned by *Romanists*, the consequence is unavoidable, that it is necessary to Salvation to receive the Sacrament under both kinds, for they who do receive the Body only, may be said well to eat the Flesh of Christ, because they take something by way of Meat, but they cannot be said to *drink his Blood*, as here our *Lord* requireth them to do, since they take nothing by way of drink. The privation of Life is here connected with the neglect of Drinking, as much as with the

neglect of Eating; since therefore eating and drinking are distinct Actions, he cannot properly be said to drink, who only eats, and therefore must neglect what, by the *Fathers* descants on these Words, is necessary to life eternal. Moreover, since on this sole account they constantly did minister the Cup to little Children, as *Roman Catholicks* confess, they ministred both the Bread and Cup to Children capable of receiving both, as the *Church History* attests; it follows that they held it necessary to Salvation in conformity to these Sayings of our *Lord* recorded by St. *John*, that both should be received by all *Christians* capable of taking both Species. And therefore in condemning this Doctrine, and that with an *Anathema*, the *Fathers* of the *Trent Council* must have virtually *Anathematized* the whole *Church* of *Christ* for Nine whole *Centuries*, and by renouncing of this Interpretation so generally received, the *Doctors* of the *Roman Church* must at least seem to us to violate that Oath, which they have taken, never to interpret or own any sence of Scripture, *Nisi juxta unanimem consensum Patrum, but according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.*

Sess. 21. can. 4.

Juramentum professionis fidei a Pio 4. editum.

CHAP. IV.

The Contents.

In opposition to that Determination of the Trent *Council, That a true or an intire Sacrament is taken under either Species. The Fathers and the School-Men do expresly say the contrary*, viz. Epiphanius, §. 1. *The Council held in* Trullo, P. Julius, P. Gelasius, *the Council of* Braga, §. 2. Paschasius Corbeiensis, Algerus *and St.* Bernard, §. 3. Alexander Halensis, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Albertus Magnus, Durantus, Petrus de Palude, Gulielmus de monte Laudano, Lyra, Carthusianus, Andreas Frisius, §. 4. *The Inferences from these Sayings*, §. 5.

Sess. 21. cap. 3. l. 4. de Sacr. Euch. c. 22. s. utraque.

WHereas the *Trent Council* asserts, That *a true Sacrament is taken under either Species*, that is, as *Bellarmine* Interprets it, *An intire Sacrament*; nothing is more repugnant to the plain Judgment of Antiquity than these Assertions. And though

though the silence of all Antiquity in this matter is a full demonstration that they held no such Doctrine, seeing no reason can be given why they, had they embraced this Doctrine, which is frequently inculcated by all the *Roman Doctors*, who write upon this Subject, should never say with the like plainness, as they so often do, That *an entire Sacrament is given under one Species only*, or any thing to that effect; or give themselves the trouble to Answer that Enquiry which so disturbs the *Roman Doctors*, and which they see themselves so much concerned to Answer; *viz. Why then did our dear Lord himself distribute and institute this Sacrament to be received under both kinds?* I say, though this be a sufficient prejudice against that Assertion of the *Council* of *Trent*; and though it will more fully be confuted by an impartial Reflection on what we have Discoursed, of the constant Declaration of the *Church*, that to give the consecrated Bread dipp'd in the Cup was not to give a compleat Sacrament, with many things of the like nature; yet shall I wave all these Advantages at present, and shew from the plain Sayings, both of the *Ancients*, the Writers of the *middle*, and chiefly of the *latter Ages*, or the Doctrine of the *Schools*, that they conceived the Reception of both Species by persons capable, was requisite to the integrity of this Sacrament.

§. 1. *Epiphanius* speaking of the *Encratites*, saith, That *in this Mystery they use only Water, and wholly do abstain from Wine*; the censure which he passeth on them for so doing, is this, That *having the Form, they deny the Power of Godliness*; (a) *for whosoever*, saith he, *doth omit one part of a work, by the omission of that one part, doth really omit the whole.* The Inference he maketh from that Rule is this, That *the Mysteries they celebrate by Water only, are really no Mysteries, but only false Mysteries in imitation of the true, in which they are convinced by the Right words of our Saviour, saying, I will not henceforth drink of the Fruit of the Vine.*

(a) Ὁποίῳ γὰρ ἂν τις ἔργῳ καταλείψῃ μέρος, τὸ πᾶν πλήρωμα ἀφῆκε διὰ τὸ ἑνὸς μέρους τοῦ καταλελειμένου, ὅθεν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς μυστήρια δι' ὕδατος μόνον γίνεσθαι, καὶ ὅτε μυστήρια ὄντα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἀληθινῶν τὰ ψευδῆ γινόμενα, ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐλεγχθήσονται ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθέως τοῦ σωτῆρος λόγου τοῦ λέγοντος, Οὐ μὴ πιὼ, &c. Hær. 47. §. 3. Pag. 401.

§. 2. The *General Council* held in *Trullo* being informed that the *Armenians* did celebrate the Mysteries in pure Wine not mixed

(b) Can. 32. with Water, declares that they did (b) ἀτελῶς τὸ μυϛήριον καταγγελεῖν, *imperfectly ſhew forth the Myſtery.* Now let it be obſerved from St. *Paul*, that it is not by offering only, but by partaking of this Bread, and drinking of this Cup, that we do καταγγελεῖν, *ſhew forth the Lord's Death*, and then it clearly follows, that if he who diſtributes *Wine without Water*, imperfectly ſhews forth the Myſtery, he that gives neither Wine nor Water muſt do it more imperfectly. When ſome in the *Dioceſs* of *Squillaci* out of ſome unknown Superſtition, would have taken the Bread without the Cup, (c) *Gelaſius* decrees, that they ſhould either take the entire Sacrament, or be entirely driven from it; he therefore evidently determined, that taking of one Species only was not taking an *entire Sacrament.* In the Fourth Century, (d) *Pope Julius*, in the Seventh *Council* of *Braga*, in the Eleventh *Micrologus*, in the Twelfth *Peter Lombard*, do with one voice deny that the Bread dipp'd in the conſecrated Wine can be adminiſtred, *pro complemento Communionis, for an entire or compleat Communion*, and therefore much leſs could they think that the Communion was entire when miniſtred only in dry Bread.

(c) Apud Ivon. decret. part 2. c. 89.

(d) See cap. 2. §. 2.

§. 3. The great Sticklers for *Tranſubſtantiation* averr the ſame thing. (e) De Corp. & Sang. Dom. c. 11. *Paſchaſius Corbeienſis* ſaith, That (e) *therefore we are fed with, and made to drink of theſe two only in the way, that our whole Man, which conſiſts of two Subſtances*, integrè reparetur, *may be entirely repaired*, both therefore were, in his judgment, needful to an entire reparation of the whole Man. *Algerus* in Anſwer to this Queſtion, *Why the Body and Blood of Chriſt is conſecrated rather in Bread, Wine and Water, than in any other kinds of Bodies?* ſaith, That *becauſe we ſo live by Bread and drink, that we can want neither of them, (f) our Lord would have both be in his Sacrament, leaſt if either of them ſhould be wanting, as by this imperfect ſign of Life, he ſhould ſeem to be repreſented not as full, but as imperfect Life.* And a little after he ſaith, *This is done* propter commodiorem aptitudinem Sacramentalis perfectionis, *for the more commodious repreſentation of the Sacramental perfection. The Species of Bread and Wine is propounded*, ſaith (g) St. *Bernard*, *that it might be taught, that there is a full and perfect refection in taking the Body and the Blood of Chriſt; a full refection of Meat and Drink, the principal Subſtances of Meat and Drink being Bread and Wine.*

(f) Utrumq; in *Sacramento* ſuo eſſe voluit. De Sacr. Euch. l. 2. c. 5.

(g) De cœna Domini f. 321. b.

But

But above all the *School-Men* do declare against this Doctrine of the *Trent Council.* §. 4. (*h*) *Alexander* of *Hales* saith, That *whole Christ is not under either Species Sacramentally, but the Flesh only under the Species of Bread, the Blood under the Species of Wine only; for to the perfection of the Sacrament is required a representation according to the Institution, but in one kind the matter of the Sacrament is not entirely and perfectly; I say there is not a perfect Sacrament, as to the Sacramental Perfection of it.* (*i*) *Aquinas* saith, That *though Christ is contained under both Species, yet is it convenient to the use of this Sacrament, that the Body of Christ should be delivered apart for Food to the Faithful, and his Blood for Drink*; *both*, saith he, *is of the perfection of this Sacrament, for the perfection of refection, for the representation of Christs Passion, and for the effecting of the Salvation both of Soul and Body.* 1. For its perfection; *for it being a Spiritual Refection, it ought to have spiritual Meat and spiritual Drink*; *for corporal Refection is not perfected without both these*: And as he elsewhere saith, *because spiritual effects are done under the likeness of visible, it was fit that this spiritual nourishment should be delivered to us under the Species of those things which Men do ordinarily use for corporal nourishment*; *and therefore this Sacrament is delivered to us under the Species of Bread and Wine.* 2. For the signification of it; *for it is a memorial of the Lord's Passion, whereby his Blood was separated from his Body*; *and therefore in this Sacrament the Blood is offered by it self.* And elsewhere, *Because the Completion of our Salvation was made by the Passion and Death of Christ, by which his Blood was separated from his Flesh*; separatim nobis traditur Sacramentum corporis ejus sub specie panis, & sanguis sub specie vini; *the Sacrament of his Body is delivered* N. B. *to us apart under the Species of Bread, and the Blood under the Species of Wine, that so in this Sacrament might be the memory and representation of our Lord's Passion.* 3. For the healthful Effect of it; *for the Body is offered to shew that it is of force to save the Body, and the Blood is offered to shew that it is of force to save the Soul*; *for the Soul is in the Blood.* (*k*) *Bonaventure* saith, That, *as to the signification, both Species are of the integrity of this Sacrament, because the matter of the Sacrament is expressed in neither of them by it self, but in both together, which appears thus*; *Here Christ is signified as Meat, perfectly refreshing them that eat him*

(*h*) In iv. sent. q. 40. membr. 3. Art 2. & q. 53. membr. 1.

(*i*) Sum. part. 3. q. 76. Art. 2. Adv. Gent. l. 4. c. 61. & in 1. Cor. c. 11.

(*k*) In 4. Sent. dist. 8. q. 2. & dist. 11. q. 2.

him Sacramentally and Spiritually; but a perfect Refection is not in Bread alone or Wine alone, but in both; he therefore is ſignified as perfectly refreſhing not in one Species only but in both. And again, *This Sacrament, though it contains two Signs, and two Words, yet becauſe a perfect Sign ordained for one thing,* ſc. *the Union of the Body Myſtical, reſults from them, therefore the Sacrament is one; and the reaſon of this Integrity and Ordination comes from Nature, for neither is Bread nor Wine apart fully Refectory, but both, and one full Refection in nature comes from both, and ſo they are diſpoſed to ſignifie one Refection; but this is compleated by the Divine Inſtitution, which by one Inſtitution hath appointed theſe two Signs to ſignifie one perfect Refection, and ſo it is one Sacrament on the account of nature and of Divine Inſtitution.*

(*l*) In 4. Sent. diſt. 8. Art. 13.

(*l*) *Albertus Magnus* lays down this general Rule, *The Sacrament of the Church cauſeth nothing in Grace which it doth not ſignifie in Similitude,* and that *the Sacraments of the New Law are the cauſe of nothing of which they bear not a ſenſible Image;* and thence infers, That *the Union of the Myſtical Body is not perfectly cauſed, and ſignified but by a double Sign; and therefore by virtue of the Sacrament we ought to have both.* And in his Comment upon the Sixth of *John*, he ſaith, That *as in the Fleſh is received what is vivifying, and reſtorative of the ſpiritual and divine Life loſt in us, ſo by the Blood is received the Aſperſion, and cleanſing of our inward parts.* And making the enquiry, *why, to that manducation Spiritual Drink was neceſſary to be added,* he anſwers, it is ſo, *becauſe Meat cannot be without Drink.* In his Comment

(*m*) c. 22. f. 321.

on (*m*) St. *Luke*; *Some,* ſaith he, *more curious than devout, enquire to what end was the Sacrament of the Blood inſtituted after the Sacrament of the Body, ſince the Body of Chriſt is not without the Blood, nor the Blood without the Body? But to this we ſay, that though theſe are as to their nature undivided, yet have they different Effects; for one by Chriſt is ordained to incorporate, the Blood for the waſhing away of Sins: whence it is ſaid, That without ſhedding of Blood there is no Remiſſion: And that which they ſay that the Body is not without the Blood is true; but yet by virtue of the Sacrament, the Sacramental Body is not in the Blood, nor the Sacramental Blood in the Body: That therefore we might have a Supper Sacramentally perfect, it was neceſſary that it ſhould be inſtituted, that the Body and Blood ſhould be Sacramentally had; this therefore is the cauſe and manner of the Inſtitution; ſo our King*

and

and Prieſt ſaves us out of the Flour and out of the Wine-Preſs.

(*n*) *Durantus* ſaith, That *the Church inſtituted the Sacrament to be taken after the conſecration of both Species, to ſhew, that he who receives the Hoaſt only, receives not the whole Sacrament Sacramentally: For although the Blood be in the conſecrated Hoaſt, yet is it not Sacramentally there, becauſe the Bread ſignifies the Body not the Blood, the Wine ſignifies the Blood, not the Body; wherefore becauſe the Sacrament under one kind is not compleat according to the Sign, the Sacrament ought to be compleat before the Prieſt uſe it.* (*n*) Rat. l. 4. c. 54. f. 126.

And again, (*o*) *Although, under the Form of Bread, the Blood may be taken with the Body, and under the Form of Wine, the Body may be taken with the Blood; yet, according to* Innocent *the Third, neither the Blood under the Form of Bread, nor the Body under the Form of Wine is drunk and eaten, becauſe as neither Blood is eaten nor the Body drunk, ſo neither under the Form of Bread is drunk, or eaten under the Form of Wine.* (*o*) Ibid. c. 42. f. 106.

Caſſander informs us of (*p*) *Petrus de Palude*, that he aſſerted, That *the matter of the Sacrament ought to be double*, viz. *the matter of Bread and Drink; becauſe the effect of the Sacrament ought to be perfectly repreſented by the matter, in a way agreeable to natural things, becauſe the Sacraments effect what they do figure, but the effect of the Sacrament is full Refection of the Soul, and therefore the matter repreſenting this, ought to do it by perfect Refection of the Body, which only is by Meat and Drink.* (*q*) *Guilielmus de monte Laudano*, as he there cites him, adds, That *he who receives the Body, receives the whole Truth, but not the whole Sacrament; and therefore in many places they Communicate with Bread and Wine, that is, with a* whole Sacrament. The (*r*) Dean of *Lovain*, as he cites him, ſaith, That *with reſpect to the Sacrament, and the perfection of it, it is more convenient that the Communion ſhould be made under both kinds, for this is more conſonant to the Inſtitution and integrity of it, to corporal Refection, to the Example of Chriſt, and the Primitive Church.* And again, *He freely confeſſeth that the Laity communicating under one kind only, receive not a full Sacrament, which conſiſts of two Parts. This Sacrament*, ſaith (*s*) *Lyra, is given under the double Species of Bread and Wine, that thereby ſpiritual Refection may perfectly be ſhewed forth, and becauſe it is a memorial of Chriſt's Paſſion, in which the Blood was ſeparated from the Body.* And again, Utrumque eſt de perfectione hujus Sacramenti, *both Species are of the perfection of this Sacrament; 1ſt. becauſe by both is expreſſed*

(*p*) De com. ſub utraq; ſpecie, p. 1034.

(*q*) Lyturg. p. 77.

(*r*) De commu. ſub utraque ſpecie, *ibid.*

(*s*) In 1 ad Cor. c. xi.

ſed perfectly the Paſſion of Chriſt ſemblably, of which this Sacrament is the memorial. 2dly. *Becauſe both ſignifie nouriſhment perfectly.* (t) In 1 ad Cor. c. xi. *Though the Body and Blood of Chriſt,* ſaith, (t) *Carthuſian, are called Sacraments in the plural, yet ſpeaking formally of their perfect and integral Unity, they are but one Sacrament; for they are ordained to one end and compleat act,* viz. *to the ſpiritual Refection of the Soul, in which ſpiritual Meat and ſpiritual Drink is required.*

(u) L. 4. de emend. Chriſtianæ Reipub. cap. 19. *The eating,* ſaith (u) *Andreas Friſius, is named ſeparately and the drinking ſeparately by his Wiſdom, to which all humane Wiſdom concerning the inſeparability of living Blood from living Fleſh ought to give place; for here we are are not to diſpute from humane reaſon, but to have reſpect to the will of Chriſt, which inſtituted,* convivium non mancum, *not a maimed Banquet, but added drink to the meat.* If any of theſe *Doctors* do elſewhere contradict their own Aſſertions, for that I am not much concerned, it being natural, and almoſt unavoidable, for Men who maintain things contradictory to common reaſon, to ſay one thing when they diſcourſe according to the innate Notions of common reaſon, and another thing when they ſerve the *Hypotheſis* to which they are enſlaved; it ſufficeth me to make theſe plain Inferences from what they have diſcourſed.

§. 5. 1. If both Species are to be delivered to repreſent *Chriſt,* not as *imperfect* but as *perfect Life,* to teach us that there is a *perfect* and *full Refection in this Sacrament,* to ſhew that *Chriſt redeemed the whole Man,* and that *there may be in this Sacrament a repreſentation according to the Inſtitution,* then we who do thus repreſent, thus teach, thus act, according to the Inſtitution muſt be blameleſs, if the Inſtitution hath appointed both theſe Species *to ſignifie one perfect Refection,* they act not ſuitably to their appointment who uſe but one. If *the Bread ſignifies the Body, not the Blood; the Wine the Blood, and not the Body;* and if the Sacrament under one kind be *not compleat according to the Sign,* then, ſeeing every Sacrament is *Sacræ rei ſignum,* a *ſign of ſomething ſacred,* this Sacrament can never be compleat, when it is adminiſtered only in one of the appointed ſigns, becauſe a ſacred thing appointed to be ſignified muſt then be wanting: *If whole Chriſt be not under either Species Sacramentally, if the Sacramental Body be not in the Blood, nor the Sacramental Blood in the Body;* if *he who receives the Body only, receive not the whole Sacrament*

crament Sacramentally, then they who administer the Body only, do not administer the whole Sacrament Sacramentally, nor, as is requisite to the Sacramental Perfection of the Ordinance. If both Species were given *for an entire reparation of the whole Man, to be Food to the Faithful, and to avail to the Safety and Salvation both of Soul and Body*; then must they deprive the Laity of their Food, and their entire reparation, and hinder the Safety and Salvation of their Souls and Bodies, who deprive them of one Species: If the Species of Wine is to be received *for the remembrance of that Redemption which was made by the Effusion of blood, for the memory and representation of Christ's Passion, that by it we may receive the Asperſion and cleansing of our inward Parts*; then must they hinder the shewing forth of our *Lord*'s Death, and the purification of the Laity, who rob them of the Cup: If by virtue of the Sacrament *we ought to have both Species, to have spiritual Meat and spiritual Drink*, if the matter of the Sacrament *ought to be double*, and it is necessary to a *Supper Sacramentally perfect, that the Body and Blood should both Sacramentally be had*; then they who do not permit the People to have both, do not what they ought. And Lastly, If this be *more consonant to the institution, to the integrity of the Sacrament, to the Example of Christ, and of the Primitive Church*; sure they must act more consonantly to the Institution, and the Example of their *Lord*, the Practice of the *Primitive Church*, and the Integrity of the Sacrament, who give both Species, than they who do deprive the *Laity* of one, though, at the same time, they do act less consonantly to the *Decrees* and *Constitutions* of the *Church* of *Rome*.

CHAP. V.

The Contents.

In oppoſition to the Council of Conſtance, *condemning them as Hereticks who pertinaciouſly aſſert, That it is Sacrilegious to obſerve the Law of Communion in one kind; this Practice is declared to be Sacrilegious by* P. Leo, §. 1. *by* P. Gelaſius, §. 2. *The Evaſions of the* Roman *Catholicks fully refuted.* Ibid. *This is farther proved from the Sayings of the Fathers, compared with the Deſcriptions which the School-Men give of Sacrilege,* §. 3. *And from the School-Men,* §. 4.

Seſſ. 13. WHereas the *Council* of *Conſtance*, approved by the *Church* of *Rome*, declares *it Erroneous to aſſert, That it is Sacrilegious to obſerve the Law or Cuſtom of Communicating the Prieſts that do not conſecrate, and the Laity, in one kind only*, and commands that they *who pertinaciouſly ſo aſſert, ſhall be driven away from the Communion of Chriſtians, as Hereticks, and be grievouſly puniſhed by the Dioceſans of the place, or their Officials, or the Inquiſitors of Heretical pravity*; this mutilation of the Sacrament, hath by the *Doctors* of the *Ancient Church* been adjudged *Sacrilege*, and they who only did receive the Bread, but did not partake of the Cup, have been pronounced *Sacrilegious*, and as ſuch, are commanded to be expelled from the *Society* of *Chriſtians*.

§. 1. Thus *Leo*, ſpeaking of the *Manichees*, ſaith, (*a*) *They avoid the Sacrament of humane Salvation, and believe not that our Lord Chriſt was truly born, truly ſuffered, was buried, and raiſed again in true Fleſh of our Nature; and when, to conceal their Infidelity, they dare to be preſent at our Myſteries, they ſo behave themſelves in the Communion of the Sacrament, that ſometimes, leaſt they ſhould not poſſibly lie hid, they take Chriſt's Body with their unworthy Mouths, but they wholly decline drinking the Blood of our Redemption,*

(*a*) Cumque ad tegendam infidelitatem ſuam noſtris audent intereſſe Myſteriis, ita in Sacramentorum Communione ſe temperant, ut interdum, quo tutius lateant, ore indigno Chriſti Corpus accipiunt, ſanguinem autem redemptionis noſtræ haurire omnino declinant, quod ideo veſtram volumus ſcire ſanctitatem, ut vobis hujuſmodi homines & his maniſeſtentur indiciis, & quorum deprehenſa fuerit ſacrilega ſimulatio, notati, & proditi, a ſanctorum ſocietate ſacerdotali authoritate pelantur. *Serm. 4. in quadrag. c. 5. Ed. Queſnel. p* 217.

demption,

demption, which therefore we make known to your Holineſs, that ſuch Men may be known to you by theſe Tokens, and that, by the Sacerdotal Authority, they may be expelled from the Communion of Saints, whoſe Sacrilegious Simulation *is thus found out; for bleſſed* Paul *hath well admoniſhed the Church of God of ſuch Men, ſaying, We beſeech you Brethren, that you mark them who cauſe Diviſions and Offences contrary to the Doctrine which you have received, and avoid them.*

Where evident it is that the Practice of the *Manichees* in Receiving of the Body of the Lord in the *Chriſtian Myſteries*, that ſo they might diſſemble their Infidelity, is called *Simulation*, and their declining to *drink the Blood of our Redemption*, is that which made this *Simulation* to be *Sacrilegious*. 2*dly*. Here it is alſo evident, that in *St. Leo*'s days, to eat the Body of our Lord, or to receive it, and to drink his Blood, were look'd upon as two diſtinct things, one of which might be done without the other, the Body being taken when the *Blood of our Redemption was not*, which wholly overthrows the Doctrine of *Concomitance*, on which this *Sacrilege* is founded. 3*ly*. Obſerve that *Leo* would have ſuch perſons expelled from the Communion of Saints for this *Sacrilegious Simulation*. That 4*ly*. He makes the declining of the Cup at any time, a mark ſufficient to diſcern theſe *Sacrilegious* Perſons, and a cauſe ſufficient for their Excluſion from the Communion of *Saints*; whereas had others at any time been permitted in the *Church*-Aſſemblies to Communicate in Bread alone, for any other Reaſon, this mark had been no certain indication of a *Manichee* to *Prieſt* or People, ſince being caught, they might pretend that they had formerly received the *Cup*, but now abſtained for ſome ſpecial cauſe approved by the *Church*. The *Faithful* therefore muſt have then generally Communicated at all times, or elſe the *Manichee* could not be certainly diſcovered by one *Dry Communion*.

Moreover Pope *Gelaſius* did by a Law condemn this half Communion, as a great *Sacrilege*. (*b*) *We have found*, ſaith §. 2.

(*b*) Non eſſe ſumendum Corpus Domini ſine Calice. *Gelaſius Majorico & Johanni Epiſcopis, apud Ivon. decret. part. 2. cap.* 8, 9. Comperimus quod quidam in eadem Regione ſumpta tantum Corporis Sacri portione, a Calice Sacri cruoris abſtineant, qui proculdubio (quoniam *neſcio quâ ſuperſtitione* docentur obſtringi) aut integra *Sacramenta* accipiant, aut ab integris arceantur, *quia diviſio unius & ejuſdem Myſterii ſine grandi Sacrilegio non poteſt provenire.*

he, *that ſome in the ſame Country having taken only a portion of the Holy Body, abſtain from the Cup of the Holy Blood, who (becauſe I know not by what Superſtition they are ſaid to be bound) ought, without doubt, to receive the entire Myſteries, or to be driven from both; for the diviſion of one and the ſelf ſame Myſtery, cannot happen without* great Sacrilege. Where note, 1. That this Law reſpecteth not *Prieſts* only; for as (c) *Baronius* obſerves, *There is no mention in the Law of the Prieſt Sacrificing*, or of any other of that Order; whence, ſaith he, it is evident that what is generally ſpoken here, ought not to be reſtrained to them. Moreover, *Caſſander* doth aſſure us, That in his *Old Manuſcript*, this was the Title of this *Decree*, That (d) *it was not lawful for any one N. B. to Receive the Communion of the Fleſh, without partaking of the Blood.* In *Ivo* the Title of it runs thus, *That the Body of our Lords is not to be taken without the Cup.* (e) *Micrologus* ſaith, That *P. Gelaſius commanded that they ſhould be Excommunicated*, quicunque, *whoſoever they were, that having taken the Body of our Lord, abſtained from the Cup.* (f) *Radulphus de Rivo* tranſcribes the very words of *Micrologus*, and both of them give the ſame reaſon of this precept, *viz. For as he in the ſame Decree aſſerts, ſuch a diviſion of the* Sacraments *cannot come to paſs without* great Sacrilege. Now from theſe Teſtimonies it is evident, 1. That from the Tenth to the Fourteenth Century, it was eſteemed an unlawful and *Sacrilegious* thing, for any that were capable of both, to receive the Bread without partaking of the Cup. Yea *Sacrilege* is by them declared to be inſeparable from ſuch a diviſion of this *Myſtery*: It therefore muſt according to the judgment of *Pope Gelaſius*, and of the following Ages who approved of his Decree, be inſeparable from the conſtant practice of the *Church* of *Rome*, ſince the times of the *Council* of *Conſtance*. 2. Whereas the *R. Doctors* ſay this *Decree* was made againſt the *Manichees, who held Wine in abomination, and therefore did refuſe the Cup*; and ſo concerns them only who refuſe upon a like account, to drink of it: It is obſervable, that neither *Gelaſius* himſelf, nor any who have ſince that time took notice of this *Law*, have told us that it was peculiarly made

(c) Ad A. D. 496. Sect. 20.

(d) Quod nulli liceat abſque ſanguinis participatione ſolius carnis Communionem percipere. *P.* 19. *p.* 1106.

(e) Excommunicari illos præcipit *quicunque* ſumpto corpore dominico a calicis participatione ſe abſtinerent. Nam (ut ipſe in eodem decreto aſſerit) hujuſmodi Sacramentorum diviſio ſine grandi Sacrilegio provenire non poterit. *Microl. Cap.* 19.

(f) Prop. 23. p. 579.

made againſt the *Manichees*, who abſtained from drinking of the Cup for the formentioned reaſon; but they without Exception declare that by this Law it was not lawful *for any one* to receive the Fleſh without the Cup, and that *whoſoever* did ſo, was by virtue of it to be Excommunicated. And hence (*g*) *Algerus* in the *Twelfth Century* cites this *Decree* to prove that the Bread is ſeparately to be conſecrated into the Fleſh, and the Wine into the Blood of Chriſt, and that both are to be received by the Faithful. And they had reaſon to ſpeak thus generally of it, for that this *Law* of *P. Gelaſius* was not directed againſt the *Manichean Hereſie*, may be made evident from numerous conſiderations: For (1.) had this *Pope* made this Law againſt the *Manichees*, there can be no reaſon imagined why he, as well as *Leo*, ſhould not mention them. 2*ly*. That Expreſſion in the body of this Law, that *he knew not by what Superſtition they were bound up*, cannot fitly be applied to the *Manichees*, for it was, doubtleſs, a matter well known to *Gelaſius*, why the *Manichees* refuſed the Cup, and not unto *Gelaſius* only, but to all the People. For *Leo*, who preceded him, had taken care that not only (*h*) *All the profane and filthy things which were in their Writings, but alſo that the things contained in their ſecret Traditions, ſhould be manifeſted to the Eyes of Chriſtians, that the People might know what they are to avoid, and fly from.* 3*ly*. The very word *Superſtition* ſhews that *Gelaſius* did not intend the *Manichees*; for *ſuperſtition* intimates a deſign of Reverence and Veneration of the Sacrament, although miſplaced, and not well deſigned, whereas the *Manichees* in their refuſal of the Cup, were acted by the groſeſt *Hereſie*; they refuſed Wine as being *unclean*, and *the Gall of the Devil*; and as *P. Leo* ſaith, condemned the Creature, *in Creatoris injuriam, to the reproach of the Creator*. 4*ly*. *Gelaſius* ſpeaks only of thoſe perſons who were then *within the Country of* Squillaci, and in the *Dioceſs* committed by him to *Majoricus* and *John*, whereas it is uncertain whether one *Manichee* was ever there, and is moſt certain they did abound elſewhere. Nor, 5*ly*. can theſe words, *Let them receive the entire Sacraments, or be excluded from them*, be reaſonably applied to the *Manichees*; for none, who know the * Diſcipline of *Ancient* times, can think that

(*g*) L. 2. c. 8.

(*h*) Omnia quæ tam in Scripturis, quam in occultis traditionibus ſuis habent profana vel turpia, ut noſſet populus quid refugeret aut vitaret, oculis Chriſtianæ plebis certa manifeſtatione probavimus. *Decret. Leonis P. c. 6. Collect. à Dionyſio exiguo, apud Fuſtel. p.* 224.

* Vide Concil. Laod. can. 6. & 33.

that the Abettors of ſo groſs an *Hereſie* as that of *Manes*, which held, (*i*) *That there were two firſt Cauſes, one Good, the other Evil*; which *denied the Worſhip of the God of the Old Teſtament, denied the Reſurrection, and the Virgin birth of our dear Lord*, and *worſhipped the Sun as God*, could be admitted to the participation of the Holy Sacraments, without a previous condemnation of thoſe prodigious Errors, and a publick Penance; much leſs that they could be admitted with ſuch freedom by that *Gelaſius* who declares, That (*k*) *Chriſtians might not partake of the purity of the Lord's Table with an Heretick; which Table our Anceſtors have always abundantly kept ſevered from all Heretical Pollution*; and who ſucceeded that *Leo* who compelled the *Manichees*, before they were admitted to the Communion of *Chriſtians, to do publick Penance*; and *by a publick Profeſſion, and Subſcription in the Church, to condemn the* Manichean *Hereſy*.

(*i*) Aug. ad quod vult Deus, c. 46.

(*k*) Cum nullo prorſus eorum participare debetis, menſæ dominicæ puritatem, quam majores noſtri ſemper ab hæretica magnopere ſervarunt pollutione diſcretam. *Cauſ.* 24. *qu.* 2. *c. nec quiſquam.*

Now the Confutation of this pretence, that *Pope Gelaſius* made this *Decree* againſt the *Manichees*, is a full confutation of all that *Romaniſts* do offer to elude the force of it againſt them; for then it follows, that this *Decree* cannot reaſonably be reſtrained to them who regarded the ſpecies of Wine *as an object of averſion*, or who abſtained from the Cup out of *an horrour of Wine*, or *of the Blood of our Lord:* For all theſe deſcants evidently do relate unto the Doctrine of the *Manichees*, and therefore they are all confuted by the refutation of that vain pretence, That *P. Gelaſius* made this Law againſt the *Manichees*.

And whereas others tell us, that theſe were laws then made to reſtrain the liberty the *Church* before had granted to receive in publick in one kind; this, as it is ſaid without any ſhadow of proof, ſo it is fully confuted by the very words of the Decrees of theſe Two *Popes*. *Leo* objects againſt the *Manichees*, that by avoiding of the Cup, they declined *the drinking of the Blood of their Redemption*. Now can it be ſuppoſed that he knew then of any liberty the *Church* had granted to the Faithful to *decline the drinking the Blood of their Redemption*; that is, of doing the very thing for which he ſo ſeverely doth condemn the *Manichees*. *Gelaſius* decrees touching them of *Squillaci*, That *they ſhall either take the Sacraments entire, or be entirely driven*

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ven from them; plainly inſinuating, that they who received not the Cup, received not an entire Sacrament; and could the Faithful in thoſe times receive the Sacrament ſo, that in the judgment of ſo great a *Pope* it was imperfectly received by them?

Moreover, that this practice muſt in the judgment of the *Holy Fathers* be *Sacrilegious*, will farther be made evident from the comparing of their Sentiments, touching the diſtribution, and receiving of the Cup by all the Faithful, with thoſe deſcriptions which the *School-men* give of *Sacrilege*. For,

1. *Sacrilege*, ſaith (*l*) *Buſenbaum*, *is the violation of a thing holy, that is dedicated to divine Worſhip*; and *to violate what is holy, is* (ſaith (*m*) *Gregorius de Valentiâ*) *nothing elſe, but to do ſomething repugnant to that Worſhip to which a thing is deſigned*: Wherefore if the reception of the Cup by the Laity was deſigned for *their ſhewing forth the Lord's Death*, and the *remembrance of his Paſſion*, it muſt be *Sacrilege* to rob them of it; becauſe *it is the violation of a thing dedicated to Divine Worſhip*, and the doing that which is repugnant to that Worſhip to which the Cup was deſigned. Now the *Fathers* frequently tell us, after St. *Paul*, That we are to eat this Bread, and *drink* this Cup to ſhew forth the Lord's Death. (*n*) *We ought*, ſaith *Baſil*, *to eat the Body, and* drink *the Blood of Chriſt, in remembrance of our Lord's Obedience to the Death*; and this he proves from our Lord's inſtitution, *Luke* xxij. and from St. *Paul*'s rehearſal of it, 1 *Cor.* xi. (*o*) *Becauſe we are delivered by the death of the Lord, being mindful of this thing*, ſaith St. *Ambroſe we ſignify it by eating and* drinking *of the things that are offered.* (*p*) *The Communicating of his holy Fleſh, and the Cup of his holy Blood, hath in it a Confeſſion of Chriſt's Death, by the participating of* theſe things *in this world, we commemorate Chriſt's Death*, ſaith *Cyril* of *Alexandria*. *When the Hoaſt is broken*, ſaith (*q*) St. *Auſtin*, *whilſt the Blood is powred out of the Cup into the Mouth of the Faithful, what other thing is ſhewed forth, but the offering of our Lord's Body on the Croſs, and the Effuſion of his Blood out of his Side? Chriſt in this Myſtery,*

(*l*) Medul. Theol. l. 3. Tr. 1. de primo præcepto Dec. c. 2. Dub. 2.

(*m*) In 22. Diſp. 6. q. 15. punct. 1.

(*n*) Δεῖ ἐσθίειν τὸ σῶμα καὶ πίνειν τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου μέχρι θανάτου ἡμῶν. Moral. c. 3. p. 432.

(*o*) Quoniam morte domini liberati ſumus, hujus rei memores in edendo & potando carnem & ſanguinem quæ pro nobis oblata ſunt ſignificamus. *In* 1 *Cor.* xi. *p.* 170.

(*p*) Glaphyr. l. 2.

(*q*) Apud Grat. diſt. 2. c. de conſecr. Lanfranc. de Sacr. Euch. p. 124.

Myſtery, ſaith *P. Gregory*, *is offered again for us*, (r) *for his Body is there taken, his Fleſh is parcell'd out for the Salvation of the People, his Blood is not given into the hands of Infidels, but poured into the Mouths of the Faithful.* (s) *When we drink out of this Cup*, ſaith *Paſchaſius*, *what do we elſe but declare the Lord's Death? This do*, ſaith (t) *Anſelm*, *that is, drink this Cup in remembrance of me, as oft as you drink it, that you may never drink it without the Memory of my Paſſion, but may have in mind that I ſuffered Death for you. Therefore, ſaith the Apoſtle, our Lord ſaid, This ſhould be done in commemoration of him, for as oft as you ſhall eat this Bread of Life, and ſhall drink this Cup of eternal Salvation, you ſhall ſhew forth, that is, ſhall repreſent, the Death Chriſt ſuffered for us till he comes to Judgment.* (u) *By the Cup thou doſt celebrate the commemoration of our Lord's Death*, ſaith *Theophylact.* (x) *Algerus* in Anſwer to this Queſtion, *Why the Bread is conſecrated into the Fleſh, and the Wine into the Blood apart?* ſaith, *This was done becauſe the Cuſtom prevailed in the Church from Chriſt himſelf, who conſecrated, and gave his Blood, not for diviſion of the Subſtance, but for diſtinction of the Figure, that whilſt the Bread is grinded by the Teeth, it might ſignifie Chriſt's Body broken in his Paſſion; and whilſt the Wine is poured into the Mouth of the Faithful, it might ſignifie Chriſt's Blood ſhed from his Side: Nor is the Body and Blood ſaid to be apart, as if the Body were without the Blood, or the Blood divided from the Body; but it is ſo ſaid in memory of his Paſſion, becauſe in the Sacrament we ought to ſhew forth the Death of Chriſt. When the Bread of the Lord, that is, the Body of the Lord is eaten*, ſaith (y) *Petrus Cluniacenſis*; *when the Cup of the Lord, that is, the Blood of the Lord is drunk, the Death of the Lord is ſhewed forth, that is, it is then repreſented. What he did*, ſaith (z) *Rupertus*, *that we well know we do in Commemoration of his Death*, viz. *Eat his Fleſh and to* drink *his Blood.*

(r) Ibi Chriſti Corpus ſumitur ejus caro in populi ſalutem partitur, ejus ſanguis non jam in manus infidelium, ſed in os fidelium funditur. *Dial. l.* 4. *cap.* 58.

(s) Quem cum bibimus, quid aliud quam mortem domini annunciamus. *De Corp. & ſang. Dom. cap.* 21.

(t) In 1 Cor. xi.

(u) Διὰ τῦ πόσηείς φησὶν ἀνάμνησιν τελεῖς τῦ σωτηρικῦ θανάτυ. In 1 Cor. xi. v. 25.

(x) L. 2. cap. 8.

(y) De Sacra. edit. Eraſm. fol. 212.

(z) Comment. in vi. Joh.

And ſurely when two things are equally deſigned, and ſet apart by *Chriſt* for the commemoration of his Paſſion, when they are equally apt, and proper to ſhew forth, and bring to our remembrance the thing they were deſigned to ſignifie, when

when *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles* do command both ſhould be done in proſecution of that end, when the *Fathers* do, with one voice, declare, without the leaſt diſparity, diſtinction or limitation, that both concurr unto that end: And laſtly, when one naturally doth import, and ſhew the breaking of Chriſt's Body on the Croſs; the other doth as naturally ſignifie, ſhew forth, and bring to our remembrance his Blood ſhed, and ſeparated from his Body, and in both theſe conſiſts the Paſſion of our *Lord*, to ſay, our *Saviour*'s Paſſion is wholly and entirely repreſented by the Reception of one of the two Species only, is to reflect unworthily upon the Wiſdom of our *Lord's Inſtitution* of them both, and his *command* to do both in order to the ſhewing forth his Death, and evidently to contradict the plain Aſſertions, and the concurring Judgment of the *Church* of *Chriſt*, that *by drinking, and receiving into our Mouths this Cup, this Blood, we do, and ought to declare, ſignifie, repreſent, commemorate and ſhew forth Chriſt's Death.*

Secondly, *Chriſtians*, ſaith (*a*) *Thomas Aquinas*, *are ſanctified by the Sacraments of Chriſt, and therefore what is done to the injury of Chriſtian People*, pertinet ad irreverentiam rei ſacræ unde rationabiliter Sacrilegium dicitur, *is Sacrilege, becauſe it appertaineth to the irreverence of a ſacred thing. To Sacrilege*, ſaith (*b*) *Becanus*, *is referred*, omnis injuria, omniſque abuſio Sacramentorum, *all injury, and abuſe of the Sacraments*; and this is evident even from the drift of the Commandment, *Thou ſhalt not ſteal*, for that forbids, in reference to temporal concerns; *omne nocumentum quod homini injuſtè infertur in rebus exterioribus*; *All hurt done to them in external Things*: In reference to ſpirituals it therefore muſt forbid *all ſpiritual hurt, or injury Men ſuffer by the detaining of things ſpiritual from them.* Now ſurely if *Chriſtians* can be hurt orinjured, they muſt be ſo when they by others are deprived of the means of Grace and of Sanctification, and ſpiritual Bleſſings: Now of theſe, ſay the *Fathers*, *Chriſtians* are deprived as oft as they are thus deprived of the Cup of Bleſſing. For, they conſtantly affirm, That the eating of the Bread and drinking of the Cup, did tend *to the Sanctification both of Soul and Body.* (*c*) *The Temperature of both the drink and the word*, ſaith *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *is called the Euchariſt, of which they who by Faith are made partakers, are ſanctified in Body and*

(*a*) L. 2. q. 99. Art. 1.

(*b*) Q. 99. p. 1146.

(*c*) Ἧς οἱ καλὰ πίστιν μεταλάβοντες ἁγιάζονται καὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν. Pædag. l. 2. c. 2, p. 151.

Soul. In the New Covenant, ſaith *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem, there is the Heavenly Bread, and the* Cup *of Salvation ſanctifying the Soul and Body.* (d) *Come to the Cup, and receiving of the Blood of Chriſt,* ἁγιάζου, *be thou ſanctified. Who can expreſs,* ſaith (e) *Gregory, the greatneſs of that Mercy by which Mankind was redeemed with the Effuſion of Chriſt's precious Blood*; and, *The ſacred Myſtery of his Life-giving Body and Blood, was given to his Members, by which the Church, his Body, is fed and made to* drink, *is waſhed and ſanctified. The ſuperſubſtantial Bread, and the Cup conſecrated by ſolemn Benediction,* (f) *doth profit to the Life, and the Salvation of the whole Man,* ſaith *Arnoldus Carnotenſis, the Bread is Meat, the Blood is Life, the Bread for fitneſs of Nouriſhment, the Blood for efficacy of giving Life.*

(d) Catech. Myſtag. 5. p. 245.

(e) Et Sacroſanctum vivifici corporis & ſanguinis ſui Myſterium Membris ſuis tribuere, quibus corpus ſuum, quod eſt Eccleſia, paſcitur. *In Pſal.* vi. *pœnit.*

(f) Ad totius hominis vitam ſalutemque proficit. *Apud Cypr. p.* 39, 40.

Moreover this is written with a Sun-Beam in the *Church's Liturgies* in which they call the Cup, received after the Body, (g) πότήριον ζωῆς, *the Cup of Life*; πότήριον σωτηρίας αἰωνίου, *the Cup of everlaſting Salvation.* In which they declare that Chriſt Bleſſing the Cup, (h) καὶ πλήσας πνεύματος ἁγίου, and *filling it with the Holy Ghoſt,* ſaid, *Drink ye all of this,* and ſaid it was πλήρωμα τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, *the fulneſs of the Holy Spirit*; that it was *the Blood of the New Teſtament* ſhed *for many,* (i) καὶ διαδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, *and diſtributed for the Remiſſion of Sins*; in which they order the *Deacon* when he hath received it, to ſay, *This hath touched my Lips, and will take away mine iniquities, and purge away my Sin*; and in which they laſtly pray, That (k) *they who received it might be filled with all ſpiritual Benediction, and heavenly Grace, and might receive it for Sanctification, and Renovation of Soul, of Spirit, and of Body, for the communication of eternal Life, for the Remiſſion of Sins, that they might be confirmed in Piety, filled with the Holy Ghoſt, made worthy of Chriſt, and obtain everlaſting Life.*

(g) Conſt. Clem. l. 8. c. 13. Lit. S Petri, p. 26. Lit. Greg. p. 22. Marc. p. 46.

(h) Lit. Chryſoſt. p. 1001.

(i) Lit. St. Marc. p. 47.

(k) Lit. Clem. Petri Marc. Chryſoſt. Baſil. Gregor.

§. 4. This, laſtly, even the *School-men* do confeſs, that it cannot, without immodeſty be doubted, that Chriſtians do receive the increaſe of Grace, by the participation of this Cup. *It is not to be denied,* ſaith (l) *Armachanus, but firmly to be aſſerted, that the Sacramental Sumption of the Body and Blood of our Saviour much profits*

(l) Apud Caſſand. de utraq; ſpecie, p. 1032.

profits the Faithful to the increase of Spiritual Life. The (*m*) *Dean of Lovain* gives these Reasons why the Communion under both kinds should be more Fruitful, and conferr more Grace; 1. That *there is one effect of Meat, and another of Drink; for Drink allays Thirst, and Meat Hunger.* 2. That *under both Species the Eucharist is truly a Sacrament, nor is Christ less efficacious by his Blood under the Species of Wine, than by his Body under the Species of Bread; nor can the drinking of Christ's Blood be unprofitable, if it be lawfully and worthily received.* 3. *Because the Species of Wine is a Sacrament, and all Sacraments, according to the common rule, conferr Grace* ex opere operato. *The draught of Blood hath its proper spiritual effect, to allay spiritual Thirst, or to confirm and augment the Grace received in the Communion of the Body. And though Christ be under both Species, he operates only according to their signification and uses,* under one the *Body, under the other the Blood as his Instrument; and since the Sacraments conferr the Grace they signifie, when the signification is more compleat, the Grace must be so.* (*n*) *Vasquez* saith thus, *The Opinion of them who say more Fruit of Grace is received from both Species of this Sacrament than from one,* probabilior mihi semper visa est, *seemed always more probable to me; and therefore that they who take the Cup receive an encrease of Grace.* And (*o*) *Suarez* informs us, That *it was the Opinion of* many Catholicks, *that more Grace was given by both Species, than by one only, and that Grave Men said, That most of the Fathers of the* Trent *Council held that Opinion, and that therefore the Council said warily, That the Faithful, by Communicating under one Species, were not defrauded of any Grace* necessary to Salvation. And truly, whosoever saith, That no Grace is received by the due participation of the Cup, doth plainly make our *Saviour's* Institution of it a thing indifferent, and the receiving of the Cup, after the Body, to be the receiving of a thing of no spiritual or good effect; which to affirm of the worthy receiving of the sacred Blood of Christ is *horrendum dictu*, and somewhat like the *counting of the Blood of the Covenant an unholy thing.*

(*m*) *Ibid.*

(*n*) In 3. D. Thom. disp. 215. cap. 2.

(*o*) Tom. 3. in 3. D. Thom. disp. 63. §. 6.

CHAP. VI.

The Contents.

In oppoſition to the Decrees of theſe Councils Damning, and Excommunicating all who ſay, That this Law of Communicating the Laity under one kind is Erroneous and Unlawful. The Fathers have declared that it is Erroneous and Unlawful to ſubſtract the Cup. This is proved from St. Cyprian, *from the complaint of the Preſbyters of* Edeſſa, *againſt* Iba *their Biſhop*, §. 1. *From the Council of* Braga, Paſchaſius, *and* Algerus, §. 2. *In oppoſition to the Council of* Conſtance, *decreeing them to be Excommunicated who exhort the People to Communicate under both ſpecies: The Fathers do exhort all People ſo to do*, §. 3. *Whereas the Councils of* Conſtance *and* Baſil *ſay, That the Cuſtom of Communicating in one kind was obſerved for a long time in the Church, the contrary is plainly ſhewed from Hiſtory*, §. 4.

§. 1. Conſt. Seſſ. 13. Baſil. — 30. Trid. Seſſ. 21. c. 2.

WHereas the *Church* of *Rome* in her *Councils* of *Conſtance*, *Baſil* and *Trent*, declares this practice of miniſtring the Communion in one kind to the fore-mentioned perſons, *is to be received as a Law*, and Damns and *Excommunicates* all thoſe who ſay this Novel Conſtitution of theirs, is either *Erroneous* or *Unlawful*; The *Fathers* have declared expreſly, or by immediate and clear Conſequence, That it is *Erroneous*, *Unlawful*, and of evil conſequence to Religion to ſubſtract the Cup, or one part of the Sacrament from Believers. *If any Man be in that* Error, ſaith (*a*) St. *Cyprian*, (*viz.* That it is not neceſſary to offer and *diſtribute* to the People Wine mixed with Water) *let him return to the Original of our Lord's Tradition*; adding, (*b*) That *to contemn his Admonition, and to perſiſt in his* old Error, *would be to incurr the diſpleaſure of the Lord.* And having ſaid that Chriſt both by his Practice, and his Precept, taught the oblation and *diſtribution* of Wine mixed with Water to the People; he adds, (*c*) *That the whole diſcipline of Religion and Truth is ſubverted, unleſs that which is ſpiritually commanded, be faithfully obſerved.* The *Preſbyters* of *Edeſſa* accuſe *Iba* their *Biſhop* before the *Council* of *Chalcedon*

(*a*) Ep. 63. p. 148.

(*b*) P. 157.

(*c*) Cæterum omnis Religionis & veritatis diſciplina ſubvertitur, niſi id quod ſpiritualiter præcipitur fideliter obſervatur. P. 155.

cedon on this wise; *That in his Church, whilst the memory of the Martyrs was Celebrated, there wanted Wine for the Sacrifice of the Altar, to be sanctified, and distributed to the people, there being but little, and that bad and muddy, just newly pressed out of the Grape; so that they who were deputed to Minister were forced to buy Six Quarts out of the Tavern, which also was bad, and not sufficient; (d) so that they called to them who distributed the holy Body to desist, because the Blood was wanting.* Whence we learn,

(d) Ὥστε τῆς τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα διανεμούσης ἐνευ- εν εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸς ὡς τοῦ αἵματος μὴ ὑπαρχόντος. Concil. Chalced. Tom. 3. Concil. apud Bin. p. 382

1. That though it be now no fault in the *Church* of *Rome* to provide no Consecrated Blood to be distributed to the people, it was then thought Crime sufficient to accuse a *Bishop* of before a *General Council.*

2. That then it was not deemed lawful to Communicate the people under the species of Bread alone; for if so, there would have been no need of running to the *Tavern* to fetch Wine, and much less for desisting from distributing the Consecrated Bread unto the People, because they had not Consecrated Wine to minister to them afterwards. This sure must manifestly shew, that it was then esteemed unlawful to minister to the people one species of the *Eucharist* without the other.

§. 2.

The *Council* of *Braga* saith, (e) *It is a manifest* Error *to deliver to the people the Consecrated Bread* dipped *in the Chalice for a Complement of the Communion, as being not agreeable to the Institution*; and surely for the same reason it must be a more manifest Error to give them the Consecrated Bread alone, for a *compleat Communion*; it being more dissonant from the Institution to give only one part, than to give both only in another manner than was appointed by the Institution. *The Blood is well joined to the Flesh*, saith *Paschasius, because* (f) *neither the Flesh without the Blood, nor the Blood without the Flesh is rightly communicated; for the whole Man, which consists of Two Substances is redeemed, and therefore fed together both with Flesh and Blood.*

(e) Relatus est in concione nostrorum omnium *Error* manifestus, quidam enim Eucharistiam vino madidam pro complemento Communionis credunt populis porrigendam. *Concil. Tom. 6 p. 561.*

(f) — Nec caro sine sanguine, uti nec sanguis sine carne jure communicatur, &c. *Cap. 19. Bis.*

Algerus,

Algerus, in answer to the Question, *Why Bread by it self is Consecrated into the Flesh of Christ, and the Wine into his Blood*, saith, That *therefore the Blood, and Flesh are seen apart in the Sacrament, that because Christ dyed for redeeming our Body by his Body, and our Soul by his Soul, when we had perished both in Body and Soul, it might be signified, that his Body and Soul were in Death divided.* (g) And therefore *Austin* saith, That *neither the Flesh without the Blood, nor the Blood without the Flesh is rightly Communicated.* In a word; this Constitution, thus established for a Law, makes it a Sin to obey and comply with the Institution of our *Lord*, by reason of the Laws of Men; and whether this be not *Erroneous*, let any reasonable person judge from this Consideration:

(g) — Unde ut ait Augustinus, nec caro sine sanguine, nec sanguis sine carne jure communicatur. *De Sacr. Euch. l. 2. c. 8.*

Had our Lord instituted this Sacrament to be Received under the Species of Bread alone, and had he so distributed the same to his Disciples, none, coming after Christ could have thought it lawful to have added Consecrated Wine, and to have distributed it after the Bread: Therefore by parity of Reason, *Christ* having instituted the *Eucharist*, in both the Species of Bread and Wine, and so distributed it, no man can rightly think it fawful to Give the Sacrament in Bread alone to persons capable of both Species. For confirmation of this Argument, let it be considered, that the *Trent Council* declares this power was always in the *Church*, That in the dispensation of the Sacraments, (h) *Salva illorum substantia, ea statueret, vel mutaret; That retaining their substance, she may appoint or change those things which she doth judge expedient for the profit of the Receivers.* If therefore when the Cup was instituted by Christ to be Received, she may change so far the Institution as to make *a Law*, it shall not be received by the *Laity*; if it had not been Instituted, why might she not appoint it should have been received by them?

(h) Seff. 21. c. 2.

§. 3. 3. Whereas the *Church* of *Rome*, by the *Authority* of her *Councils* (i) commands, That they be Excommunicated, *Who*, contrary to her Decree, *Exhort the People to Communicate under both Species of Bread and Wine, and who do take upon them so to administer the Sacrament unto the People*; and doth require, that they be treated as *Hereticks, if they persist without Repentance in*

(i) Concil. Const. Seff. 13.

so

ſo doing. The *Fathers* did not only thus adminiſter the Sacrament in publick, for a thouſand Years together, but alſo did exhort all *Chriſtians* ſo to do. (k) *After the Communion of the Body of Chriſt, come to the Cup,* ſaith *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem.* *The Prieſt,* ſaith (l) *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite, ſhewing the Conſecrated Gifts, comes himſelf to partake of them,* καὶ τὰς ἄλλας προτρέπεται, *and exhorts others ſo to do.* The Gifts he ſhewed them were the Bread, and Cup apart, of theſe he therefore did exhort them to Communicate, after the uſual manner; that is, apart. *From taking of the Blood of this Sacrifice,* ſaith (m) *Auſtin, not only no Man is reſtrained, but* All Men are exhorted to drink it, *who will have life.* And again, *They who have not eaten, and have not drunk, let them, being invited, make haſte to theſe Banquets:* (n) *Come to the Fleſh of the Lord, come to the Blood of the Lord.* The *Deacon,* ſaith the *Liturgy* of St. *Chryſoſtom, bowing, takes the Cup with reverence, and lifting it up he ſhews it to the People, ſaying,* (o) μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγάπης προσέλθετε, *Come to it with the Fear and Love of God.* In the *Antient Synodal* form of Admonition uſed in the *Weſt,* we find one Admonition to the (p) *Prieſt to call upon all the Faithful to come to the participation of the body and the* Blood *of Chriſt.* Whereas in the Two New Admonitions tranſcribed by *Baluzius* from the *R. Pontifical,* the injunction is only to invite them *to the Communion of the Body of Chriſt;* which alteration ſeems to be occaſioned by the change of the Cuſtom of the *Romiſh Church* in this particular. The *Jews drank of the Rock which followed them, and that Rock was Chriſt:* (q) *Drink thou alſo,* ſaith the ſpurious *Ambroſe, that Chriſt may follow thee.* *The Jews came to Crucify him,* ſaith *Hincmarus* of *Remes,* (r) *Let us come to him,* ut corpus & ſanguinem ejus accipiamus, *That we may receive his Body and Blood.* (s) *Take the Wine preſſed out of the Fat of the Croſs,* ſaith *Fulbertus* of *Chartres.* St. *Paul* doth in the like manner ſay, *Let a Man examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup.* And a greater than St. *Paul* ſaith, *Drink ye-*

(k) Μετὰ τὸ κοινωνῆσαι τοῦ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος προσέρχου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου. Cat. Myſt. 5. p. 245.

(l) Eccleſ. Hier. c. 3.

(m) Q. 57. in Levit.

(n) Accedite ad carnem domini, accedite ad ſanguinem domini. *Serm.* 46. *de verbo dom. cap.* 4.

(o) Tom. 6. p. 1003.

(p) Omnes fideles ad Communionem corporis & ſanguinis domini accedere admonete. *Apud Baluz.* p. 605. Ad Communionem corporis domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti invitate. 16. *Not. in Reg.* p. 609, & p. 613.

(q) Et tu bibe ut te Chriſtus ſequatur. *De Sacr. l.* 5, *cap.* 1.

(r) Tom. 2. p. 94.

(s) Sume vinum de torculari crucis expreſſum. *De tribus capitib.*

ye all of this (for whom this Blood was ſhed) *for this is my Blood of the New Teſtament, ſhed for many for the Remiſſion of Sins.*

§. 4. Laſtly, Whereas the *Councils* of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* to give the better colour to their abſurd Decrees, ſay, That this Cuſtom of Communicating under one kind only, was, *ab Eccleſia diutiſſimè obſervata, obſerved for a long time in the Church*, before they had aſſembled to make this Cuſtom binding by their *Laws* and *Sanctions*, it is matter of Surprize, that two ſuch great and numerous *Aſſemblies* ſhould with ſuch confidence aſſert theſe things, ſince, as *Lindanus* ſaith, (*t*) *There needs no long demonſtration to prove that* both kinds *were adminiſtred in the* Weſt *almoſt till the times of the Council of* Conſtance.

(*t*) Quod per occidentem fuerit populo utraque adminiſtrata Species in proximum fere uſque Conſtantienſis Synodi Sæculum haud prolixa opus eſt demonſtratione. *Panopl. l.* 4. *ſub finem.*

Was it thus in the Eleventh *Century* in which *Lanfranck* ſaith, That (*u*) *the Blood poured out of the Chalice, is taken by the Mouth, and poured into Mouth of the Faithful*? In which *Pope Paſchal* made a Decree, That *the Body and Blood of the Lord ſhould be received apart*, and that (*x*) *this Cuſtom ſhould always be obſerved in the Church, except in the caſe of Infants and infirm Perſons, not able to ſwallow down the Bread:* In which (*y*) *Humbertus* declares, That *in the* Roman *Church the Sacrament was miniſtred in both kinds apart:* (*z*) Why then is Cardinal *Bona* ſo poſitive in his Aſſertion, that *always and every where, from the beginning of the Church to the Twelfth Century, the Faithful Communicated under the Species of Bread and Wine?* Was it ſo in the Twelfth *Century*, when (*a*) *Algerus* ſaith, That *both the Body and the Blood were taken by the Faithful, and that neither the Fleſh without the Blood, nor the Blood without the Fleſh are rightly Communicated?* (*b*) *Arnoldus Carnotenſis*, That *we Chriſtians drink of the Blood by his Command.* (*c*) *Petrus Cluniacenſis*, That *they took the Body and drank the Blood in likeneſs of Food.* Why then doth (*d*) *Peter Lombard* put the Queſtion, *Quare ſub duplice ſpecie ſumitur, why is the Sacrament taken in both kinds?*

(*u*) Sanguis ejus de Calice fidelium ore potatur. *De Sacr. Euch. f.* 126. a.

(*x*) Sic ſemper in Sancta Eccleſia conſervandum docemus.

(*y*) Apud Baron. Tom. 11. p. 971.

(*z*) Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 18. p. 862.

(*a*) L. 2. c. 8.

(*b*) Apud Cyp. p. 41.

(*c*) P. 217.

(*d*) L. 4. diſt. 11. Lit. *f.*

Was

Was it thus in the Thirteenth *Century*, when the (*e*) *Dean* of *Meaux* with his Monks *adminiſtred the body and the blood of Chriſt, to the Souldiers of* Charles *King of* Sicily; when (*f*) *Thomas Aquinas* ſaith, That *the Sacrament of the Body is delivered to us apart, under the Species of Bread, and the blood under the Species of Wine*; and elſewhere confeſſeth, That *this cuſtom of Communicating under both kinds, was ſtill obſerved in ſome Churches:* When a *Council* held at (*g*) *Lambeth A. D.* 1281. ſaith, That *only the Celebrators in leſſer Churches were permitted to drink the blood under the Species of conſecrated Wine*, clearly inſinuating, That *in ſome Churches* all drank of it; when laſtly (*h*) *Albertus Magnus* ſaith, That *under one Species we deliver the Body, under the other the Blood.*

(*e*) Apud Cheſn. f. 5. Franc. p. 840.

(*f*) Contra Gentiles *l.* 4. c. 61. Provide in quibuſdam Eccleſiis obſervatur ut populo ſumendus ſanguis non detur. *In* 3.—— *part. qu.* 80. *Ar.* 12.

(*g*) — Solis enim celebrantibus, ſanguinem ſub ſpecie vini conſecrati ſumere *in hujuſmodi minoribus Eccleſiis eſt conceſſum. Concil. Tom.* 11. *Part.* 1. *p.* 1159. (*h*) Sum. de Sacram. Euch. diſt 3. Tr. 2. c. 5.

Was it thus in the Fourteenth *Century*, when, ſaith *Nicolaus* (*i*) *Lyra, the Sacrament is given under the* double *Species of* Bread *and* Wine; when (*k*) *Petrus de Palude*, expreſly ſaith, That *in his Age it was the Cuſtom* in many Churches to communicate under both Species. And (*l*) *Guilielmus de monte Laudano*, That *in many places they communicated with Bread and Wine, that is, with an entire Sacrament.*

(*i*) In 1 Cor. 11. (*k*) Vid. Caſſand. de utraq; ſpecie, *p.* 1036. (*l*) Id. Liturg. *p.* 77.

Was it thus in the beginning of the Fifteenth *Century*, that very *Century* in which the *Council* of *Conſtance* forbad both Species? Why then doth (*m*) *Fervendus Biſhop* of *Lucca* ſay, That *in many Churches or Monaſteries, either by Privilege or Cuſtom, not the Conficient only, but others did communicate under both Species?* And why doth *Francis* King of *France* declare, *A. D.* 1535. That (*n*) *in the Memory of his Anceſtors the entire Supper was throughout* France *diſtributed to whoſoever would have it, not indeed in the middle of the Temple, but in the Chapels, and that he received this from ſome Ancient Men, who affirmed that it was not* 120. *Years ſince the Cuſtom was ſo in* France. Now take 120 Years from 1535, and there remains 1415, which is the very Year in which the *Council* of *Conſtance* debarred the *Laity* of the *Cup*. And what is now become of thoſe *many Ages* in which the People Communi-

(*m*) Calixt. de Com. ſub utraque ſpecie, *p.* 110.

(*n*) Patrum memoria (dicebat) diſtributum fuiſſe per Galliam quibuſlibet integram cœnam, non quidem in medio Templo, ſed in Sacellis, hoc illum a nonnullis accepiſſe Grandi ætate, qui ritum iſtum in Galliis fuiſſe confirment ante centum & viginti annos. *Sleidar. Comment. l.* 9. *p.* 243. *Caſſand. de utraque Specie, p.* 1037.

cated not, but in that manner, that is, under one Species only? And what just matter of admiration is it that Men of Learning should with such confidence assert what may so plainly be disproved? And that even *General Councils* should be so little to be credited in what they do so confidently say, and lay as the Foundation of their Definitions and Decrees?

CHAP. VII.

The Contents.

The Doctrine of Concomitance is confuted (1.) *from the words of the Institution*, §. 1. 2dly. *From Reason*, viz. (1.) *Because, according to this Doctrine, the depriving of the Laity of the Cup must be depriving them of whole Christ and all his Benefits*, §. 2. 2dly. *Because Christ's Institution, according to this Doctrine, must be the Institution of a thing directly contrary to the Law of* Moses, §. 3. *Concomitance frees not the Romanist from the Imputation of an half Sacrament, though it doth from the Imputation of giving half Christ*, §. 4. *It is contrary to the received Customs of the* Church *of* Christ, v. g. (1.) *to the Custom of putting a piece of the consecrated Bread into the Cup, and saying,* Fiat commixtio Corporis & sanguinis Domini. 2dly. *To the Custom of mixing the Bread and Wine when they communicated Infants, or persons extreamly sick, and so not able to swallow the Bread dry, that they might truly say, The Body and the Blood of Christ profit thee,* &c. 3dly. *To their constant Custom of speaking of the Body and the Blood of Christ as two Sacraments.* 4ly. *To that distinct effect they attribute unto the several Species.* 5ly. *To their saying that the Body is given under the one, the Blood under the other Species.* 6ly. *To the Decrees of* Leo *and* Gelasius, §. 5. *Mr.* Condom's *vain attempt to prove Concomitance considered, and found to be a farther Evidence, that the Church of Christ for a Thousand Years knew nothing of it*, §. 6.

Concil. Const. Sess. 13. Basil. Sess. 30. Trid. Sess. 43. cap. 3.

MOreover the better to conceal this *Sacrilegious* Defalcation of the Cup, these *Councils* jointly have determined, That *by force of that natural Connexion and Concomitance, which is betwixt the parts of Christ's raised Body, Christ's Body is entire under*

under the Species of Wine, and his Blood under the Species of Bread, it being firmly to be believed, and in no wiſe doubted, that the whole Body and Blood of Chriſt is contained as well under the Species of Bread, as under that of Wine, and not the Fleſh only under the Species of Bread, nor the Blood only under the Species of Wine: This whoſoever ſhall deny, let him be Anathema, ſaith the *Trent Council*; whoſoever *being learned* will not declare upon *Oath* that he believeth, and aſſerts this Doctrine of *Concomitance*, he muſt ſuffer as an (*a*) *Heretick*, ſaith the *Council* of *Conſtance*: And yet this Doctrine which cannot be denied without incurring an *Anathema*, nor disbelieved without the Crime of *Hereſie*, is in it ſelf abſurd, and plainly contrary to *Scripture* and to Reaſon, and that it was unqueſtionably unknown to all the *Ancient Fathers*, and the whole *Church* of *Chriſt*, is very eaſie to demonſtrate.

(*a*) Seſſ. 13. can. 1. Pertinaciter dicentes oppoſitum tanquam hæreſin ſunt arcendi & puniendi. Seſſ. 45. apud Bin. Tom. 7. p. 1124.

That this Doctrine is abſurd, that it doth not expound, but rather doth expoſe our *Saviour*'s Inſtitution to the deriſion of Men of Reaſon and Conſideration, will be evident from theſe following Arguments: For,

§. 1.

1. This Novelty apparently deſtroys the energy of the words uſed in the Inſtitution of this Sacred Ordinance, in which our *Lord*, when he had given his Body broken to his own *Diſciples*, and they had actually received it, ſaith of the following Cup, *Drink ye all of this, for this is the blood of the New-Teſtament ſhed for you.* Whereas if he knew any thing of this *Concomitance*, he muſt know alſo they had received this *blood of the New-Teſtament* already, and therefore might have ſpared his Cup and Reaſon both. *This do as oft as you drink it* came too late, for they had done what he commanded, in effect, before he bid them do it. *Tantundem ſub alterutrâ ſpecie atque ſub utraque continetur, as much is contained under either Species as under both*, ſaith the *Trent Council*, *i. e.* whole and entire Chriſt, his Body, Blood, his Soul, and his Divinity, and ſo as much as is delivered in, and as much Grace conveighed by the Reception of one Species as both. For, I ſuppoſe, that by participation of *Chriſt* in this entire manner, we have entirely the Grace of the Sacrament. Why therefore did our *Lord* inſtitute the other Species ſo perfectly unneceſſary to conveigh

Matth. xxvi. 27, 28.

Seſſ. 13. c. 3.

veigh any thing of *Christ*, or of his Grace unto us? Why did he bleſs the Cup, and bleſſing ſaid, with like Solemnity, and with expreſs injunction, Drink ye all of this? Or why did he permit his *Church* for a whole Thouſand Years to give his Members, a thing which might be oft of a pernicious influence to them who did receive it unworthily, but could be of no ſpiritual advantage to them who did receive it worthily; ſince after we have taken worthily the conſecrated Body, we have taken as much as when we have received the Blood alſo?

Treat. of Communion in both Kinds, p. 327.

Mr. *Condom* ſets down this as their Principle, *That he who hath received the Bread of Life*, has no need of receiving the ſacred Blood, *ſeeing he has received, together with the Bread of Life, the whole Subſtance of the Sacrament, and together with that Subſtance, the whole eſſential virtue of the Euchariſt.* Now from this Principle it follows with the cleareſt evidence, that it was needleſs for our *Saviour* to have ſaid to his *Diſciples*, after they had received the Bread of Life, *Drink ye all of this* Cup. That his Inſtitution of the Cup to be received after the Bread of Life, was a *needleſs Inſtitution*, that the *Church* was imployed in a *needleſs* Action for a Thouſand Years, when ſhe diſtributed the Cup to all Believers. That when our *Saviour* ſaid, *Drink ye all of this, for this is my Blood of the New-Teſtament which is ſhed for many for the Remiſſion of Sins*, he gave a *needleſs* reaſon of a *needleſs* Action, exhorting them to do what they had wholly done already, to the end here aſſigned by him of the drinking of it. And can that Principle be true which caſts ſuch horrid Imputations on the Commands, the Inſtitution, and the Reaſon of that Inſtitution aſſigned by our *Bleſſed Lord*, and on the conſtant Practice of the whole *Church* of *Chriſt*.

And indeed this new *Capricio* of *Concomitance* cannot well be thought of by a *Roman Doctor*, but preſently this Queſtion ſtares him in the Face, *To what purpoſe then was the Inſtitution of both Species?* they being conſcious to themſelves that the very natural, and obvious Concluſion from it would be this, That our Lord's Inſtitution of both Species was to no purpoſe; they therefore have invented a new Reaſon of the neceſſity of Conſecrating both the Species apart, *viz.* That *the Separation once made upon the Croſs of our Lord's Body and Blood, might never ceaſe* to appear on the Holy Table. Now is it not wonderful, that *Chriſt* ſhould ſtabliſh a continual repreſentation

Mr. Condom, *ibid.* p. 179, 180.

of

of the ſeparation of his Blood from his Body by Species, which he commands us to believe, contain his Body and his Blood united. What a pretty Myſtery do theſe Men make of the ſacred Inſtitution of our *Lord.* Bread and Wine never ceaſe to appear unto our Senſes, and yet we muſt not believe this Appearance, but by Faith believe there is no ſuch thing; the ſame Faith teacheth me, that our *Lord*'s Body and Blood are united there, and yet I muſt believe our *Lord* deſigned the continual repreſentation of them there as ſeparate, where Faith informs me there is no ſuch thing.

Secondly, This Doctrine of Concomitance ſeems even to ridicule our *Saviour*'s words, and make them run to this effect; I ſay unto you, *This is my Body broken*, not by way of repreſentation only, but ſubſtantially ſo; and yet I know my Body neither is ſubſtantially broken in this Sacrament, nor can it ever be ſo. I bid you take this Cup, and to encourage you to do ſo, I ſay, *This is my Blood ſhed*, or ſeparated from my Body, and yet I know that there is always in this Sacrament ſuch a *Concomitance*, as renders it impoſſible my Blood ſhould be thus ſeparated as I ſay it is. But notwithſtanding I inſtitute a Myſtery, which by ſome broken Accidents of Bread annihilated, or ſome few colours or bare Species of Wine, without a ſubject, ſhall give ſome faint reſemblance of my Body broken, and my Blood ſhed for you: This is my broken Body; that is, under theſe broken Accidents of Bread lyeth my Body whole, and united to my Blood, and therefore not my Body broken for you. This is my Blood, ſhed for you; that is, under this empty ſhew of Wine lieth my Blood united to my Body, and ſo my Blood not ſhed; and whether *hoc eſt corpus*, thus interpreted, doth not make Nonſence of the words, let the conſiderate Reader judge.

Thirdly, If there be ſuch a neceſſary Concomitance in the Sacrament, then muſt each part of the Sacrament exhibit whole and entire *Chriſt*, with all his Benefits, and conſequently the depriving the *Laity* of one part, or Species of the Sacrament, muſt be the depriving them of whole *Chriſt*, and all his benefits. Now then in doing this, either they are deprived of ſome ſpiritual Benefit, or not; if the firſt, then muſt the *Romaniſts be Sacrilegious*, becauſe they do deprive the people §. 2.

ple of ſome ſpiritual Benefit from thoſe ſacred Myſteries they formerly received, and that agreeably unto the Inſtitution of our *Lord*, and the common practice of the *Church* for a Thouſand Years. If the receiving of the *Chalice* worthily be of any advantage to Souls, then he, who does not receive it, is a looſer; and he by whom they are deprived of this ſpiritual Good muſt be a *Sacrilegious* perſon. If it be ſaid that no ſpiritual Benefit can accrue to them by drinking of the Cup, then muſt it be aſſerted that albeit a Man receive entire *Chriſt* worthily, yet may he never be the better for it, and what is this but to *eſteem the Blood of the Covenant* thus received *an unholy thing*.

§. 3. *Fourthly*, had our *Lord* taught Concomitance, his Inſtitution of this Sacrament had been the Inſtitution of a thing directly contrary to the Law of *Moſes*, *viz. The eating of Fleſh with the Blood*, and then it muſt have miniſtred offence to the *Apoſtles*, and the firſt *Jewiſh Converts*, who were all ſtrict obſervers of that Law. Since then we do not find that the *Apoſtles*, the *Jewiſh Converts*, or even the *Sects* of *Nazeranes* and *Ebionites* did ever ſcruple the receiving of the Sacrament on this account, we may preſume our *Saviour* taught no ſuch *Concomitance*.

§. 4. To conclude, ſhould we admit of this imagination, it would not free the *Romaniſts* from the Imputation of an half Sacrament, though it would from delivering of half Chriſt. For ſeeing a Sacrament is *an outward viſible ſign*, it follows evidently, he who hath but half of the outward viſible ſigns, hath but half of the Sacrament, and conſequently an half Sacrament. He that receives only the Bread, receives only the Sacrament of the Body, and not the Sacrament of the Blood of *Chriſt*, and ſo receives not an entire Sacrament.

§. 5. That the *Fathers* of the *Church* till the Tenth Century knew and believed nothing of this Doctrine of *Concomitance*, as it is evident from many of their Teſtimonies cited in this Diſcourſe, ſo may it fully be evinced from the received Cuſtoms of the *Church* of *Chriſt*.

And, *Firſt*, this may be proved from that received Cuſtom mentioned in all the *Liturgies*, both of the *Eaſtern* and the *Weſtern*

Western Churches, which was to bite or break a piece of the consecrated Bread, and putting it into the Cup, to say these words, (*b*) *Let there be made a mixture, and a consecration of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.* For though (*c*) *Durantus* and (*d*) *Bona* do, in conformity to the New Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, carefully remark that the *Priest doth not thus speak as if those things were then united, which before were separated*, and that they made no mixture of our *Lord's* Body and his Blood, *according to their real essences*, but only *according to their Sacramental Species*, yet do the *Liturgies* refuse this Subterfuge, and their *Expositors* sufficiently confute this uncouth *Gloss*, for they do never speak of a Commixtion of the *Sacramental Species*, but always of *the Body and Blood of Christ.* They pray that *this Commixtion and Consecration may avail to their* (*e*) *eternal Salvation*, which cannot be expected from the *Sacramental Species*, but only from the real Body and the Blood. *Albinus Flaccus* doth inform us, That this Commixtion is made (*f*) *that the Cup of the Lord may contain the whole fulness of the Sacrament, as it were by the Copulation of the same Mystery. This is not done in vain*, saith (*g*) *Amalarius, for corporal Life consists of Flesh and Blood, whilst these two continue in Man his Spirit or Life continues. In that Office is shewn that the blood shed for our Souls, and the flesh dead for our Body, return to their proper Substance, and that the New Man* (Christ) *is made lively by the quickening Spirit; that he who died for us, and rose again, can die no more.* (*h*) *Rabanus Maurus* in like manner saith, That *the particle consecrated, thus put into the Chalice, shews that the Body of Christ is now risen from the Dead.* (*i*) *Micrologus* saith, That *this mixture is made to signifie the Conjunction of the Soul and Body of Christ in the Resurrection*, and that *the particle put into the Chalice signifies the Body of our Lord risen from the dead.* Now they who say this mixture was made that the Cup might contain the *fulness of the Sacrament*, did not believe that the Cup before contained the Sacrament compleatly, as it must do, if it contained the Body before. And they who say, That this

(*b*) Fiat commixtio & consecratio corporis & Sanguinis Domini nostri. *Ordo Rom. apud Cassandr. p.* 112, 119.

(*c*) Durant. de rit. Eccl. l. 2. c. 52.

(*d*) Bona rerum Liturg. l. 2. c. 16. p. 814.

(*e*) In vitam æternam. *Ord. Rom.*

(*f*) Ut calix Domini totam plenitudinem contineat Sacramenti. *Cap. de celebr. Miss. p.* 93.

(*g*) De Eccles. Offic. l. 3. c. 3.

(*h*) Per particulam oblatæ immissæ in calicem ostendit Christi corpus quod jam resurrexit a mortuis. *De inst. Cleric c. ult.*

(*i*) Ad designandam corporis & animæ conjunctionem, in resurrectione Christi. *cap.* 17.

this is done to ſhew *that the Body of Chriſt is now alive*, and *riſen from the dead*, and that this mixture therefore ſheweth this, becauſe it joineth, or uniteth Fleſh and Blood, did not believe they were before united by *Concomitance*. And as our *Lord* by conſecrating the Wine, after he had diſtributed the Bread, and bidding them all drink thereof, becauſe it was the *Blood of the New Teſtament*, declared ſufficiently, that he did not conceive that his *Diſciples* had received already that ſame Blood he Conſecrated that they might receive it. Even ſo theſe *Chriſtians*, who mixed the Conſecrated particle of our *Lord's* Body with his Blood, that ſo the Union of both, in which our *Saviour's* Life conſiſted, might be repreſented, ſufficiently declare, they did not think his Fleſh and Blood were by *Concomitance* before united.

Secondly, This will be farther evident from that known Cuſtom of the *Church* which was to mix the Bread and Wine, that ſo when they Communicated *Infants*, or infirm perſons who could not ſwallow down the Bread alone, they might truly ſay, *The Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, profit thee to Life Eternal*; for that this Decree of the *Council* of *Tours*, That *the Sacred Oblation* given to ſuch perſons *ſhould be dipped in the Blood of Chriſt, that ſo the Prieſt*, who gave it to them, *might truly ſay to the infirm Perſon, The Body and Blood of Chriſt profit thee*, &c. was obſerved in the *Church* from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century, we learn from (*k*) *Regino*, *Ivo* and *Burchardus*, who all make mention of this *Canon*, as a Law which was obſerved in their times. That this practice was uſed though not with Approbation, in the Fourth *Century*, even in the Adminiſtration of this Sacrament in publick, is evident from the Condemnation of it, by (*l*) *P. Julius*, *A. D.* 336. in theſe words, *We have heard that ſome, poſſeſſed with a Schiſmatical Ambition, do deliver to the people the Euchariſt dip'd for a compleat Communion; which thing, how contrary it is to the Evangelical and Apoſtolical Doctrine, and how repugnant to the Cuſtom of the Church, it is not hard to prove, from the Fountain of Truth, from whom proceeded the appointment of the Myſteries of the Sacrament. For this they have not received from the Goſpel, where Chriſt commended his Body and his Blood*

(*k*) Quæ ſacra oblatio intincta debet eſſe in ſanguine Chriſti ut veraciter poſſit Presbyter dicere infirmo, corpus & ſanguis domini proficiat tibi, &c. *Regino de Eccleſ. Diſcipl. l.* 1. *cap.* 70. Proficiat tibi in remiſſionem peccatorum & vitam æternam, *Ivo Decret. part.* 2. *cap.* 19. *Burch. l.* 2. *c.* 9.

(*l*) Concil. Tom. 2. p. 528.

blood to his Diſciples, for there the commendation of the Bread apart, and of the Cup apart, is rehearſed; nor do we read, that Chriſt gave Bread dipp'd to any but to that Diſciple whom he would ſhew to be the betrayer of his Maſter by the ſop dip'd. This, ſaith (*m*) *Micrologus,* is the prohibition of *Julius, the Thirty fourth Pope, writing to the Biſhops of* Egpyt. (*m*) Cap. 19.

Thirdly, This will be farther evident from this Conſideration, That the *Fathers* do certainly ſpeak of the Conſecrated Bread and Wine, as of Two Sacraments; and that as really diſtinct as are the Sacraments of *Baptiſm* and *Chriſm.* This we may learn from all thoſe numerous paſſages in which they are ſtill ſtiled by the *Fathers* of the *Weſtern Church,* Sacramenta, Myſteria, Sacramenta Cœleſtia, divina Myſteria: *The Sacraments,* and *Myſteries* (in the Plural), *the heavenly Sacraments,* and *divine Myſteries*: and by the *Eaſtern Fathers,* ἅγια δῶρα, θεῖα μυστήρια, φρικτὰ μυστήρια, ἁγιάσματα: *The Holy Gifts, the divine Myſteries, the Holy Sacraments,* &c. Thus do the *Greeks* ſpeak of them to this very day; thus did the celebrated Writers of the *Weſt* ſpeak and write of them till the *Eleventh Century,* when *Tranſubſtantiation* began to be eſtabliſhed, and with it the Doctrine of *Concomitance. The Sacraments,* ſaith (*n*) *Iſidore Hiſpalenſis, are Baptiſm and Chriſm, the Body and the Blood of Chriſt, which are therefore called Sacraments, becauſe under the veil of Corporeal things, the divine Virtue doth more ſecretly work the Salvation of thoſe Sacraments.* Which words are borrowed from *Pope Gregory,* and are repeated by *Paſchaſius,* only with this addition, *Theſe are the Sacraments of the Church of Chriſt. Rabanus Maurus* hath the ſame words; and having diſcourſed of *Baptiſm* and *Chriſm,* he proceeds thus, *Becauſe we above diſcourſed, as much as God enabled us, of Two Sacraments, Baptiſm and Chriſm,* (*o*) ſupereſt ut de reliquis duobus, id eſt, Corpore & Sanguine Domini diligentius inveſtigemus, *It remains that we diſcourſe of the Two other Sacraments,* viz. *The Body and the Blood of Chriſt.* Whence firſt we learn that then the Sacraments were not accounted Seven, as they are now at *Rome*; but only Four, or rather Two, *Chriſm* being held as one with *Baptiſm,* and the Body and Blood of *Chriſt* being, as to the Species in which it was to be celebrated, double; which Species were therefore called *Sacraments* by *Gregory,*

(*n*) Sunt autem Sacramenta Baptiſmum & chriſma, corpus & ſanguis. *Orig. l. 6. c. 19. Raban. M. de Inſt. Cler. l. 1. c. 24. Paſch. cap. 9.*

(*o*) De Inſt. Cler. l. 1. c. 31.

(p) In 4. Sent. dist. 12. Art. 2. q. 2.

ſaith (p) *Bonaventure*, yet are they but one *Sacrament* by virtue of the Inſtitution, and end for which both are deſign'd, *viz. The Union of the body Myſtical.* Now they who do ſo often ſpeak of both theſe Species as *Sacraments*, the *Sacraments of the Church*, and as *Two Sacraments*, becauſe they have their diſtinct operations towards the health or the Salvation of thoſe who worthily Receive them, and both conduced to the Union of the *Myſtical Body* of the *Lord*, could not imagine, that by virtue of that *Concomitance*, of which they never ſpeak one word or ſyllable, the virtue of both Species was contained in, and was intirely conveighed by one alone. For they muſt be ſuppoſed to hold the Cup a *Sacrament* of our *Lord*'s Inſtitution, and therefore not ſuperfluous; that it was *Sacræ rei Signum: a Sign of a thing Sacred*, which did conveigh the Grace it ſignified, and operated to the Salvation of thoſe who worthily Received it, after they had received the Body, and which conduced unto the Union of the Body *Myſtical*, to their head *Chriſt Jeſus.* They laſtly muſt conceive, that to deprive Chriſt's Members of the Cup, was to deprive them of one Sacrament.

And, *Fourthly*, this appears from thoſe ſayings of the *Fathers* which attribute a diſtinct effect unto the ſeveral Species; (q) *The Fleſh of Chriſt was delivered*, ſaith St. *Ambroſe*, *for the Salvation of the Body*; *and the Blood was poured out for our Souls*, &c. (r) *Haymo* and *Anſelm* uſe the ſame words with a little variation; ſaying, That *we receive the Sacraments for ſafety of the Body and Soul*; *for the Fleſh was offered for the Salvation of the Body*, *and the Blood ſhed for our Souls*, *that both our ſubſtances might receive the inheritance of Eternal Life.* (s) *Peter Lombard*, (t) *Ivo Carnotenſis*, (u) *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, and (x) *Alexander* of *Hales* cite the very words of *Ambroſe*, to prove the ſame thing.

(q) Caro ſalvatoris pro ſalute corporis, ſanguis vero pro anima noſtra effuſus eſt. *In* 1 *Cor.* xi. *p.* 270.

(r) Haym. in 1 Cor. xi. p. 129. Anſelm. ibid.

(s) L. 4. diſt. 11. Quare ſub duplici ſpecie.

(t) Decret. p. 2. c. 7.

(u) Tom. 5. c. 6.

(x) Sum. Theol. part 3. num. 29. Art. 9.

And, *Fifthly*, This will be farther evident from thoſe *Fathers* who aſſert, That the Body is given under the one, the Blood under the other Species: This *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* informs thoſe whom he Catechiſed, That (y) *in the Species of Bread is given the Body of Chriſt*, *and in the Species of Wine his Blood.*

(y) Catech. Myſt. 4. p. 237.

Blood. The (z) *Liturgies* do in like manner pray, That *God would make this Bread the precious body of Chriſt, and that which is in the Cup the precious blood of Chriſt.* (a) *Lanfrank* informs us, That *ſumitur quidem caro per ſe, & ſanguis per ſe, The Fleſh is taken by it ſelf, and the Blood by it ſelf, the Fleſh under the form of Bread, and the Blood under the form of Wine.* They therefore ſeem not even in his days to have been acquainted with the new Doctrine of *Concomitance.*

(z) Lit. Chryſoſt. Tom. 6. P. 998.
(a) F. 11, 12.

Sixthly, This is apparent from the *Decrees* of *Leo* and *Gelaſius* concerning thoſe who in their time abſtained from the Cup. For of the *Manichees* (b) *P. Leo* ſaith, That they indeed received the Body of Chriſt, but *they declined, haurire ſanguinem Redemptionis noſtræ, to drink the Blood of our Redemption*; he therefore thought that they could not drink the Blood, according to our *Saviour*'s Inſtitution, who received not the Cup. (c) *Gelaſius* ſaith, That the declining of the Cup was *the dividing of one and the ſame Myſtery*, which could not truly be affirmed, if by taking of the Bread alone an entire Sacrament, and whole *Chriſt*, Body and Blood were taken and received. He alſo adds, *Let them either take the whole Sacrament, or be driven from the whole*, clearly intimating, that by receiving the Bread only they received not the whole.

(b) Serm. 4. in quadrageſ. cap. 5.
(c) Apud Ivon. decr. part. 2. cap. 89.

But it is needleſs to proceed in confutation of this vain imagination, for had it ever entered into the Heads of the Renowned *Fathers* of the *Church*, they would not ſo unanimouſly have ſaid, the Cup was neceſſary to be received *for the remembrance of our Lord's Death and Paſſion, for the procuring of our union to Chriſt, for the Remiſſion of Sins, for the increaſe of Grace, for the Sanctification and Salvation both of Soul and Body*; they would not have concluded the Sacrament was imperfect when it was not received; nor would they with ſuch Paſſion have exhorted thoſe who had received the Body *to come and be partakers of the Cup*; or ſtiled it, as in their *Liturgies* they always do, *the Cup of Life, Redemption* and *Salvation*, as we have ſeen they did.

§. 6. P. 356.

Mr. *Condom* nevertheleſs thus Triumphs over us; *Gentlemen open your own Books, open* Aubertine, *the moſt learned Defender of your Doctrine, you will find there, in almoſt every Page, paſſages taken from St.* Ambroſe, *St.* Chryſoſtom, *the two* Cyrils, *and from many others, where you may read, That in receiving the ſacred Body*

of our Lord, they received his Perſon it ſelf; ſeeing they received, ſay they, the King in their Hands, they receive Jeſus Chriſt, and the Word of God; they received his Fleſh as living, not as the Fleſh of a meer Man, but as the Fleſh of God; is not this to receive the Divinity together with the Humanity of the Son of God? and, in a word, his entire Perſon; after this what would you call Concomitancy?

Anſw. What is all this to the purpoſe? Is this the manner of ſpeaking uſed by the *Romaniſts* ſince the New Doctrine of *Tranſubſtantiation* was invented, and ſince the *Sacrilegious* Defalcation of the Cup? Do they expreſs *Concomitance* by ſaying, *You receive Jeſus Chriſt, the King, the Word of God, the living Fleſh of God?* Is it not this they carefully and frequently inculcate, that *under that one Species alone*, which is diſtributed to them, they receive *Jeſus Chriſt whole and entire?* Doth not the *Council* of *Conſtance* thus expreſs it, That (*d*) *it is firmly to be believed, and no way to be doubted, that the whole Body and Blood is truly contained both under the Species of Bread, and likewiſe under the Species of Wine?* Doth not the (*e*) *Trent Council* ſay, That *by virtue of this Concomitance, the Body is under the Species of Wine, and the Blood under the Species of Bread, Anathematizing* them who teach the contrary; and that *under one Species is contained a true Sacrament?* Are not the *Romaniſts* ſtill endeavouring to poſſeſs the People with theſe Sentiments, That *in receiving one Species alone they looſe nothing*, ſince by *Concomitancy* they receive both the Body and the Blood? Is it not this which the (*f*) *Trent Council* is ſo concerned to teach, that *as much is contained under either Species as under both?* Let therefore *Mr. Condom*, if he believes the *Fathers* held Concomitancy, ſhew out of all their Writings any thing of this Nature, which may convince us that they did aſſert it, or let him reſt aſſured, that what the *Romaniſts*, ſince the Twelfth Century (*g*) have been continually inculcating, and obtruding upon others, what filleth all their Books, and their Diſcourſes on this Subject, but never was once mentioned by any *Chriſtian* Writer for a Thouſand Years, though they were equally concerned, and had all the ſame reaſon, if they believed *Concomitancy*; yea, and the ſame occaſion, if they had generally practiſed the *half Communion*; ſo to do, is but a Novelty invented by the *Romiſh Doctors* only to ſerve a cauſe, and

(*d*) Seſſ. 13. vide Baſil. Seſſ. 30. *Concil Tom.* 12. *p.* 601.

(*e*) Seſſ. 13. cap. 3. & can. 1

(*f*) Seſſ. 13. cap. 3.

(*g*) Attendant inſuper Sacerdotes quod cum Communionem ſacram porrigant ſimplicibus, ſollicite eos inſtruant ſub panis ſpecie ſimul eis dari corpus & ſanguinem Domini. —*Concil. Lambeth. A.D.* 1281. *Concil. Tom.* 11. *part.* 1. *p.* 1159.

and juſtifie the *Defalcation* of the Cup. When the *Doctors* of that Church would in their *ſuppoſititious Treatiſes* make the Ancients ſpeak in this new *Dialect*, they do not mince the matter thus, but make them ſpeak exactly in their *Roman Language*. Thus in that *Epiſtle* falſly ſaid to be writ by *Iſidore Hiſpalenſis* to *Redemptus*, they introduce him ſpeaking thus, (*h*) *When the conſecration of the Elements is made, there is under the Species of Bread not the Fleſh of Chriſt only, and in the Chalice not his Blood only, as ſome unskilful perſons think, but in both there is God and Man, whole and entire Chriſt in his Glorified Body, whole Chriſt in the Cup, the living Bread who came down from Heaven is entire and whole in both.* Here is plain dealing, only the *Language* and other unqueſtionable Circumſtances, as (*i*) *Aubertine* well notes, demonſtrate, that the *Author* could not write before the middle of the Eleventh *Century*, becauſe the Controverſie betwixt the *Greeks* and *Latins* touching *unleavened Bread*, which gave occaſion to that Diſcourſe, began not till the year 1053.

(*h*) Cum prædictorum fuerit conſecratio, non, ut quidam putant indocti, ſub panis ſpecie, ſola caro Chriſti, & in Calice tantummodo ſumitur ſanguis, ſed in utroq; Deus & homo in corpore glorificato totus & integer Chriſtus, integer Chriſtus in calice, panis vivus qui de cœlo deſcendit totus eſt in utroq;. *Epiſt. Iſidori ad Redemptum, p.* 696.

(*i*) De Euchariſt. p. 902.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

CHAP. VIII.

The Contents.

The Assertions of J. L. *touching Communion in one kind*, §. 1. *Against whom it is proved*, (1.) *That Christ's Institution of the Sacrament is virtually a Command, obliging all the Faithful, as much as in them lieth to receive both kinds, which is proved by Three Reasons*, §. 2. 2dly. *That it appears not from the words of our Saviour*, Joh. vi. *that Christ left that Practice indifferent; where by many Arguments it is proved, That nothing in that Chapter relates to the Sacramental eating of the Eucharist*, §. 3. 3dly. *That this appears not from the Practice of our Lord or his Disciples*, §. 4. 4ly. *That it was the Custom of the Church for a Thousand Years to give the Sacrament to the Sick in both kinds*, §. 5. *And in like manner to Infants capable of receiving both*, §. 6. 5ly. *That neither* Leo *nor* Gelasius *gave any precept to the Church touching this matter*, §. 7.

§. 1. BY way of *Appendix* to this Treatise, I shall consider what the *Author* of *a Papist misrepresented and represented* hath discoursed upon this Subject, *Chap.* 21. where he asserts, "That *the Papist truly represented*, believes, That he is obliged "to obey all the Commands of Christ, and that neither his "*Church*, nor any other Power upon Earth can limit, alter or "anull any precept of Divine Institution, contrary to the in-"tention of the Law-giver. Neither is the denial of the Cup "to the Laity a practice any way opposite to this his Belief; "he being taught, that though *Christ* Instituted the blessed "Sacrament under both kinds, and so delivered it to his *Apo-*"*stles*, who only were then present, and whom he had made

Priests

" *Prieſts* juſt before; yet he gave no command, that it ſhould " be ſo received by all the Faithful, but left this indifferent; " as is evident from his own Words, where he attributes " the obtaining Life everlaſting, (the end of the Inſtitution) " ſometimes to the receiving under both kinds, ſometimes un- " der one; as when he ſays, *If any Man eat of this Bread, he* " *ſhall live for ever. He that eateth me, even he ſhall live by me.* " *He that eateth of this Bread ſhall live for ever*, (Joh. vi. 51, 57, 58.) " And a curious *Reader* may find as many Texts for thus " receiving under one kind, as for the other. And St. *Augu-* " *ſtin* who was ſo far of this Opinion, that he ſays, That " Chriſt himſelf adminiſtred the Sacrament to ſome of his Diſ- " ciples under one kind only, *viz.* to thoſe two going to *Emaus*, (*Luc. c. laſt.* 30.) " and that the *Apoſtles* afterwards did of- " ten practiſe the like, when they aſſembled to break Bread, (*Acts* ii. *&c.*) " which place he and many other *Fathers* ex- " plicate of the Sacrament, (*Aug. l.* 49. *de Conſ. Evang.*) " And this was the Cuſtom of the *Primitive Chriſtians*, to give it " under one kind to *Children*, the *Sick*, uſed ſo to carry it with " them, is atteſted by all ancient Writers, and modern *Hi-* " *ſtorians*. Nay he finds that this was the practice of the " Church, to communicate under one kind only, or elſe under " both, as every one thought good, eſpecially in all *Private* " *Communions*, for the firſt Four hundred years after *Chriſt*; " and that the firſt precept of receiving under both kinds was " given to the Faithful by *Pope Leo* I. in the Year 443, and " confirmed by *Pope Gelaſius* in 490. Not for correcting any " Abuſe that had crept into the *Church*, but for the diſcover- " ing the *Maniches*, who being of Opinion that *Chriſt* had no " true Blood, and that Wine was *the Gall of the Devil*, uſed to " lurk among the *Chriſtians*, and receiving under the form of " Bread only, as the reſt did, remained undiſtinguiſhed, till " by this obligation of all receiving the Cup (which they judged unlawful and abominable) " they were all detected. " And now, if a thing till that time indifferent, was for theſe " motives determined by an Eccleſiaſtical Precept, and ſo ob- " ſerved for many hundred Years, without ſcrupling or que- " ſtioning the Authority; why ſhould he doubt to ſubmit to " the ſame Authority, when upon different motives and cir- " cumſtances, they iſſue forth another Precept? Which *Ha-* " *rangue* contains theſe two Aſſertions. I. *That*

I. *That Christ gave no Command that the Sacrament of the Eucharist should be received in both kinds by the Faithful.*

II. *That he left this indifferent*; and that this appears,

1. From his own words, *Joh.* vi.

2. From his own practice, and from the practice of his own *Disciples* administring the Sacrament to the Faithful in Bread alone.

3. From the Custom of the *Primitive Church*, who gave it to the Sick, to Infants, to Men in a Journey to carry with them, in one kind only.

4. Because it was a thing indifferently practised, even in the *Church* till *Leo* the First, in the Year 443, upon occasion of the *Manichees*; and for Conviction of them, commanded the Receiving in both kinds; and *Pope Gelasius*, *A. D.* 490. confirmed that Precept.

In Opposition to which Assertions, I dogmatically affirm,

First, "That *Christ's Institution of this Sacrament is virtually* "*a Command, which lays an Obligation on all the Faithful, as* "*much as in them lieth, to receive both kinds.*

Secondly, "*That it doth not appear either from the words of* "*our Saviour*, Joh. vi. *or from the practice of himself, or his* "*Disciples, that he left this practice indifferent.*

Thirdly, "*That it was the Custom of the Church for a Thou-* "*sand Years together, to give the Sacrament to the Sick, and to* "*Infants capable of Receiving it in both kinds.*

Fourthly, "*That neither* Leo, *nor* Gelasius *gave any new* "*Precept to the Church touching this matter.* And,

§. 2. *First, That Christ's Institution of this Sacrament is virtually a Command, obliging all the Faithful, as much as in them lieth, to receive both kinds*, will be apparent from these following Arguments:

1. That our Lord said in the Institution of this Sacrament, *Drink ye All of this.* For whereas *Romanists* pretend, That *Christ* said only, *Drink ye all of this, to them, to whom he said, when speaking of the Bread, Do this*; and that those words were only spoken to his *Apostles*, whom he then made *Priests.* To this

this I anſwer, That we have clear and convincing Evidence that theſe words, *Drink ye all of this*, are to be applied to others beſides the *Apoſtles:* As V. Gr. 1. From *Chriſt*'s Inſtitution, whence I argue thus, *Chriſt* inſtituted no other Supper, than that which he adminiſtred to his *Diſciples*; if then he did not inſtitute that for *all Believers* capable, they have no right to any part of it, by virtue of *Chriſt*'s Inſtitution; it can be unto them no Sacrament, for whom it was not inſtituted by *Chriſt*, ſince, by the definition of the * *Trent Council*, the Sacraments of the *New Teſtament* were *all inſtituted by him*; they can expect no bleſſing from it, ſince that depends upon *Chriſt*'s Ordinance; nay they muſt be eſteemed *Sacrilegious Uſurpers*, as laying claim to that Sacrament which never by *Chriſt*'s Inſtitution did belong unto them. If *Chriſt* did Inſtitute that Sacrament for all Believers capable, that is, to be a ſtanding Ordinance by which, as his *Diſciples* then did, ſo all Believers capable, ſhould afterwards eat of what he called his Body, and drink of what he called his Blood, then did he Inſtitute it to be received of all that were fitted for, and capable to receive it, and in it ſaid unto them, *Drink ye all of this.*

* Seſſ. 7. c. 1.

2. This appears farther from the Reaſon annexed to the Receiving of the Sacrament by *Chriſt's Apoſtles*; for ſince that Reaſon equally concerns all *Believers* capable, and fitted to Receive it, the Inſtitution muſt concern them all. Now the reaſon why *Chriſt* ſaid to his *Apoſtles*, *Take, and eat* what I have *broken*, is by himſelf declared to be this; becauſe it was *his Body broken*, or his *Body given* for them; take it, ſaith *Chriſt*, *this is my Body given for you*; this therefore being the Reaſon why they were to take, and eat, and this Reaſon concerning all Believers capable, and fitted to receive it, as much as the *Apoſtles*, and ſucceeding *Prieſts*, the Inſtitution, or command to take and eat muſt equally concern them. This Argument transferred unto the *Cup* runs thus: The Reaſon of the Participating of the *Cup*, *viz.* becauſe *it is the Blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for the Remiſſion of Sins*, doth concern *Laicks* as well as *Prieſts*, his Blood being equally ſhed for both; therefore the Command, *Drink ye all of this*, to which the Reaſon is annexed, concerns them alſo. Again, another Reaſon why *Chriſt* ſaid to his *Apoſtles*, *Eat this Bread, and*

drink this Cup, was, that by so doing they might *remember his death*, his Body broken, and his Blood shed for them, saith St. *Luke*, and *shew it forth* till his second coming, saith St. *Paul*. Now this, as St. *Paul* clearly shews in his discourse to the *Corinthians*, and all the World believes, as well concerneth all Believers as it doth *Priests*; and therefore the drinking of the Cup, by which, as well as eating of the Bread, this Commemoration is by our *Lord*'s Institution to be made, must equally concern them.

A Second Argument to prove that *Lay*-men, by virtue of *Christ*'s Institution, have a right to, and are obliged to Receive this Cup of Blessing, is taken from these words of the
Chap. xiv. 23. Evangelist St. *Mark*, *And taking the Cup, giving thanks, he gave it to them, and they all drank of it*; For here the *Evangelist* informs us, That *All the Apostles* drank of this Cup, and I presume, they did it, because our *Saviour* gave it to them for that end, for to what other end it should be given them the *Roman Doctors* have not yet inform'd us. Now hence it follows, that *Lay*-men also have a right to be partakers of the Cup; for the *Apostles* were then *Lay*-men; they being afterwards
Joh. xx. 22. made *Priests* by our Lord's saying, after his Resurrection, *As my Father hath sent me, so send I you, receive the Holy Ghost.*
Joh. vij 39. For as our *Saviour* saith, *The Holy Ghost was not yet given, because Jesus was not glorified, or risen from the dead.* I know
Syn. Trid. Sess. 22. cap. 1. the *Roman Doctors*, and *J. L.* from the *Trent Council* teach, That the *Apostles were made Priests when Christ said, Do this:* and that then he gave them the *Chalice*, as Representatives of the *Clergy*, not of the People. But,

1. Let it be considered how unlikely it is, that *Christ* should at one time institute Two Sacraments, as they esteem them, *viz.* that of *Ordination*, and the *Eucharist*, and yet speak nothing of the Use or the Reason, or the Benefit or the Necessity of one of them, nor tell them that he did so, nor explicate the Mystery, nor distinguish the Rite, or the Words, (though the nature of these Sacraments, being so extreamly different, required these things) but that he should leave all this to be supposed by the most improbable construction in the World.

2. If the *Apostles* were made *Priests* by, *Hoc facite*, *Do this*, spoken before the Institution of the *Chalice*, then must *Judas* also

alſo be made a *Prieſt* by *Chriſt*; for that he alſo did receive the Sacrament, is extreamly evident from theſe words of *Luke*, *This Cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood —— but behold the Hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the Table.* Luk. xxij. 20, 21.

And,

3. If the *Apoſtles* were made *Prieſts* by our *Lord*'s ſaying, *Do this*, then were they doubly Conſecrated, and the *Character* of *Prieſts* was twice imprinted on them, which contradicts the common tenet of all *Chriſtians*, that *the Sacrament of Orders is not to be reiterated*; and the peculiar Tenet of the *Church* of *Rome*, That *Sacraments which impreſs a Character muſt not be reiterated.* The reaſon of the Conſequence is plain, becauſe, as the *Apoſtle* witneſſes, our Lord ſaid, *Do this*, both after the giving of the Bread, and after the giving of the Cup. Concil. Trid. Seſſ. 7. Can. 9. 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25.

4. Had the *Apoſtles* been made *Prieſts* by our Lord's ſpeaking of theſe words to them, yet being not *Conficients*, they had no right to receive it as *Prieſts*, more than the *Laity*; for the fore-mentioned *Councils* have determined, That *Clerks being not Conficients, are by no Divine Right obliged to Receive under both Species.* There being then no difference betwixt them and the *Laity*, in reference to this matter, ſince *All the Apoſtles* drank of this Cup, why ſhould not the Laity do ſo too?

A Third Argument to prove that Lay-men, by virtue of *Chriſt*'s Inſtitution, are obliged to receive the Cup of Bleſſing, is taken from the Recapitulation of our Lord's Inſtitution by St. *Paul*, who doth expreſly teach us, That *our Lord Jeſus, in the ſame Night in which he was betrayed, took the Cup, ſaying, This Cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it in remembrance of me.* Now in the Three *Evangeliſts* no ſuch words are expreſsly to be found; nor any thing like them ſpoken at the diſtribution of the Cup, unleſs theſe words, *Drink ye all of this, for this is my Blood of the New Teſtament, that is ſhed for many, for the Remiſſion of Sins*, be of like import with the words of St. *Paul*. Since therefore the *Apoſtle* doth expreſly teach, That our *Lord* uſed theſe words at his laſt Supper, and that he received them from the *Lord*, as words which he had ſpoken, then what remains, but they virtually are the ſame with thoſe recorded by St. *Matthew*; and then they muſt alſo be a Command obliging all to drink 1 Cor. xi. 25.

of this Cup, as being the Memorial of the Blood of the New Testament shed for them, and therefore to be drunk by all, in the remembrance of the Blood shed for them, as often as they did present themselves to Celebrate that *Holy Mystery*. I say, obliging all that are capable, when they present themselves before God, to Celebrate the memory of his precious Death, and his Blood shed for their Redemption, to drink of that Cup, which is the Memorial and Symbol of his Blood shed for them. For sure, the means which *Christ* appointed for such an end, ought to be used by all who are obliged to pursue that end: Since therefore all *Christians* are obliged Sacramentally to remember, That *Christ* shed his Blood for them, and by that Blood shed, confirmed the *New Covenant* to them; and since *Christ* hath appointed the drinking of this Cup, and this alone, to be the memorial of his Blood shed, all *Christians*, capable of doing so, must be obliged, when they do Sacramentally Commemorate these Mercies, to drink of this Cup. And this demonstratively follows from the ensuing words, *Do this, as oft as you drink it, in remembrance of me; for as often as you eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, you shew the Lord's death till he come*; for they do manifest, that as well by drinking of the Cup, as eating of the Bread the *Lord*'s Death is shewed, and that until his second coming, both these things are to be done in order to that end: And since these words are not the words of *Christ*, but of St. *Paul*, who speaks here of the whole *Church* of *Corinth*; the words preceeding, *Do this, as oft as you shall drink it, in remembrance of me*, must belong also to all the Members of that *Church*, because of the connective Particle which joins the 25*th* and 26*th* Verses, and makes it necessary that the same persons should be spoken to in the words. *This do*, &c. and in the following words, *For as often as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup*. And if this was the Duty of the whole *Church* of *Corinth*, it must be equally the Duty of the whole *Church* of *Christ*, there being no peculiar reason why the *Church* of *Corinth* should be obliged to drink this Cup, in order to these ends, more than all other *Christian Churches*.

Vers. 26.

And when our *Lord* hath taken so great Care to tell us, That the Bread is *his broken Body*, and therefore is to be eaten in remembrance of him, *i. e.* of his Body broken; that the

Cup

Cup is *the New-Taſtament in his Blood*, and therefore is to be drank in remembrance of his Blood ſhed for us: When his *Apoſtle* doth as diſtinctly ſay, *The Bread which we break is the Communion of the Body of Chriſt, the Cup which we bleſs is the Communion of the Blood*; and neither of them have hinted in the leaſt, that the Cup is the Communion of his Body, or the Bread of his Blood, but by a particular and ſeparate inſtitution, diſtribution, and ſignification aſcribed to them, have ſtrongly inſinuated the contrary; for men, after all this to ſay one of theſe Species will ſuffice, for the Bread is as well the blood ſhed as the broken Body, and the participation of it is the Communion of the Blood of *Chriſt*, and that by the partaking of it, we do as well remember and ſhew forth the ſhedding of his Blood upon the Croſs, as by the partaking of the Cup, is to my apprehenſion an affront offered to our dear *Lord*, and to the Wiſdom of the *Holy Ghoſt*. 1 Cor. x. 16.

In Anſwer to theſe Arguments, ſome of the *Roman Doctors* are pleaſed to ſay, that this Diſcourſe of the *Apoſtle* imports *only a conditional Order to do this in Remembrance of Jeſus Chriſt, as often as one ſhall do it, and not an order abſolutely to do it.*

To this I Anſwer, *1ſt.* He who not only doth command us at the celebration of the Sacrament, to remember his Blood ſhed, but alſo Inſtitutes a ſign for the memorial of it, and doth command us to uſe this ſign, becauſe it is appointed to be the memorial of it; commands us when we receive the Sacrament, to receive that ſign, for he who wills the end, muſt will the means which he hath inſtituted for the accompliſhing that end; but this doth *Chriſt*, for he inſtitutes a Cup of Wine to repreſent his Blood ſhed; he ſaith, *Drink ye all of this, for this is my Blood ſhed*, this I command you to do in remembrance of me: He therefore doth command us when we receive the Sacrament to receive this ſign, which, in his Inſtitution of this Sacrament, he appointed as the means of this remembrance.

2dly. He who commands us to drink this Cup, *as oft as we drink it in remembrance of him*, becauſe we do by drinking of it *ſhew forth the Lords Death till he come*, commands us to do it as oft as we receive the Sacrament, ſeeing as oft as we receive the Sacrament, we ſhew forth the Lord's Death; but *Chriſt*, ſaith the *Apoſtle*, did lay upon us this command for this very Reaſon, ſaying, *Do this, as oft as you ſhall drink it, in remembrance*

membrance of me, for as often as you shall eat this Bread and drink this Cup, you shew forth the Lord's Death till he come.

3*dly*. Where there is parity of Reason, there the command may very well be deemed of equal latitude and extent, for *ratio legis est lex*, where there is equal reason to command, there may we reasonably suppose the will of the *Law-giver* to be equal in commanding, but there is equal reason why our *Lord* should absolutely command the drinking of the Cup in remembrance of his Blood shed, as why he absolutely should say, touching the eating of the Bread, *Do this in remembrance of me*, the one being as much the Symbol of his Blood shed, as is the other of his broken Body, and the one shewing forth his Death as much as doth the other; we therefore have no cause to doubt, but that he equally intended the doing both in order to this end.

§. 3. Second, *That it doth not appear either from the words of our Saviour*, Joh. vi. *or from the practice of himself or his Disciples, that he left this practice indifferent*, will be made evident from an impartial consideration both of our *Saviour*'s words and of his practice, and first to clear up the true meaning of our *Lord*'s Discourse in the Sixth Chapter of St. *John*; Let it be observed,

First, That our *Lord*'s mystical Expressions of *labouring for the Meat that doth not perish*, of *eating the true Bread from Heaven*, are by himself plainly expounded to import only the believing on him, or the embracing of him as their *Prophet* and their *Saviour*; for when he had exhorted them *to labour for the meat that did not perish*, he tells them, *v.* 29. That this was *to believe on him that God had sent*; when he had told them, *v.* 35. That *he was the Bread from Heaven*, he immediately adds, *He that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth in me shall never thirst*. Having said, that he was *the Bread which cometh down from Heaven, and giveth Life unto the World*, *v.* 33. He confirms this Expression, *v.* 40. by these words, *This is the Will of my Father, that every one that seeth the Son, and believeth on him should have eternal Life*. And again, *v.* 47. *Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me hath everlasting Life, I am that Bread of Life.*

Secondly, Observe, that nothing was more common among the *Eastern Nations*, than to express the Actions of believing, embracing,

embracing, and obeying the words of *Wiſdom*, or hearkening to her Councils and Inſtructions, by eating and by drinking of them: Thus Wiſdom cryeth in the Streets, ſaith *Solomon*, *Come eat of my Bread, and drink of my Wine that I have mingled*; that is, *Go in the way of underſtanding*, v. 6. *Eat you that which is good, and let your Soul delight it ſelf in Fatneſs*; that is, *Incline your Ear, hear, and your Soul ſhall live.* And by the Son of *Syrach* Wiſdom is introduced ſpeaking thus, *They that eat me ſhall yet be hungry, and they that drink me ſhall yet be thirſty*, Eccluſ. xxiv. 21. *i. e. He that obeys me*, v. 22. Hence *Philo* the *Jew* informs us, That, τὸ φάγειν ἐστι σύμβολον τροφῆς ψυχικῆς, *to eat is a Symbol of Spiritual nouriſhment.* Add to this that of Mr. *Leightfoot*, That *the Talmudiſts make frequent mention of eating the Meſſiah*, and thereby underſtand only their being made partakers of his Benefits: And that of *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, upon that paſſage of St. *Paul*, *I have fed you with Milk, and not with ſtrong Meat*, viz. *Milk is the rudiments of Faith, or the Doctrines of the Catechiſm, the firſt nouriſhment of the Soul, ſtrong meat, a comtemplation which makes us to diſcern the divine power and eſſence*, σάρκες αὐτου καὶ αἷμα τὸ λόγε; *theſe*, Contemplations, *are the Fleſh and Blood of the Word*; βρῶσις γὰρ καὶ πόσις τὸ θείε λόγε ἡ γνῶσις ἐστι τῆ θείας ὐσίας, *the meat and drink of the divine Word is the knowledge of the divine Eſſence.*

Vide Leight. Hor. Hebr. in Joh. p. 112, 113.

Prov. ix. 5.

Iſa. lv. 2.

In Joh. vi. v. 51.

Strom. l. 5. p. 579.

Thirdly, Obſerve that from theſe *Metaphors* our *Lord* proceeds to that contained in theſe words objected by the *Roman Doctors*, v. 51. *The Bread which I will give is my Fleſh, which I will give for the Life of the World*; that is, It is my Body which I will give up unto death, that by it the world may have life, which is a greater Benefit exceedingly than that which you received from that *Manna* which *Moſes* gave you in the Wilderneſs, or from that meat with which I did ſo lately fill your Bodies. The *Jews* taking theſe words in a groſs ſence, as if our Lord had promiſed to give his *real Fleſh to be ſwallowed down their Throats, and eaten by them as they had eaten Bread the day before*, and as their fore-*Fathers* had eaten *Manna* in the Wilderneſs, exclaimed againſt him, as promiſing a thing abſurd, inhumane and impoſible, ſaying, *How can this Man give us his Fleſh to eat?* to this our *Saviour* Anſwers, v. 53. in words ſtill more expreſſive of his violent and bloody Death for the ſalvation of Mankind; *viz. Except you eat my Fleſh, and drink my Blood,*

Blood, &c. Now these words are by some conceived to import thus much, *Unless you with the Mouth of your Bodies do eat my real and corporeal Flesh, and drink my proper Blood, you cannot have eternal Life.*

Having premised these Observations, I shall now proceed to shew both from this *Chapter*, and from other Reasons, that our *Lord* spake not here of *oral* and *coporeal* eating of his natural Flesh, and drinking of his proper Blood, but only of doing of these things *spiritually*; and that not only in the celebration of that *Sacrament* which by our Lord was Instituted for the remembrance of his Death and Passion, but generally believing that by his Death and Passion he became the *Saviour* of the World, and purchased Pardon and Salvation for all that heartily believed in him, and would sincerely yield Obedience to his precepts. And,

1. Against the gross, and for the spiritual Interpretation of these words I argue from the 51. *v.* thus, The Flesh which Christ here promised to *give for the Life of the World*, is the same with *the Bread of God that cometh down from Heaven, and giveth Life unto the World*, *v.* 33. for so we learn expresly from these words; *I am the living Bread which came down from Heaven, if any Man eat of this Bread he shall live for ever*; *and the Bread which I will give is my Flesh, that I will give for the Life of the World.* And again, having said, *He that eateth my Flesh and drinketh my Blood hath eternal Life*, v. 54. and *he that eateth me shall live by me*, *v.* 57. he adds immediately, *This is the Bread which came down from Heaven —— and he that eateth of this Bread shall live for ever.* Now our Lord hath expresly taught us, that the eating of this Bread of Life imported only our believing on him, *v.* 35. as hath already been made evident from our second Observation; therefore the eating of his Flesh doth certainly import the same spiritual Action. Moreover we are only to eat of *Christ* as *Flesh*, in that importance of the Phrase in which we are to eat of Christ as *Bread*, for as Christ saith, he will give *Flesh to eat*, so doth he say, he will give *Bread to eat*; as he saith, *He that eateth of my Flesh shall live for ever*, so he saith *He that eateth of this Bread shall live for ever*; but none can say that *Christ* was or could properly be Bread, or eaten by the Mouth as such, wherefore he being only figuratively and spiritually Bread, could only figuratively and spiritually be

be eaten as Bread; if therefore in the ſame importance only we are to eat his Fleſh, that alſo is to be eaten in a ſpiritual Sence.

2. From theſe words, *v.* 52. *How can this Man give us his Fleſh to eat?* 'tis evident the *Jews* conceived that our *Lord* promiſed to give them his proper Fleſh to eat, and ſwallow down their Throats, as they had done the Bread with which he fed them. And it on all hands is agreed, that they miſtook the ſence of *Chriſt*'s words, and fanſied ſuch a meaning of them as he did not intend; but had our *Lord* intended the *corporeal* eating of his Fleſh and drinking of his Blood, 'tis certain that it muſt be ſwallowed down their Throats, as properly as was the Bread which they had eaten; and therefore no Man who maintaineth this corporeal eating of *Chriſt*'s Fleſh to be intended here, can, ſuitably to his Opinion, ſay, That they impoſed a falſe ſence upon our *Saviour*'s words, ſince from this ſence it does inevitably follow, that *Chriſt* intended that his humane Fleſh ſhould properly be eaten; and their words ſignifie no more. Add to this one Conſideration, which ſhews what apprehenſions the *Fathers* of the firſt Three *Centuries* had of this eating of the Fleſh of *Chriſt*, *viz.* when 'twas objected to them by the *Heathens* that they did *eat Man's Fleſh*, they conſtantly in their *Apologies* reject the accuſation as the vileſt calumny, and as a moſt abominable thing ſufficient to diſcover that the *Author* of ſuch an inſtitution muſt be ſome wicked *Dæmon*, ἀνθρωπείων σάρκων βόρεις ὃ γινώσκομεν; *We Chriſtians*, ſaith (*a*) *Juſtin Martyr*, *do not own the eating of humane fleſh*, it is an infamous thing, and falſly is reported of us: This is, ſaith (*b*) *Theophilus*, the moſt *wicked* and *inhumane* of all Crimes objected to us, σαρκῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἡμᾶς ἐφάπτεσθαι; *that we partake of humane fleſh*, it is not poſſible we ſhould be guilty of ſo vile a thing. *Amongſt us there is no eating of Man's fleſh*, ſaith (*c*) *Tatian*, you *are falſe witneſſes* who ſay this of us. *No Man*, ſaith (*d*) *Athenagoras*, *who is not mad*, can charge us with this thing, ὃ γὰρ ὅτι πάσαις κρεῶν ἀνθρωπικῶν; *for we may not eat humane fleſh.* It is the Calumny of the *Devil*, ſaith (*e*) *Minutius*. *You may be aſhamed to object it to us* Chriſtians, ſaith (*f*) *Tertullian*; whereas had they received this as an Article of *Chriſtian* Faith, that they did daily eat the Fleſh of the Man Chriſt, and thought that this Diſcourſe

(*a*) Apol. 2. p. 70. l. 50.

(*b*) Ad Autol. l. 3 p. 119, 126.

(*c*) Παρ' ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρωποφαγία, Contr. Græc. p. 162.

(*d*) Legat. p. 38.

(*e*) P. 32.

(*f*) Apol. cap. 9.

not only taught, but even obliged them so to do, I know not with what Truth or what Sincerity they could, without all limitation or exception, not only have denied, but even detested the doing so.

But that which puts it without doubt, that *Christians* in the *Primitive Ages* had no apprehension, that *Christ* by this Discourse had taught them, that his proper flesh and Blood was to be eaten in the Sacrament, is the memorable History of *Sanctus* and *Blandina*, two *Christian Martyrs*, written by *Irænæus* Bishop of *Lions*, and preserved to us in (*b*) *Oecumenius* thus, That *the Heathens having apprehended the Servants of Christians Catechized, and using force with them, that from them they might learn something secret; the Servants having nothing to say that might be pleasing to their Tormentors, in as much as they had heard from their Masters, that the Holy Sacrament was the Body and Blood of Christ,* αὐτοὶ νομίσαντες τὸ ὄντι αἷμα καὶ σάρκα εἶναι τοῦτο ἐξέπον τοῖς ἐπιζητοῦσι; *they thinking that it had indeed been flesh and blood, told this to the Inquisitors, who apprehending,* ὡς αὐτόχρημα τοῦτο τελοῦσι Χριστιανοῖς, *as if the Christians had done that very thing, gave notice of it to other Heathens, and they endeavoured by torments to force the Martyrs,* Sanctus *and* Blandina, *to confess it, to whom* Blandina *readily and boldly answered, saying, How should they endure these things who so fast as not to enjoy lawful Flesh.* This, I say, is a clear indication, that the *Ancient Christians* did not believe that in this Sacrament they did eat *Christ's* proper flesh and blood, or that our *Lord* did here require them to do so; for if they had thus thought, how could *Irenæus* have represented it as a plain mistake, both in these *Servants* and these *Heathens*, to think the Sacrament was, τὸ ὄντι, *really Christ's flesh and blood*; and that the *Christians* by receiving of it did really eat Flesh and Blood? How could he have introduced *Blandina* refuting this Imagination, had it been the Sentiment of the then *Church* of *Christ*, since by so doing, she must have rejected one great Article of *Christian* Faith? How, lastly, could *Oecumenius* have inserted these words into his Commentary, without endeavouring to sweeten, and explain, and reconcile them to the Doctrine of the proper Manducation of *Christ*'s Flesh and Blood.

(*b*) In 1 Pet. ii. 12. p. 149. g. a.

Again, since that this Doctrine came into the world, that is, since it was broached first by *Paschasius* in the *Ninth Century*, the Assertors of it give two Reasons why, though we

corporally

corporally eat that very Fleſh which ſuffered on the Croſs, and drink *that very Blood which was then ſhed* corporeally, yet is that Fleſh and Blood concealed from our outward Senſes under the ſhape of Bread and Wine. The *firſt* is this, (*i*) *Ut ridiculum nullum fiat Paganis quod cruorem occiſi hominis bibamus, that we might not be ridiculous to the* Pagans, *by eating humane Fleſh, and drinking the Blood of a ſlain Man; for this*, ſaith he, *would make our Religion execrable, and cauſe them to condemn the Chriſtians as the vileſt of Men:* And again, ſhould the ſhape of Fleſh appear, it would be (*k*) *Perfidis execratio, execrable to the Heathens.* 'Tis thus concealed, ſaith (*l*) *Algerus*, *Ne infidelibus pateat, & eorum Blaſphemiis vileſcat, Leaſt it ſhould appear to Infidels, and lie open to their Blaſphemies, and leaſt they ſhould judge us inhumane and cruel, as being eaters and drinkers of humane Fleſh and Blood. Secondly*, Leaſt *Chriſtians perceiving things raw and bloody, ſhould be filled with horrour*, ſaith (*m*) *Lanfrank*, leaſt *if the Faithful ſhould perceive the Colour and the taſte of Fleſh and Blood*, humana pietas abhorreret, *humane piety ſhould abhorr the Action*, ſaith (*n*) *Algerus*. Should it appear thus, ſaith (*o*) *Hugo Lingonenſis, Rarius in terris eſſet qui hoc non abhorreret, There would be ſcarce a Man on Earth that would not abhorr it. It would*, ſaith (*p*) *Petrus Cluniacenſis*, Fidem lædere, vel ad ſcandalum quorumlibet poſſit corda movere, *Be prejudicial to the Faith, and ſcandalize the Minds of all Men.* The profit of the receiving the Sacrament would be hindred, ſaith (*q*) *Algerus, by the horror of eating humane fleſh*, quoniam Chriſtum vorari dentibus fas non eſt, *for it is not lawful to devour Chriſt with the Teeth.* Now let us in the fear of God conſider, whether that Sence of *Scripture* is to be received, which makes that certainly to be believed by the eye of Faith, which if it were perceived by the Eye of Senſe, would render our Religion Ridiculous, and execrable to the *Pagan* World; which, did we ſee our ſelves but ready to perform what actually we do, we ſhould utterly abhorr to do, and ſhould be horribly ſcandalized at our own Actions, which did Men ſee us do, they could not but eſteem us cruel and inhumane: Since that the *Heathens* have underſtood this is become an *Article* of *Chriſtian* Faith, do they not open their Mouths in *Blaſphemies* againſt us, as freely as if they ſaw us eat and drink *Chriſt*'s

(*i*) C. 13. Al. 36.

(*k*) C. 37.

(*l*) Alger. l. 2. c. 3. f. 15. b.

(*m*) F. 133. b.

(*n*) L. 2. c. 3.

(*o*) P. 224.

(*p*) P. 215. b.

(*q*) Impediretur perceptionis ejus commoditas pro humani corporis comedendi horrore injecto. *L.* 1. *c.* 7. *l.* 1. *c.* 16.

flesh and blood corporeally? Did not (r) *Averroes* declare in the 12*th*. Century, *He found no Sect more foolish than the Christians, because they ate the very God they worshipped*? Doth not (s) *Achmed Ben Edris* say, *We use Christ worse than did the Jews, because it is more Savage to eat his flesh and drink his blood, than only to procure his Death*? Do not the (t) *Mahometans* point at us, saying, There goes a *God-eater*? And doth not then this their Doctrine render their Religion as plainly Execrable and Ridiculous to the *Heathen* world, as if they saw them eat of humane flesh and drink of humane blood?

(r) Apud Dionys. Carth. in Sent. 4. Dist. 10. Art. 1.

(s) Apud Hotting. Hist. Eccl. Sæc. 16. Part. 2. p. 160.

(t) Monsieur la Boulay Voyag. part. 1. c. 10. p. 21.

3. The 53. *v.* affords two further Arguments in Refutation of the *corporeal* sence of these Expressions, 1. That it follows plainly from it, that the *Thief* upon the *Cross*, and all the pious and believing *Jews* who heard these words, and died before our *Saviour*'s Passion, must of necessity be damned, for our *Lord* saith with an *asseveration* to them, *Except you eat the flesh, &c.* now this was said at least above a Year before our *Saviour*'s Passion, and so before the Institution of that Sacrament, in which alone his flesh could be corporally eaten; and therefore had it been intended of *corporeal* and sacramental eating, it was impossible that any person of those Hearers could be saved, who died in the ensuing year. 2. These words interpreted in the corporeal Sence do plainly and inevitably inferr, That they who do deprive the *Laity* all their whole lives of drinking of this blood, expose them to inevitable damnation, *Christ* having said, *Except you drink the Blood of the Son of Man, you have no Life in you*; for though eating and drinking being taken figuratively, do signifie the same thing, *viz.* believing in a crucified *Saviour*; yet being taken properly, they cannot be reputed the same thing: For albeit they who receive the body only, may be well said to eat the flesh of *Christ*, because they take something by way of Meat into their Mouths, yet cannot they be said to drink his blood, if they take nothing into their Mouths by way of Drink: Since therefore eating and drinking are two distinct Actions, so that he cannot properly be said to drink, who only eats, since the privation of Life is here connected with not drinking of *Christ*'s blood, as much as with not eating of his flesh, according to the corporeal Interpretation

Joh. vi. 4.

pretation of theſe words, he muſt certainly be deprived of the Life here promiſed, who doth not receive the Cup; becauſe he is deprived of drinking of the Blood of Chriſt.

4. From *Verſ.* 54, 56. the Argument runs thus, whoſoever eateth the Fleſh, and drinketh the Blood of Chriſt in the ſence here ſpoken of, *abideth in Chriſt, and Chriſt in him*; and therefore is a true and living Member of Chriſt's Body, and he *ſhall have Eternal Life*, and be partaker of an happy *Reſurrection*, and ſo no perſon can be either wicked here, or deprived of Everlaſting Life hereafter, who in this ſence here mentioned eats of the Fleſh, and drinketh of the Blood of Chriſt. Now this is very true of eating Spiritually, and by Faith, as it imports believing on *Chriſt*; for *This*, ſaith Chriſt, *is the Will of him that ſent me, That every one who believeth on the Son* *Verſ.* 40. *may have Everlaſting Life*; *and I will raiſe him up at the laſt Day:* but then of Sacramental eating of *Chriſt*'s Fleſh, it is as falſe; for this was eaten by a *Judas*, and continually is eaten by Millions who are both wicked here, and will be damned hereafter; this therefore cannot be the import of our *Saviour*'s words: and here obſerve, 1. That our Lord ſpeaks in the general, *whoſoever eats*. 2. That he ſpeaks thus, not by way of Promiſe, which might be conditional, but by way of plain Aſſertion, and declaration of a thing moſt certain. And, 3. That the Text ſhews the eating mentioned here, can never be performed unprofitably, no not without the greateſt benefit; for 'tis oppoſed to the eating of *Manna* in the Wilderneſs, on this account, that whereas that gave only Temporal Life, this would aſſuredly conferr Eternal; whereas that was not able to preſerve from Temporal, this would preſerve from Death Eternal.

5. Moreover, *Verſ.* 61, & 62. our Lord ſpeaks thus, *Doth this offend you, what if you ſhall ſee the Son of Man aſcend up where he was before: i. e.* are you offended that I thus ſpeak of giving you my Fleſh to eat; do you look on this Expreſſion *now* as ſo abſurd and unintelligible, what then will you think of it, when this Body ſhall be removed hence to Heaven? *i. e.* How will you then be ſcandalized, and think it ſtill more difficult, and more impoſſible to apprehend how you ſhould eat my Fleſh and drink my Blood, provided you go on to underſtand my words in the groſs carnal Sence. For *Athanaſius*

(u) In illud Evang. Quicunque dixerit, P. 979.

sius (u) saith well, That Christ here mentioneth his ascent into Heaven, ἵνα τὴν σωματικὴς ἐννοίας αὐτὸς ἀφελκύσῃ, *That he might divert them from the corporeal sence*; and therefore argued thus, "Seing it will be hen impossible that you should corporally "eat my Flesh, when it is so far removed from you; by this "you may discern, I speak of a spiritual eating of it. Whence by the way we learn, That *Christ* thought his Ascention into Heaven sufficient demonstration to the *Jews*, his Flesh could not be eaten upon Earth; and why it should not be so to the *Christian* I am yet to learn.

6. The 63. *Vers.* affords us a more plain and certain Exposition of our *Saviour*'s meaning in the precedent words; for thus they run, *It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the Flesh profiteth nothing*; (x) *The words that I speak unto you, they are Spirit, and they are Life:* For the import of these words is to this effect; unto that eating and drinking, of which in this Discourse I have still spoken, I have annexed the Promise of Life, saying expressly, *He that eateth me shall live by me*; he shall by me be quickned: Now all Men know, That 'tis the Spirit in them that gives them Life, and when that Spirit is taken from them, the Flesh cannot live, or minister to the continuance of their Life; by which similitude you may plainly learn, I spake not of my real Flesh, when I told you, that by eating it, you should have Life, but of my Word and Doctrine, that of my *Passion* more especially; for my words which I speak to you, they are Spirit, and they are Life; *i. e.* if you will hearken to them, they will make you live Spiritually here, Eternally hereafter, and by so doing will be Life: yea, where they are embraced, they are that to the new Man, which is the Spirit to the Flesh; they give him Life, Activity, and Motion, and therefore they are Spirit. Had our Lord said, it is the Spirit that quickeneth, the Flesh profiteth nothing, *therefore the Flesh which I will give, shall be still joined to my Divinity, and by the virtue of it give you Life*, he had said somewhat

(x) Ἃ λελάληκα ὑμῖν πνεῦμά ὄζι καὶ ζωή ὄζι, διὰ ὧν ἐπαίδδεν αὐτὸς πνευματικῶς ἀκέειν δεῖ τὴν σάρκ☩ καὶ τὸ αἷμα☩ αὐτῦ λελεγμένων· μὴ γὰρ τὴν σάρκα ἰῶ δεῖκμαι νομίσετέ με λέγειν, ὡς δέον αὐτῷ ἐδίειν· μηδὲ τὸ αἰδητὸν καὶ σωματικὸν αἷμα πίνειν· ὑπολαμβάνετέ με προσάπλειν· ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσε ὅπ τὰ ῥήματά μὰ ἃ λελάληκα ὑμῖν πνεῦμά ὄζι καὶ ζωή ὄζι· ὥσε αὐτὰ εἶ) τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τὸς λόγυς αὐτῦ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα ὧν ὁ μετέχων ἀεὶ, ὡσανεὶ ἄρτῳ ἀρανίῳ τρεφόμεν☩ τὴν ἀρανίυ μεδέξει ζωῆς. Μὴ δὴ ἓν φησὶ σκανδαλιζέτω ὑμᾶς τῦτο ὃ δεῖ βρώσεως τὴν ἐμῆς σάρκ☩, καὶ δεῖ πόμα☩ τῦ ἐμῦ αἵμα☩ εἰρηκα· μηδὲ ταραπέτω ὑμᾶς ἢ δεόχεσθ☩ ἀκοὴ δεῖ τὴν σάρκ☩ καὶ αἷμα☩ εἰρημένων μοι· ταῦτα γὰρ ὠδὲν ὠφελεῖ αἰδητῶς ἀκεόμενα· τὸ δ' πνεῦμά ὄζι τὸ ζωοποιῦν τὺς πνευματικῶς ἀκέειν δυναμένυς. Euseb. de Eccleſiaſtic. Theolog. l. 3. c. 12.

what like the ſence which others put upon this Text; but ſaying only, *The words which I ſpeak unto you, they are Spirit*, we cannot doubt but he ſpeaks of eating and of drinking of his words ſpiritually.

7. Our *Saviour* having ſaid unto the Twelve, *Will ye alſo go away?* St. *Peter* Anſwers, *To whom ſhould we go? Thou haſt the words of eternal Life, and we believe thou art that Chriſt the Son of the living God.* Where, (1.) obſerve, that *Peter* here doth as it were repeat the words of *Chriſt*; *My words are Life*, ſaith *Chriſt*; *Thou haſt the words of Life eternal*, ſaith St. *Peter*; whereas, if he had underſtood our *Saviour*, to have ſpoken here of *Oral* Manducation, his *Anſwer* would in all probability have been to this effect, *Whatſoever appearance there may be of inhumanity, abſurdneſs, and impoſſibility in eating of thy natural Fleſh, and drinking of thy Blood; yet we believe it, becauſe thou haſt ſaid it, who art Truth it ſelf, and who art able to make good thy words*; we therefore hearing nothing of this tendance from him, we may conclude, that he knew nothing of this import of them. And, 2. obſerve, that he thought it ſufficient to ſay, *We believe thou art the Chriſt*, which if our Lord ſpake here of *Oral* Manducation, was nothing to the purpoſe, but if he only ſpake of ſpiritual eating of him, was the very thing which was deſigned by our *Lord* in this Diſcourſe, and which he ſpake of in thoſe words, which ſo much offended others. We therefore conclude with *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, That (y) *when our Lord ſaid, Eat my Fleſh and drink my Blood, he allegorically meant the drinking of Faith, and of the Promiſes, and that our Lord is by way of Allegory to thoſe that believe in him, Meat, Fleſh, and Nouriſhment, and Bread, and Blood.* With *Tertullian*, That (z) *our Lord all along urged his intent by Allegory, calling his word fleſh, as being to be hungred after, that we might have Life*; auditu devorandus, ruminandus intellectu, & fide digerendus, *to be devoured by the Ear, ruminated upon by the mind, and by Faith digeſted.* With *Origen*, That (a) *we are ſaid to drink his Blood, when we receive his words, in which Life conſiſts,*

(y) Φάγεσθέ μȣ τὰς σάρκας εἰπὼν, καὶ πίεσθέ μȣ τὸ αἷμα· Ἐναργὴς ἡ πίστεως καὶ ἡ εὐαγγελίας τὸ πόπμον ἀλληγορῶν, &c. Pædag. lib. 1. cap. 6. pag. 100. Τὸ δὲ αἷμα δι' ὅλȣ ἀλληγορεῖται, &c. ibid. pag. 104, 105.

(z) De Reſur. Carn. cap. 36, 37.

(a) Bibere autem dicimur ſanguinem Chriſti — cum ſermones ejus recipimus. *Hom.* 16. *in. Num. fol.* 123. Caro ejus verus eſt cibus, & ſanguis ejus verus eſt potus, carnibus enim & ſanguine verbi ſui, tanquam mundo cibo ac potu, potat, & reficit omne hominum genus. *Hom.* 7. *in Levit. fol.* 73.

that

that *his flesh is meat indeed, and his blood drink indeed, because he feedeth all Mankind with the flesh and blood of his word, as with pure meat and drink.* With (*b*) *Eusebius*, That *his Words and Doctrines are Flesh and Blood.* With *Athanasius*, That (*c*) *the words which Christ spake were not carnal but spiritual; for how many could his Body have sufficed for Meat, that it should be made the Food of the whole World.* With St. *Austin* (*d*) *Ut quid paras dentes, & ventrem, crede & manducasti, credere enim in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum, why provideſt thou Teeth and a Belly, believe, and thou haſt eaten, for to believe in him, is to eat the living Bread.* And laſtly with (*e*) St. *Jerom*, *In the trueſt Sence, the Body and the Blood of Christ is the Word and Doctrine of the Scripture:* Caro Chriſti & ſanguis ejus in auribus noſtris infunditur, *the fleſh and blood of Christ is poured into our Ears.* We ſay in the Language of *Origen*, (*f*) *Si filii eſtis Eccleſiæ, — agnoſcite quia figuræ ſunt, — ſi enim ſecundum literam ſequaris; If you are Sons of the Church, own theſe things to be Figures, for if you follow the Letter, this very ſaying, Except you eat the Fleſh, is a killing Letter:* In the words of (*g*) *Euſebius* pronounced in the name of *Christ*, *Do not think that I ſpeak of that Fleſh with which I am compaſſed, as if you muſt eat of that, neither imagine that I command you to drink of my ſenſible and bodily Blood, but underſtand well, that the words that I have ſpoken to you, they are Spirit and Life*; for, as St. *Austin* ſaith, touching the Expoſition of Scripture Phraſes, (*h*) *If the ſaying be preceptive, either forbiding a wicked Action, or commanding that which is good, it is no figurative Speech, but if it ſeems to command any wickedneſs, or to forbid what is profitable and good, it is figurative. This ſaying, Except you eat,* &c. *ſeems to command a wicked thing, it is therefore a figure, enjoining us to communicate in the Paſſion of our Lord, and ſweetly and profitably to remember that his Fleſh was wounded and Crucified for us.*

(*b*) Ubi ſupra.

(*c*) Ἵνα μάθωσιν ὅτι ἃ λέγω οὐκ ἔστι σαρκικὰ, ἀλλὰ πνευματικὰ, πόσοις γὰρ ἤρκει τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ εἰς βρῶσιν; ἵνα καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦτο τρέφῃ γένηται. Tom. 1. pag. 979.

(*d*) Tract. 25. in. Johan. Tom. 9. p. 218. & Tract. 26. p. 223.

(*e*) Licet & in Myſterio poſſit intelligi, tamen verius Corpus Chriſti, & ſanguis ejus ſermo ſcripturarum eſt. *In Pſal.* 147. *fol.* 94. a.

(*f*) Hom. 7. in Levit. *ibid.*

(*g*) Ubi ſupra.

(*h*) De Doctrin. Chriſtiana li. 3. cap. 16.

§. 4. 2. I ſhould proceed Secondly to ſhew, That it doth not appear from the practice of *Christ* himſelf in breaking Bread, and giving it unto Two *Diſciples* at *Emaus*; nor from the practice of his *Diſciples*, who are ſaid to have *continued in breaking*

Luc. xxiv. 30.

Acts ij. 42.

of

of Bread, and who were *gathered together to break Bread*; that both our *Lord* and his *Diſciples* communicated in one kind only: But theſe Pretenſions have been ſo fully anſwered by a late excellent Diſcourſe of *Communion in one kind*, in Anſwer to the *Biſhop* of *Meaux* from Pag. 22 to 28, that it is ſuperfluous further to inſiſt upon them, eſpecially ſeeing the Author of the (*i*) *Hiſtory* of the *Trent Council* hath informed us, that 'twas the Judgment of ſome of the *Fathers* there, That *all theſe places muſt be laid aſide as impertinent to this matter, or inſufficient to prove that for which they are produced, becauſe had they concerned the Euchariſt, they muſt have been Inſtances, not only of taking, but alſo of conſecrating the Holy Sacrament in one kind, and ſo by them it would be concluded that it was not Sacrilege to conſecrate one kind without the other*; which, ſay they, *is contrary to all the Doctors, and the meaning of the Church, and overthroweth the diſtinction of the Euchariſt, as it is a Sacrifice, and as it is a Sacrament.*

Acts xx. 7.

(*i*) Li 6. pag. 486.

§. 5.

3. Waving this therefore, I proceed Thirdly to ſhew, that *it was the Cuſtom of the Church to give the Sacrament to the Sick, and to Infants capable of receiving of it, in both kinds.* And,

1. Whereas *J. L.* doth with true *Romiſh* confidence affirm, *That all ancient Writers do atteſt, that it was the cuſtom to give this Sacrament under one kind to the Sick*; the contrary is extreamly evident, not only by the inſtances collected by the learned (*k*) *Dally*, of Sick Perſons who communicated in both kinds from the 4th. to the 10th. Century, but alſo from the *Canons* of the whole *Church* of *Chriſt*; for in the third Century St. *Cyprian*, and the *Presbyters* of *Rome* inform us, That *they had agreed that* (*l*) *if the lapſed Penitents were indangered by ſickneſs*, and they were nigh to Death's door, *they ſhould be admitted to the peace of the Church*, and that *they ſhould be relieved in the thing which they deſired.* How was it that they did relieve the infirm when Death approached? even the ſame way that they did the ſtrong, (*m*) *Protectione ſanguinis, & corporis Chriſti, With the protection of the Body and the Blood of Chriſt*, ſaith *Cyprian.* What was it that they deſired, and ſome of them invaded? St. *Cyprian* informs us that it was (*n*) *Sanctum Domini, The Holy of the Lord*; it was the *Euchariſt*

(*k*) De Cultu Lat. l. 5. c. 11. p. 641, 642.

(*l*) Si urgere exitus ceperit. *Ep.* 18. Si premi infirmitate aliqua & periculo cœperint. *Ep.* 19. Si de Sæculo excederint. *Ep.* 20. item *Ep.* 30, 31.

(*m*) Ep. 57.

(*n*) Ep. 31.

rist, that is, *the Body and the Blood of Christ*; which St. *Cyprian* shews plainly, by saying it ought not to be given to them till they had done penance, confessed and received imposition of hands, because it is written, (o) *He that eats the Bread or drinks the Cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.* What was it that they endeavoured to extort? St. *Cyprian* saith, It was (p) *the Body and the Blood of Christ*, being angry with, and even threatning the *Priests*, that *they did not* (q) *presently receive the Body of Christ into their defiled Hands, or drink the Blood of the Lord with their polluted Mouth.* What was it that *Trophimus* a lapsed *Priest* was admitted to? St. *Cyprian* saith, It was (r) *Lay-Communion.* Now what that was, (s) *Rigaltius* upon the place informs us, saying, That it was *the participation of both Species, but as a Lay-man, not in the Order of Priests*, to which having once lapsed, he was not by the Discipline of those Times to be again admitted, and this was the Law established by the *Councils* of those Times in *Rome*, *Africa*, and many other places, touching the receiving of Penitents. This, saith (t) *Garsias Lomsa* is that which *Cyprian* stiles, *affording them the Peace of the Church, even the giving them admission to the Body and the* Blood *of Christ.* According to this Law which generally obtained, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* left it in command to his *Presbyter*, that *if any of the Penitents who were about to depart this Life, should ask it, and chiefly, if they had before been Supplicants for it*, (u) *they should participate of the Divine Gifts, and so be sent out of the World.* This is that (x) *old Canonical* Law, confirmed by the first *Nicene Council*, that if any one (who had not finished his time of Penance) was about to die, he should not be deprived, τελείᾳ καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτῃ ἐφοδίῳ, *of his last and most necessary Viaticum*; that is, say *Zonaras* and *Balsamon*, he should not be deprived, τῆς μεταλήψεως τῶν ἁγιασμάτων, *of the participation of the consecrated* Gifts: Τῆς τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων μεταλήψεως; *of the participation of the Divine* Mysteries, saith (y) *Matthew Blastares.* This

(o) Ep. 16.

(p) Vis infertur corpori ejus & sanguini. *De Lapsis*, p. 128.

(q) Quod non statim Domini corpus inquinatis manibus accipiat, aut ore polluto Domini sanguinem bibat.

(r) Ut Laicus communicet, *Ep.* 55.

(s) Hæc erat tunc temporis cummunio Laica cujus adeo participes Eucharistica Sacramenta, Speciem inquam utramque panis & vini sumebant.

(t) Hoc est, apud Cyprianum lapsis pacem dari, Hoc est, ad communionem corporis & sanguinis Domini admitti. *Not. in Can.* 11. *Concil. Tolet. undecimi.*

(u) Hist. Eccl. l. 6. cap. 44. Vide Not. in locum.

(x) Ὁ παλαιὸς καὶ κανονικὸς νόμος διαφυλαχθῆσαι. Can. 13.

(y) Con. Oxon. Tom. 2. p. 180.

This is that Law of the *Fathers* of which (z) *Gregorius Nyſſen* ſpeaks, when he ſaith, That *the Philanthropy of the Fathers took care, that if any departed this Life, having not finiſhed his Penance, he ſhould,* μεταχεῖν τῆς ἁγιασμάτων, *participate of the conſecrated* Gifts, *that he might not be ſent out of the World without his Viaticum.*

(z) Epiſt. Canon. p. 121.

The ſame we learn from the 6th Canon of the *Council* of *Ancyra*, which commands, If theſe Penitents be in danger of Death, they ſhall then be permitted, ἐλθεῖν ὅπι τὸ τέλεον, *to Come to full Communion*; εἰς κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων δώρων; *to the Communion of the* Holy Gifts, ſaith *Zonaras*: Εἰς τὴν τῶν θείων ἁγιασμάτων μετάληψιν; *To the participation of the Divine Sacraments*, ſaith *Balſamon*. From the 73 *Canon* of (a) St. *Baſil*, which Decrees, That *he who denies Chriſt* (in times of Peace) *ſhall be a Penitent all his Life, and only be admitted to the participation of the* Sacraments *at his Death*; and from the Second *Canon* of *Gregorius Nyſſen*, which Decrees in like manner, That ſuch a one ſhall be, ἀμέτοχος τῶν μυστικῶν ἁγιασμάτων μέχει τ' ἐξόδε, *deprived of the Myſtical* Sacraments *till he comes to die, and only then partake of them.*

(a) Ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ᾧ ἐκβαίνει τὸ βίε τῶν ἁγιασμάτων ἀξιώσεν.

Now albeit thoſe Canons ſpeak chiefly of ſuch perſons as were in a ſtate of *Penitence*, yet ſince, as (b) *Garſia Loaiſa* notes, it was looked upon by the *Ancients* as *an Argument of eternal Life, and an heavenly Gift granted to thoſe who were going to their eternal Reſt, to be worthily refreſhed, pabulo* Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, *with the Food of* the Body and the Blood of our Lord, *which therefore was fitly called their Viaticum.* And ſince it cannot be imagined, that the *Faithful* ſhould at the cloſe of their Life be excluded from what was granted to the *Penitents*, theſe *Canons* muſt convince us, that it was a ſtanding and univerſal Cuſtom of the whole *Church* of *Chriſt*, confirmed as ſuch by the firſt *Nicene Council*, to give the Sacrament *in both kinds* to dying Perſons. And though we cannot doubt that a Cuſtom eſtabliſhed by ſo many *Canons*, continued to be obſerved in the *Church*, had we no other Evidence of its continuance to future Ages, yet in this caſe we find great evidence of the continuance of this Cuſtom for a Thouſand Years. For the 11*th. Council* of *Toledo* ſaith, That (c) *the infirmity of humane nature*

(b) Not. in Can. 11. Con. Tolet undec.

(c) Solet humanæ naturæ infirmitas, in ipſo mortis exitu prægravata, tanto ſiccitatis pondere deprimi, ut nullis ciborum illationibus refici, ſed vix tandem illati delectetur poculi gratia ſuſtentari, quod etiam

etiam in multorum exitu vidimus, qui optatum suis votis S. Communionis expetentes Viaticum, collatam sibi a Sacerdote Eucharistiam rejecerunt, non quod infidelitate hoc agerent, sed quod, præter Dominici Calicis haustum, traditam sibi non possunt Eucharistiam deglutire. — Quicunque ergo fidelis inevitabili qualibet infirmitate coactus, Eucharistiam perceptam rejecerit, in nullo Ecclesiæ damnationi subjaceat. *Concil. Tom. 6. pag.* 552.

was often at the time of Death depressed with such a weight of drought that they could scarce receive the Cup, that they had seen this in the exit of many, who desired the wished for Viaticum of the Holy Communion, have cast out of their Mouths the Eucharist given to them by the Priest, not out of infidelity, but because they could swallow nothing besides a draught of the sacred Cup. Whence they Decree, That *whosoever of the Faithful, by an inevitable infirmity being compelled to do it, casts out of his Mouth the sacred Eucharist, shall be subject to no penalty for so doing.* Whence we learn; 1*st*. That dying Persons then desired this Viaticum in both kinds. 2*dly*. That the *Priests* accordingly did attempt to give it them in both kinds. 3*dly*. That it was culpable then not to receive both, except in cases of necessity unavoidable.

3. This will be farther evident from the very Forms of Communicating the Sick, used in the *Ancient Liturgies* of the *Church*, and from the *Canons* which concern this Affair. For, after the *Unction* of the infirm Person, it was the Custom to give him the Communion, and that he received in both kinds, is evident from the words of the *Priest*, who ministred the *Sacrament*; *viz.* (*d*) *The Body and* Blood *of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy Soul to Life eternal:* And from the following Prayer, viz. (*e*) *Father omnipotent, eternal God, we faithfully pray thee that the Holy Body and* Blood *of our Lord received by our Brother, thy Servant, may tend to the Salvation of his Body and Soul.* (*f*) *Hugh Menard* tells us from a Manuscript of St. *Remy* of *Rheims*, That *when the Sacrament was ministred to such as were not extream ill, it was said unto them separately, the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ keep you to life everlasting, the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ ransom you to Life everlasting*, which words make a separate and distinct reception. But as for those who were at the point of Death, these two Expressions were joined together,

(*d*) Corpus & sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam tuam in vitam æternam. *Amen.*

(*e*) Domine Sancte Pater Omnipotens æterne Deus, te fideliter deprecamur ut accipienti huic fratri nostro famulo tuo Sacro-sanctum Corpus & sanguinem Jesu Christi filii tui Domini nostri tum Corporis & animæ sit salus. *Ex Theodori Pœniten. p.* 326.

(*f*) Apud Larroq. Hist. Euch. p. 135, 136.

ther, *The Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt preſerve thy Soul unto everlaſting Life*, becauſe there was given to the Sick Perſon in a Spoon the Body of our Lord ſteeped in the Holy Blood. The reaſon of this ſteeping we learn from the (*g*) *Canon* of the *Council* of *Tours*, cited by *Regino*, That *every Prieſt ſhall have his* Pyx *or Veſſel worthy of ſo great a Sacrament, where the Body of our Lord ſhall be carefully reſerved for the Viaticum of the Sick, and that this ſacred Oblation* ought to be ſteeped in the Blood of Chriſt, *that the Prieſt may truly ſay to the Infirm*, The Body and the Blood *of our Lord profit thee to Life eternal, and for the Remiſſion of Sins.*

(*g*) Quæ ſacra oblatio intincta debet eſſe in ſanguine Chriſti, ut veraciter Presbyter poſſit dicere infirmo, corpus & ſanguis Domini proficiat tibi in vitam æternam. *De Diſcip. Eccleſ. l.* 1. *can.* 70.

Now this practice, and the reaſon of the practice here aſſigned and approved of, do expreſly ſhew their Faith was this, That the *Prieſt* could not name them both without a Lye, unleſs he gave both; and that they who enjoined that what *Chriſt* had inſtituted to be received ſeparately, ſhould rather be received together, than that either Species ſhould not be received at all, did think both Species neceſſary to a full and entire Communion, as it hath been well noted by *Caſſander*. For to what purpoſe ſhould they ſo carefully require this intinction, if they had then believed that there was nothing wanting to the Grace, or the integrity of the Communion, when they received under one Species alone?

And though this be abundantly ſufficient to ſhew what was the practice of the Church till the 12*th. Century*, yet it is eaſie to produce farther evidence of this matter. A *Synod* held in the *Region* of *Ticinum*, and therefore ſtiled *Synodus Regio Ticinenſis*, thus Decrees, That (*h*) *if he who is infirm is in a ſtate of Penance, he cannot have the benefit of this Myſtery*, viz. of Sacred Unction, *unleſs being firſt reconciled, he be worthy of the Communion of* the Body and the Blood of Chriſt. And amongſt the things which *viſibly* and *wholeſomly* are done in the *Church*, (*i*) *Algerus* mentioneth *the giving the Body and Blood of our Lord for the Viaticum of the Sick*. In the 13th. Century (*k*) *Lucas Biſhop* of *Tuy* informs us of an *Heretick*, who being Sick was admoniſhed by his

(*h*) Si is qui infirmatur publicæ pœnitentiæ mancipatus eſt, non poteſt hujus myſterii conſequi medicinam, niſi prius reconciliatione percepta communionem corporis & *ſanguinis* Chriſti meruerit. *Concil. Tom.* 8. *p.* 64.

(*i*) In perceptione corporis & ſanguinis ejus — infirmis Viaticum dari. *L.* 1. *de Sacr. Euch. cap.* 7. *fol.* 18. b.

(*k*) L. 3. contr. Albing. cap. 7.

Hoſt

Hoſt *to ſend for a Prieſt, and diſcourſe with him as a Penitent, that he might receive from him*, Sanctiſſimum Sacramentum corporis & ſanguinis Domini, *the moſt holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord.* Now all theſe Inſtances do plainly ſhew, that it was far from being a received and *authorized Cuſtom* of the *Church*, to Communicate the Sick under the Species of Bread alone, or to give nothing to them, but one Species only.

On the contrary, it is extreamly evident from all the *Canons* of the *Church* produced, touching the caſe of *Penitents* and others, that it was a thing eſtabliſhed by the higheſt *Authority* of the *whole Church* of *Chriſt*, that both the holy *Myſteries* ſhould be exhibited to the infirm and dying Perſon. And ſeeing the *Ancients* looked upon it as ſo great a benefit to dying Perſons, to be refreſhed with the food of the Body and the Blood of Chriſt, ſince they took ſo much care to give the Bread ſteeped in the conſecrated Wine to them, who, through infirmity of Body, could not ſwallow it down dry, and to miniſter each Species apart to them who were not extream ill; ſince, as (*l*) *Regino* doth inform us, they determined, that great care was to be taken, leaſt the doing this being deferr'd too long, it ſhould prove to the deſtruction of the Soul, our *Lord* having ſaid, unleſs you eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man and drink his Blood, you ſhall have no life in you. I ſay, from all theſe things it is extreamly evident, that it was a received, and in ſubjects capable, was deemed a neceſſary thing to communicate the infirm and dying perſon under both Species of Bread and Wine.

(*l*) De Diſcipl. Eccleſ. l. 1. c. 195.

§. 6. Moreover, that Children alſo, if capable of doing ſo, received in both kinds, will be evident againſt the precarious Aſſertion of *J. L.* 1. From the clear Teſtimony of St. *Cyprian* in his Book *De Lapſis*, for there he introduceth the Children who by their Parents were carried to eat things offered to *Idols*, or to offer to them, thus pleading of their Cauſe to God, (*m*) *We have done nothing, nor did we of our own accords, leaving* the Meat and Cup of the Lord, *haſten to theſe prophane contagious Solemnities, our Parents were our Parricides.* Where he affords us a plain demonſtration, that they then ordinarily

(*m*) Nos nihil fecimus, nec derelicto cibo & poculo Domini, ad profana contagia ſponte properavimus, perdidit nos aliena perfidia, parentes ſenſimus parricidas, *p.* 125.

ordinarily received both the Elements; for had they not, as many as were capable, received the Bread, as well as the Cup, why doth he introduce them purging themſelves from the neglect of both? Why doth he make them, with as much care, to plead, *We did not leave the meat*, as we left not *the Cup of the Lord?*

Having thus ſhewed the cuſtom of this Age, I ſhall conſider what is, from St. *Cyprian*, ſuggeſted to the contrary, *viz.* that he relates, That *the ſolemnities being ended, the Deacon who preſented the Holy Cup to the Faithful, being to give it to a Child, ſhe* Pag. 67. *turned away her face, as not able to ſupport ſo great Majeſty; ſhe ſhut her Mouth, and refuſed the Chalice, and when the Deacon had forced ſome of it into her Mouth, ſhe could not retain it in thoſe defiled Entrails, ſo great was the power and Majeſty of our Lord.* Whence it is argued, that ſhe received the Cup only. Now to give a clear and ſatisfactory Anſwer to this *Objection*, it will be neceſſary to reflect a little upon the Cuſtoms of theſe times, as *V. Gr.*

1. The buſineſs of the *Deacon*, which was not to adminiſter the Bread, but when the *Prieſt* or *Biſhop* had adminiſtred that, to follow with the Cup. So the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* order, (*n*) *Let the Biſhop give the Oblation, ſaying, The Body of Chriſt* —— And *the Deacon let him hold the Cup, and giving it, let him ſay, The Blood of Chriſt, the Cup of Life.* And accordingly here, this happened, ſaith St. *Cyprian*, (*o*) *When the Deacon began to diſtribute the Cup* to them that were preſent; and is it then to be admired, that here is no mention made of the Body? if hence it follows, That no Body was diſtributed to this Child, it alſo follows, that no Body was given to the reſt of the *Faithful* then preſent; for there is no more mention made of the Body given to them, than of the Body given to the Child. Nor could S. *Cyprian* regularly ſpeak of it, when diſcourſing of the *Deacon*, who then miniſtred the Cup only.

(*n*) Ὁ δὲ διάκονος κατεχέτω τὸ ποτήριον καὶ ὑποδιδὺς λεγέτω, Αἷμα Χριϛοῦ. Lib. 8. c. 13.

(*o*) Ubi Calicem Diaconus offere præſentibus cœpit. *P.* 132.

2. Note Secondly, That the *Children* received in the Rank of the *Women*; ſo the ſame *Conſtitutions*, ſpeaking of that order in which the *Euchariſt* was to be received, ſaith, (*p*) *Amongſt the Women let the Diaconeſſes, the Virgins, and the Widows Receive, and then the Children*; and this was doubtleſs ordered

(*p*) Ἐν δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶν αἱ διακόνισσαι καὶ αἱ παρθένοι καὶ αἱ χῆραι εἰϛιάτωσαν τὰ παιδία. Ibid.

dered so, that the Women might take care of their *Children*, and assist them in Receiving; accordingly, this *Child* comes in the Arms of its Mother, and when she had Received, *Locus ejus advenit*, *Came the time for the Child to Receive too.* Ibid.

3. Note thirdly, That the Bread was not then put into the Mouth, as it is now in the *R. Church*, but it was given into the Hand of the *Receiver*, to eat at leasure of it, whilst the *Bishop* or *Priest* went on distributing, as is acknowledged by the learned (q) *Doctors* of the *Church* of *Rome*, and proved by innumerable Testimonies of the *Ancients*. Now it is not to be conceived that they who had a reverence for the Holy Sacrament would put it into the Hands of little *Children*, who might let it fall, or throw it away, or that the *Priest* should stay till he could make the Child eat, or swallow it down, but rather, that he should give it to the *Mother*, from whose Hands the Child more likely would receive it, and who could better chew it for, and put it down his Throat. This being so, the Bread might be given to the *Mother* for the Child to eat at leasure, and the *Priest* take no notice of her refusal to receive it; but then, because the Cup was by the *Deacon* to be received again into his hands to be distributed to others, he must stay till the Child had participated, and so he must endeavour to make it drink of it. And this, I verily believe, is the whole Truth touching this instance; which therefore is no proof at all, that both the Symbols were not offer'd, or distributed to this Child, but only that she had not eaten of the Bread given to her Mother for her use, before the *Deacon* followed with the Cup. Nor can this reasonably be questioned, if we consider how constantly the Tradition of the *Church* informs us in all the following Centuries, that Children received in both kinds: For,

(q) *Vid.* Dallæum de cult. lat. l. 5. c. 2.

To omit the passage in the *Apostolick Constitutions*, where they are reckoned amongst those who received the *Eucharist*; when without any distinction or exception, the *Bishop* separately gave the Bread, and the *Deacon* the Cup to all. *Dionysius* in the *Fourth Century* informs us, That (r) *little Children did partake of the most holy* Symbols *of the divine Communion.* And *Theodorus Bishop* of *Mopsuestia*, expresly notes, That (s) *they*

(r) Μετέχειν γίνεσθαι ἱερατικῶν τῶν θεαρχικῆς κοινωνίας συμβόλων. Phot. c. 177.

Eccles. Hier. c. 7. p. 360, 361. (s) Τὴν τῶν ἀχράντων σώματος καὶ κοινωνίαν

gave

gave to Infants the Communion of the immaculate Body for the Remiſſion of Sins, where (t) Photius adds, That he invented many abſurd things, that he might ſolve the queſtion of thoſe that asked, *Why do Children partake of the* Holy Myſteries? in the plural, and that he might have found out better Solutions of that queſtion, and given better accounts of that Cuſtom then he did; he therefore Synecdochically ſpake of the Receiving both theſe *Myſteries*. The paſſages of St. *Auſtin* in the fifth Century are very numerous, in which he both aſſerts it as an *univerſal Practice*, that little Children did partake of the Body and the Blood of Chriſt, and alſo ſaith, that *without eating of his Fleſh and drinking of his Blood, they could not have eternal Life.* But having produced theſe already, I only add his Teſtimony that (t) *Pope Innocent* the Firſt declared, *That Infants could not have Life without the participation of the Body and the Blood of Chriſt.*

(t) Ἵνα λύσῃ τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν λεγόντων διὰ τί τὰ βρέφη κοινωνεῖ τῶν ἀχράντων μυστηρίων. p. 400.

(t) Innocentius P. ſine Baptiſmo Chriſti & ſine participatione corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti vitam non habere parvulos dicit, *Contra duas Ep. Pelag. l. 2. c. 4.*

To proceed now in farther confirmation of our Aſſertion, "There is no better proof, nor better interpreter of a Cuſtom, "than the Cuſtom it ſelf, nothing which more demonſtrates "that a Cuſtom comes from the firſt Ages, than when it is "ſeen to continue ſucceſſively to the laſt: This of communicating little Children, not under the Species of Wine only, but of Bread alſo, or of both, is evidently ſuch; for, in the 6th. Century (u) *Gregory* of *Tours* makes mention of a *Jewiſh* Child coming with other Children *to the Communion of Chriſt's Body and Blood.* In the 7th. Century the (x) 11th. *Council* of *Toledo*, excuſes thoſe from cenſure, *qui Euchariſtiam receptam in tempore infamiæ rejecerunt, who in their Infancy have caſt out the Bread received into their Mouths.* In the 8th. *Century* we are informed by *Charles* the *Great*, that this was then the general Cuſtom of the *Church* of God; for, againſt the Doctrine of the Second *Nicene Council*, and of the *Roman Church* pronouncing *Anathema* to thoſe who did not worſhip Images, he and his *Council* of 300 *Biſhops* argue thus, that *then Infantes* (y) *Baptiſmatis unda loti, & corporis dominici edulio & ſanguinis hauſtu ſatiati, pereunt; Infants who have been Baptized, and have received*

(u) De glor. Martyr. l. c. 10.

(x) Concil. Tom. 6. p. 552.

(y) Car. Mag. de Imaginib. l. 2. c. 27.

ceived the Sacrament of our Lord's Body and Blood must periſh. In the 9th. *Century* we are told by (z) *Jeſſe Biſhop* of *Amiens*, That the Infant was confirmed *by the* Body and Blood *of Chriſt, that he might be his Member.* By (a) *Rabanus Maurus*, who ſaith, That *the precedent Sacrament of Baptiſm is confirmed in the Baptized Perſon by* the Body and Blood *of our Lord; for he therefore ought to receive theſe things, that he may be his Member who died, and roſe again for us, and may deſerve to have God dwelling in him: For he who is Truth it ſelf ſaith, He that eateth my Fleſh and drinketh my Blood abides in me, and I in him, and alſo, Except you eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, you ſhall have no Life in you.* By (b) *Theodulph Biſhop* of *Orleans*, That *when any one is new born by Water and the Spirit, he is nouriſhed with the body of our Lord, and* drinks his Blood. By the old (c) *Roman Pontifical*, which ſaith, That *the Infant being Baptized, he is preſently confirmed and communicated by the Biſhop, ſaying,* The Body and the Blood of Chriſt, *&c.* In the 10th. *Century* we are informed of the continuance of the ſame Cuſtom from a *Pontifical* written about the year 980, ſaith *Baluzius*, where it is commanded, (d) *That the Baptized Infant ſhould preſently be Confirmed and Communicated by the Biſhop, or in his abſence by the Prieſt, ſaying, The* Body *of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt keep thee to Life eternal.* In the 11th. *Century* we find the ſame Cuſtom in (e) *Alcuin* from the very ſame words, which, ſaith he, were then uſed at the Communicating of the Infant after *Baptiſm.* And in the Three and thirtieth *Epiſtle* of *Lanfranck* we find theſe words, (f) *We believe that it is generally very expedient for all Perſons, of all Ages, living and dying, to arm themſelves with the Reception of* our Lord's body and his blood. Whence, ſaith (g) *Baluzius*, we gather, That *in his time it was the Cuſtom to give* to Children the Communion of the Lord's Body and his Blood. And *Hugh Menard*, doth ingenuouſly confeſs, That *the Cuſtom*

(z) Apud Menardum Not. in Greg. Sacr. p. 107.

(a) Corpore & ſanguine Dominico omne præcedens Sacramentum in eo confirmatur, quia hæc ideo accipere debet, &c. *De Inſtit. Cleric. l. 1. cap. 29.*

(b) De Ord. Baptiz. c. 18.

(c) Statim autem confirmetur infans & communicetur ab Epiſcopo ita dicente, Corpus & Sanguis Domini, &c. *Baluz. Not. in Reg. p. 551.*

(d) Statim enim confirmari oportet Chriſmate, & poſtea communicari, & ſi Epiſcopus deeſt, communicetur a Presbytero dicente, Corpus Domini Jeſu Chriſti cuſtodiat te in vitam æternam. *Bal. not. in Reg. p. 552.*

(e) Ne lactentur antequam communicent. *De Sabb. Paſch. p. 64.*

(f) Credimus enim generaliter expedire omnes omnibus ætatibus tam viventes quam morientes dominici corporis & ſanguinis perceptione ſe munire. *Apud Baluz. ibid. p. 657.*

(g) Not. ad librum Sacram. p. 298.

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of giving the body of Chriſt to Children, continued till the time of Paſchal *the Second*, and that they gave it to them then dipp'd in the *Wine*, by reaſon of the weakneſs of their Age.

That this was the Opinion of the *Greek Church* even almoſt to our preſent Age, we learn from (*h*) *Arcadius*, whoſe words are theſe, *They judge the Sacrament of the Euchariſt to be required of neceſſity to Salvation, both to Adult and Infants, ſo teach* Simeon Theſſalonicenſis, Nicholaus Cabaſilas, *and* Gabriel Philadelphienſis, who all ſay, that the (*i*) *Communion is* therefore *neceſſary*, becauſe the Lord hath ſaid, *If you do not eat my Fleſh and drink my Blood, you have no life in you. We Baptize Infants*, ſaith (*k*) *Jeremiah* their *Patriarch*, *and afterwards we give them the Communion; for, according to St.* Baſil, *he that is regenerated, wants ſtill ſpiritual Food; and our Lord hath ſaid, Unleſs you eat*, &c. (*l*) *Metrophanes Critopulus* adds, That *their Infants are Baptized, and that then they afterwards partake as oft as their Parents will*, ἑκατέρῳ εἴδει ἢ ἐν τῇ δεσποτικῇ τραπέζῃ, *of both Species, at the Lord's Table*, The *Georgians*, *Circaſſians*, and *Mengrelians* are of the ſame Religion with the *Greek Church* in all things, and therefore muſt be of the ſame Opinion in this Matter. The *Armenians* miniſter the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt* to Infants in both kinds. So do the *Habaſſines*, ſaith (*m*) *Alvarez*, and the *Maronites*, ſaith (*n*) *Brierwood*.

(*h*) L. 3. de S. Euch. cap 40.

(*i*) Ἡ δὲ θεία κοινωνία ἐστὶν ἀναγκαία ὅτι φησὶν ὁ Κύριος ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε καὶ πίητε.

(*k*) Μεταδιδόαμεν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὕστερον τῆς θείας κοινωνίας. Act. cum Virtumb. Ep. 1. c. 9. p. 85.

(*l*) Eccl. ord. c. 9. p. 98.

(*m*) Viagg. de Æthiop. c. 22.

(*n*) P. 178.

And here let it be noted, that not the latter *Grecians* only, but the *Ancient Fathers* did generally hold that this was neceſſary to be done, by virtue of that Precept, *Except you eat my Fleſh and drink my Blood, you ſhall have no Life in you*, from whence it is extreamly evident, that neither in the Fifth Age, when Infants were by virtue of this Text admitted to the Sacrament; nor in the following Ages of the *Church*, could it be an eſtabliſhed Cuſtom, to give to Children the Cup only.

Laſtly, That neither *Leo* nor *Gelaſius* gave any *new Precept to the Church* touching this Matter, is partly evident from what hath been already ſaid, nor are there any Footſteps of this new imaginary Law to be found in their *Decrees*: For the §. 7. Chap. 5. §. 2.

words of *Leo* only command, That when the Sacrilegious dissembling of the *Manichees* was discovered, *they should be driven by the Priests Authority from the Society of the Saints.* And the words of *Gelasius* do only say, That *they, who, in the Region of* Squillaci, *were bound up by a Superstition unknown to him, from receiving the Cup, should either receive the whole Sacrament, or be kept back from the whole.* Where now, I pray you, is any appearance of this new pretended *Law*, or *First Ecclesiastical Precept*, That *all the Faithful should from henceforth be obliged to receive under both Species*, unless those words of *Gelasius* import, that the Receiving of the Bread without the Cup is not Receiving an *entire Sacrament*; or, unless his following Reason, That *the division of one and the same Mystery cannot happen without Sacrilege*, be a general Rule concerning all the Faithful?

But to dispute no longer in a case so plain, both *Leo* and *Gelasius* sufficiently inform us of the practice of their times; for *Leo* doth not only say, That (*o*) *participatio Corporis & sanguinis Christi, this participation of the Body and Blood of* Christ *is that by which the New Creature is fed and inebriated, from the Lord himself*, That (*p*) *in the Church of God, in the Mystical distribution of the spiritual Nourishment, the Body and the Blood of Christ is taken:* But adds, That (*q*) *the Lord saying, Unless you eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and* drink *his Blood, you shall have no Life in you; we ought so to communicate of this Holy Table, as not to doubt of the Truth of the Body and Blood of Christ. Gelasius* also saith, That *the Sacraments we take of the Body and Blood of Christ are a Divine Thing, whence by them we are made partakers of a Divine Nature, and yet the Substance and Nature of Bread and Wine doth not cease to be, or to remain,* and in this Decree, that *the taking of both Species is the taking of one and the self-same Mystery*, which therefore is not celebrated by taking of one Species only, and that the not receiving of the Cup, when the Bread hath been taken, is *the dividing of one and the self-same Mystery*, or the destroying of its Unity; so that he argues against this practice from a Reason essential to the *Mystery*, and which respects the Unity thereof, which, by the practice of receiving in one kind only, is destroyed.

(*o*) De pass. domini Serm. 14. p. 284.

(*p*) Ep. 46. c. 2. p. 518.

(*q*) Ser. Sancto de jejun. Sept. mensis Ser. 89.

Disp. de duabus naturis Christi Bib. patrum. Tom. 4. p. 432.

Having thus demonstrated that the *Fathers* and *Doctors* of the *Church* till the 12th. Century taught, *That the Laity by divine Precept were obliged to receive both kinds*, when they were capable

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of

of doing ſo. That they condemned *all variation from the matter of the Inſtitution*, and the Doctrine of *Concomitance*. That they conceived the Receiving of the Cup by the Laity was requiſite *to their ſhewing forth the Lord's Death, their Union to Chriſt, the increaſe of Grace, the Remiſſion of their Sins, the Sanctification and Salvation of their Souls and Bodies*; and laſtly, for their receiving an *entire Communion*. That *they conſtantly exhorted the People, having received the Bread, to take the Cup alſo*, declaring that it was *Unlawful, Erroneous*, and even *Sacrilegious* to receive the one without the other, if they were capable of receiving both; and having fully anſwered and confuted all that *J. L.* hath offered to the contrary, I ſhall conclude in theſe words of Mr. *Condom* on this ſubject a little varied; *viz.* *Thus many conſtant practices of the Primitive Church, thus many different Circumſtances, whereby it appears in particular and in publick, and always with an univerſal approbation, and according to the eſtabliſhed Law, that ſhe gave the Communion under* [both] *Species, ſo many Ages before the Council* of *Conſtance*, and from the *Origin* of *Chriſtianity, till the time of this Council, do invincibly demonſtrate, that this Council did* [thwart] *the Tradition of all Ages, when it defined that the Communion under one kind was as good and ſufficient as under both, and that in which manner ſoever they took it, they neither contradicted the Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, nor deprived themſelves of the Fruit of this Sacrament.*

Cap. 2. 6. Cap. 3. 5. Cap. 4. Cap. 6. 5. Cap. 8. P. 160. P. 161.

In his Second Part, Sect. 4th. he lays down this as a principle which alone carries along with it the deciſion of this Queſtion. *viz.* That *in all practical Matters we muſt always regard what has been underſtood and practiſed by the Church.* That *the true means to underſtand God's Holy Law, is to conſider in what manner it has been always underſtood and obſerved in the Church. Since there appears in this Interpretation and perpetual Practice, a Tradition which cannot come but from God himſelf, and that Sence thereof which hath always appeared in the Church is as well inſpired as the Scripture it ſelf. Now by this*, as he well ſaith, *our Queſtion is decided, for in the Sacred Ceremony of the Lord's Supper, we have ſeen that the Church hath always believed and taught for a Thouſand years and upwards, that the Laity by divine Precept, and for the ends forementioned, were obliged to receive both Species, that the Fathers exhorted them to do ſo, and did, both by expreſs Declarations*

P. 194. P. 195. P. 196. P. 200. P. 203.

Declarations, and by many Customs and determinations, sufficiently condemn the contrary Practice, when any Hereticks or Superstitious Persons did decline the Cup. That they did generally so Interpret our Saviour's Institution, that it as well concerned the Laity as Clergy, and with one voice asserted it was not lawful to vary from it, or celebrate the Mystery otherwise than it was delivered by Christ and his Apostles, and practised in the Primitive Church. Behold what has been always practised, behold what ought to stand for a Law, in opposition to all the Definitions of the Councils *of* Constance, Basil, Trent, *and all their* Non obstante's *to our Lord's Institution, and to the Practice of the Primitive Church.*

FINIS.

CONSIDERATIONS

Humbly Offered for Taking the

Oath of Allegiance

TO

KING WILLIAM

AND

Queen Mary.

Optima Regula, qua nulla eſt verior, aut firmior in Jure, Neminem oportet eſſe ſapientiorem legibus.

LONDON,

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THE PREFACE.

Although I have insisted chiefly on the following Argument, because it seems most fully to take off that scandal from the Genuine Members *of the* Church *of* England, *which others seem not so to have regarded as the importance of the matter doth require; yet do I by no means condemn those Writings which plead for taking the imposed Oath upon such Grounds as do more fully justifie the Title of our present Governors; which as I never will dispute, so I conceive my self unable, by reason of my want of Knowledge in the Law, to pass an exact judgment in that matter.*

But yet in matters which chiefly do relate to History, it may not be improper for one of my Profession to produce what He by reading of our Historians *hath observed.*

When by the Greatest Councils of our Nation an Original compact *or* establishment *betwixt the* King *and People was asserted, few can be ignorant with what disdain the Notion was received, and how 'twas represented as an imaginary notion without foundation either in History or Law, or with what earnestness an evidence or prospect of such a contract was demanded: Now in order to the satisfaction of such Enquirers, be it observed,*

1. *That* Florence *of* Worcester, Simeon *of* Durham, *and* R. Hoveden, *do with one voice assert, That* (a) William, *called the Conqueror,* made a League, *or* Com-

(a) Ubi Aldredus Archiepiscopus, Walfinus Wigornensis Episcopus, Clito, Eadgarus, comites Eadwinus & Morcarus, & de Lundonia quique Nobiliores, cum multis aliis ad eum venerunt, & datis obsidibus illi deditionem fecerunt, fidelitatemq; juraverunt, cum quibus & ipse fœdus pepigit, &c. *Flor. Wigorn. p.* 635. *Dunelm. p.* 195. *R. Hoved. Par. Fr. p.* 258.

pact *with the* Archbiſhop, Biſhops, Earls *and* Nobles *of* the Land who met him at *Beorcham*. *To this it is indeed replied by Dr.* Brady, *That* there was no Election, no Conſent of the People, no Bargain ſtrucken, or Covenant made to obſerve and keep the Laws, which were, *bonæ & approbatæ leges Regni*, the good and approved Laws of the Kingdom: but, on the contrary, here is the Submiſſion of the People, the Behaviour of a Conqueror, Hoſtages taken, Towns burnt, Rapine committed, and He himſelf made King by the influence of an Army. *To which I Anſwer*;

Anſw. to Arg. Antinorm. p. 251.

1. *That* Gulielmus Gemiticenſis, *and* Walſingham *expreſly ſay, That* William the Conqueror was *(b)* Elected King by all the Nobles of *England* and *Normandy*.

(b) Ab omnibus tam Normannorum quam Anglorum proceribus Rex eſt Electus. *Gul. Gemit. de ducibus Norm. l. 6. c. 37. Walſingh. Hypod. Neuſtriæ, p. 436.*

2. Florence *of* Worceſter, Simeon *of* Durham, R. Hoveden, *and* John Brompton *declare, That* as the Biſhops and Barons of the Realm ſwore Fealty to him, ſo He reciprocally *(c)* being required thereto by the Archbiſhop of *York*, made his Perſonal Oath before the Altar of St. *Peter* to defend the Holy Church of God, and the Rectors of the ſame; to govern the Univerſal People ſubject to him juſtly; to eſtabliſh equal Law, *or* Laws, and to ſee them duly executed. *And when new Commotions were made by the Nobility and Clergy*, upon their Submiſſion, and Oath of Alle-

Daniel. p. 36.

(c) Cum quibus ipſe fœdus pepigit, & nihilominus exercitui ſuo villas cremare, & rapinas agere permiſit---Appropinquante igitur Nativitatis feſtivitate, cum omni exercitu Lundoniam, ut ibi in Regem ſublimaretur, adiit---ipſa Nativitatis die ab Aldredo Eboracenſium Archiepiſcopo in Weſtmonaſterio conſecratus eſt, honorifice prius, ut idem Archipræſul ab eo exigebat, ante Altare Sancti Petri Apoſtoli, coram clero & populo, jure jurando promittens, ſe velle Dei Sanctas Eccleſias ac Rectores illarum defendere, nec non & cunctum populum ſibi ſubjectum juſte & Regali providentia regere, rectam legem ſtatuere & tenere, rapinas, injuſtaq; judicia penitus interdicere. *Flor. Wigorn. p. 634, 635. Dunelm. p. 195. Hov. p. 258.* Ipſum Regem W. ad jura Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ tuenda & conſervanda, populumq; ſuum recte regendum, & leges rectas ſtatuendum, ſacramento ſolenniter adſtrinxit. *Chron. Joh. Brompt. p. 962.*

giance

giance re-taken, He himſelf takes again his Perſonal Oath (*d*) before Archbiſhop *Lanfranc* and the Lords, for the Good of Peace, *NB.* to obſerve the Ancient Laws of the Realm eſtabliſhed by his Noble Predeceſſors the Kings of *England*, and eſpecially of *Edward* the Confeſſor. Ibid. p. 37.

(*d*) Occurrerunt igitur Angli memorati---ubi poſt multas deceptationes, præſente Archiepiſcopo Lanfranco, Rex pro bono pacis juravit, tactis Sacroſanctis Evangeliis, bonas & approbatas antiquas Regni leges, quas Sancti ac pii Angliæ Reges ejus Anteceſſores, & maxime Rex Edvardus ſtatuit, inviolabiliter obſervare; & ſic pacificati ad propria læti receſſerunt. *M. Paris in Vit.* 23. *Mon.* p. 30.

3. R. Hagulſtadenſis, S. Dunelmenſis, R. Hoveden, M. Paris, Henry *of* Knyghton, *and* W. *of* Malmsbury *inform us*, *That* (*e*) Henry the Firſt granted to all the People the Laws of *Edward*, with the Emendations which his Father had made of them, ſtrengthening them with his own Oath, and the Oath of all his Nobles, that they might not be eluded: *And* W. Lambard, *in his Book* of the Ancient Laws of England, *cites this as one of the Laws of* William *the* Conqueror, (*f*) This alſo we Command, That All men have and keep the Law of King *Edward*, with the Additions we have made to them for the benefit of the Engliſh-men. *All which things plainly ſhew, in oppoſition to the Aſſertion of Dr.* Brady, *That there was an* Election *of* William *the* Conqueror, *a* bargain ſtrucken *between him and his Subjects, and that He did conſent, covenant, and ſwear to* obſerve the good and approved Laws of the Realm, *and in particular* thoſe of King *Edward*.

(*e*) Legem R. Edvardi vobis reddo cum illis emendationibus quibus Pater meus eas emendavit conſilio Baronum ſuorum. *R. Hagulſtald. p.* 311. *Dunelm.* p 225, 226. *Hoveden. part* 1. *p.* 268. *Mat. Paris*, *p.* 38. *Henr. de Knyght p.* 2374. *W. Malmsbur. l.* 5. *p* 88.

(*f*) Hoc quoque præcipimus, ut omnes habeant & teneant legem Edwardi Regis in omnibus rebus adauctis hiis quas conſtituimus ad utilitatem Anglorum. *Apud Seld. Annot. ad Eadmer. p.* 192.

And whereas the ſame Dr. *Brady* ſaith, Theſe Laws of King *Edward were moſtly penal, or elſe of ſmall moment*; our Forefathers were far from having ſuch a ſlight opinion of them: For, P. 254.

1. *The* (g) Chronicle *of* Lichfield *doth inform us, That* the whole Community of *England* ſued to the Conqueror that he would permit them to have the proper Laws and ancient Cuſtoms in which their Fathers had lived, and under which they were born and educated, *viz.* the Laws of St. *Edward*, and that the King conſented to their Petition.

(g) Sed poſtea ad preces communitatis Anglorum Rex adquievit, qui deprecati ſunt quatenus permitteret ſibi leges proprias & conſuetudines Antiquas habere in quibus vixerant; Patres eorum, & ipſi in eis nati & nutriti ſunt; ſcilicet leges Sancti Edwardi. Et ex illo die magna Authoritate veneratæ, & per univerſum Regnum corroboratæ & conſervatæ ſunt præ cæteris Regni legibus leges R. Edwardi. *Chron. Eccl. Lichfield apud Seld. ibid. p.* 171.

2dly, *When they had fought for the Empreſs* Maud *againſt King* Stephen, *and placed her upon the Throne,* they (h) requeſted her to Grant to them the Laws of King *Edward*; and upon her denial of that requeſt, they again thruſt her from the Throne, and forced her out of the Kingdom.

(h) Interpellata eſt a civibus Londinenſibus ut liceret eis uti legibus Sancti Edwardi & non legibus Patris ſui H. quia graves erant, ſed illa non adquievit; inde populus commotus illam capere Statuit. *Chron. Joh. Brompton. p.*1031. *Chron. Gervaſ. p.* 1355. *Henr. de Knyght. p.* 2387.

3dly, (i) *When the* Archbiſhop *of* Canterbury, *in the days of King* John, *produced* the Charter of *Henry* the Firſt, by which He granted the ancient Liberties of the Kingdom of *England* according to the Laws of King *Edward*, with thoſe Emendations which his Father by the Counſel of the Barons did ratifie; this Charter being read before the Barons, they much rejoiced, and ſwore, in the preſence of the Archbiſhop, That for thoſe Liberties they would, if need required, ſpend their blood. *And*,

(i) Cum autem hæc Charta perlecta & Baronibus audientibus intellecta fuiſſet, gaviſi ſunt gaudio magno valde, & juraverunt omnes in præſentia Archiepiſcopi ſæpedicti quod viſo tempore congruo, pro his libertatibus, ſi neceſſe fuerit, decertarent uſq; ad mortem. *M. Paris, p.* 167.

4thly, *They made this one part of the* (k) Coronation Oath *of the* Kings *of* England, *That they ſhould* conſent

(k) Sequitur forma juramenti ſoliti & conſueti præſtari per leges Angliæ in eorum Coronatione, quod Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis ab iiſdem Regibus *Exigere* & recipere conſuevit.

Concedis juſtas leges & conſuetudines eſſe tenendas, & promittis per te eſſe protegendas, & ad Honorem Dei corroborandas quas vulgus elegerit. *Reſp.* Concedo & promitto. *Vid. Book of Oaths.* H. de Knyght. p. 2746.

to the obſervation of the juſt Laws and Cuſtoms which the Community of the Realm had choſen, *and* eſpecially of the Laws of King *Edward*. *And in the time of* Richard *the* 2d, *it is declared, That* the uſual and cuſtomary Oath which the Kings of *England* took at their Coronation, and which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was wont to exact of them, and receive from them, was, That they ſhould grant that the juſt Laws and Cuſtoms which the Community had choſen, ſhould be obſerved and confirmed by them. *All which things put together, ſeem to conclude an* Original compact *or* eſtabliſhment *of Laws by which the* Kings *of* England *were to Govern, and the Kingdom to be Governed, and the Continuance and the Renewal of that* Original Eſtabliſhment *by our ſucceeding* Kings. *Add to this that Rule of* Grotius, *That* * Succeſſion is not a Title of Empire, which gives the form to it, but is only a continuation of the old Title; the Right begun by the Election of the Family, being continued by Succeſſion; *and thence with him we reaſonably may inferr, That* Succeſſion only brings down to Kings what the firſt Election gave, *and makes them only Kings according to the* Compact, *and with the Conditions agreed on at the firſt admiſſion of their* Progenitors *to the exerciſe of the* Royal Authority.

* Succeſſio non eſt titulus imperii qui imperio formam aſſignet, ſed veteris continuatio; jus enim ab Electione cœptum familiæ ſuccedendo continuatur; quare quantum prima Electio tribuit tantum defert ſucceſſio. *De jure Bell. l.* 1. *c.* 3. §. 10.

To this Hiſtorical *Account of the preſent ſubject, I add theſe words in the* preamble *of the* Statute *made* 25. *of* H. 8. *to* forbid Impoſitions paid to the See of *Rome*. "*Your Grace's Realm* "*recogniſing no Superior under God, but only your Grace hath been* "*and is free from Subjection to any Man's Laws, but only to ſuch* "*as have been deviſed, made, and obtain'd within the Realm for* "*the Wealth of the ſame; or to ſuch other as by ſufferance of your* "*Grace and your Progenitors the People of this your Realm have* "*taken at their free liberty by their own conſent to be uſed among* "*them, and have bound themſelves by long uſe and cuſtom to the* "*obſervance of the ſame; not as to the Laws of any Foreign Prince,* "*Potentate or Prelate, but as to the cuſtomed and ancient Laws of* "*this Realm* Originally Eſtabliſhed, *as the Laws of the ſame by* "*the ſaid Sufferance, Conſent and Cuſtom,* and none otherwiſe. In which words,

Cap. 21.

1. *There ſeems to be a plain diſtinction between* ancient *and* accuſtomed Laws of this Realm, which the People enjoy by Sufferance of our Kings, *or* were induced into it by the ſaid Sufferance, Conſent and Cuſtom, *and Laws* made, deviſed, and obtained within this Realm for the wealth of the ſame; *theſe*

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latter being Statute-Laws, the other being Laws Originally Eſtabliſh'd, *and* Ancient Cuſtoms of the Realm, which the People of this Realm have taken at their free liberty, by their own conſent to be uſed among them; *and our* Kings *finding thus eſtabliſhed, ſuffer'd them to enjoy. And theſe the* Hiſtories *and* Records *I have cited tell us were the Laws of St.* Edward, *or rather of King* Edgar, renewed and confirmed by St. *Edward, which the Community of* England *deſired of King* William, *and his Succeſſors, that they might enjoy by his, and their* ſufferance, *or* permiſſion, *and which accordingly He and they conſented that they ſhould enjoy as* their proper Laws and ancient Cuſtoms; *ſwearing alſo, at their* Coronation, to maintain, protect, and to corroborate them; *and which the* Archbiſhop *of* Canterbury, *at his* Coronation *of them*, always exacted to be granted to the People. *To which may be added the Laws contained in* Magna Charta; *which* though they run in the ſtile of a Grant from the King in the word *Conceſſimus*, for the honour of the King; yet were they, ſaith Sir *Edward Coke*, the Common Laws and Rights of the People before. 3dly, *It plainly is aſſerted, That the whole Realm is* ſubject to theſe Laws, *and to be Governed by them,* **and no otherwiſe.** *And agreeable to this Statute is that excellent Reſolution of King* James, *when his Subjects deſired to know of him,* Whether he would Rule according to the Ancient form of this State, and the Laws of this Kingdom; or if he had an intention not to limit himſelf within theſe bounds, but to alter the ſame when He thought convenient by the abſolute Power of a King. *He Anſwers, That* the King was *Lex loquens* after a ſort, binding himſelf by a double Oath to the obſervation of the fundamental Laws of his Kingdom, tacitly as by being a King, and ſo bound to protect as well the People, as the Laws of his Kingdom, and expreſly by his Oath at his Coronation. So as every juſt King, in a ſetled Kingdom, is **bound to obſerve that paction made to his People by his Laws,** in framing his Government agreeable thereunto-----And therefore a King governing in a ſetled Kingdom, *leaves to be a King*, and degenerates into a Tyrant as ſoon as He leaves off to Rule according to his Laws---therefore all Kings that are not Tyrants, or perjured, will be glad to bound themſelves within the limits of their Laws; and they that perſwade them to the contrary, are *Vipers* and *Peſts* both againſt them and the Common-wealth.

Leges iſtæ vocatæ ſunt leges Sancti Edvardi, non quia ipſas primo invenerat, ſed quia quaſi ſub modio poſitæ & in oblivione derelictæ a tempore R. Edgari avi ſui, qui primo manum ſuam miſit ad ipſas inveniendas & ſtatuendas. *Henr. de Knyght. de Event. Angl. l. 1. c. 15. Chron. Lichfield ubi ſupra.*

Sir Robert Atkyns *Enq. into the Diſp. Power,* p. 9.

Fourth Speech at White-hall, *A.* 1609. *p.* 530, 531.

CONSIDERATIONS

Humbly offered for Taking the

Oath of Allegiance

TO

King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*.

SECT. I.

BEFORE I produce the particular Arguments which may be urged for taking of this Oath, it may be useful to lay down some general Considerations relating to this matter, *viz.*

1*st*. That through the whole Series of our *Kings* it hath often happened, that Ground sufficient hath been given to question the Right of their Succession; and in the Cases of *Edward* the Second, and *Richard* the Second, the lawfulness of their Deposition; and yet no scruple ever hath been made till now of taking an *Oath of Allegiance* to the *King* who had Possession of the Government. That ever the *Bishop* of *Carliste* refused the *Oath of Allegiance*, I do not remember.

2*dly*, That all the Interests of the *Protestant Religion* plead for the taking of the Oath, if lawfully it can be done, it being reasonable to conceive, that from the present *King* we may expect the Preservation of that *Religion*, and the Defence of it to the utmost of his Power, not only here, but in the *Neighbouring Nations*, against the Malice of the *French King* against it, He being chosen *the Head of the Protestant League*

for that effect; whereas we cannot reasonably expect *King James* should, by *French* Interests, return to sway the Scepter, without the outmost hazard of the Interest of *Protestants* in this, and all the *Neighbouring Nations*.

3*dly*, If we comply with those who take this Oath, we shall prevent that Division of the *Church* of *England*, which may, if it be not prevented, give great Advantage to her Enemies; we shall strengthen the Hands of *King William*, and of the *Kingdom*, against the Adversaries of *Church* and State; we shall contribute to the Peace of the *Nation*, which all good Men are bound to pray for, and seek by all means lawful. If we refuse compliance, we shall accidentally, at least, give Advantage to *Dissenters* (who generally comply) against the *Church*; we, by our Example, shall cause others to refuse compliance, and so shall strengthen the Hands of the *Papal* Party, and Minister to those Divisions which may cause our Ruine.

4*thly*, By refusing to take this Oath we shall deprive our selves of our Subsistence, and of the ordinary means of providing for our Family, which without absolute necessity we
1 Tim. v. 8. cannot do; for, saith the *Apostle*, *If any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an Infidel.* We shall deprive our selves of the capacity of exercising our ministerial Function, which without like necessity we cannot justifie.

5*thly*, We seem not well able to Answer the Question, *What it is we would have, or what we would be at?* for if we be asked whether we would have *King James* return a *Conqueror*, or whether we would have him put in *statu quo*, we must in Conscience Answer, No, unless we would have *Popery* and *Slavery* entailed upon us. And that he should return any otherwise, as matters now stand, is next to impossible. Since then we cannot be willing that we should be reduced to a capacity of yielding him actual Allegiance upon those sad terms, we seem upon the matter to have renounced the Allegiance we swore to him; which was, 1*st*, That we were then willing and inclined to yield him true Allegiance; and, 2*dly*, That we hereafter would act suitably to that Inclination.

6*thly*, We all conceive it reasonable that we should live peaceably and quietly under the Government of King *William*;

liam; that we ſhould never be active to introduce King *James*, or to diſturb the Poſſeſſion of King *William*; and that whilſt we enjoy his Protection, we ſhould pay him the Taxes impoſed on us. Now this is all that many of thoſe who write for taking of the Oath, and many of thoſe who take it, think is meant by ſwearing *Faith, and true Allegiance to King William*; and therefore, according to the ordinary Sence impoſed upon the Oath by many Wiſe, Judicious Perſons, we our ſelves think it reaſonable to take it; and ſurely then, the concerns of the *Proteſtant Religion* at Home and Abroad; our love to the *Church* of *England*, to the Peace of the Nation, to our ſelves, to thoſe Souls to whom we miniſter, muſt weigh much with us to engage us to do that, which, in the ordinary import put upon the words by many Wiſe and Judicious Perſons, we own we cannot rationally refuſe to do.

SECT. II.

HAving premiſed theſe general Conſiderations, I now proceed to thoſe Arguments which ſeem to prove it lawful, in our Circumſtances, to take the Oath impoſed by the ſaid Act. And,

Firſt, This ſeems to be ſelf-evident, That *a legal Oath, or an Oath impoſed by Law, ought to be underſtood in a ſence reconcilable to the Law, and conſequently no Man, by virtue of a legal Oath, can be obliged firſt to tranſgreſs the Laws, and then to ſuffer for ſo doing.* n. 1.

It is alſo evident from the nature of the thing, and the determination of our ableſt *Lawyers*, that *Ligeance, or Allegiance is ſuch a kind of duty as no Man may owe to more than one Lord.* It is that duty which no man owes, or by the Law ſhould pay, but to his *Sovereign*, who, in one *Imperial Kingdom*, can be but one; and it is agreeable unto our *Saviour's Axiom*, That *no man can ſerve*, δυσὶ Κυρίοις, *two* Supreme *Lords*. Cowel verbo *ligeance*. Matth. vi. 24.

Now by the Laws of this Land I owe and am bound to yield Allegiance to him who is in Poſſeſſion of the *Kingdom*, n. 2.

whether he have rightful Poſſeſſion or not, and am excuſable and free from puniſhment by the Law, if I afford it; for ſo the Law runs.

11 H.7. c. 1. The King *our Sovereign Lord*, calling to his remembrance *the Duty of Allegiance* of his Subjects of this his Realm, and that they, by reaſon of the ſame, are bound to ſerve their Prince and Sovereign Lord, for the time being, in his Wars, for the defence of him and the Land, againſt Every Rebellion, Power and Might reared againſt Him, and with Him to enter and abide in ſervice in Battle, if caſe ſo require; and that for the ſame Service, what Fortune ever fall by chance in the ſame Battle againſt the Mind and Will of the Prince (as in this Land ſometime paſt hath been ſeen) it is not reaſonable, but againſt all Laws, Reaſon and good Conſcience, that the ſaid Subjects, going with their Sovereign Lord in Wars, attending upon Him in Perſon, or being in other places within this Land or without by His Commandment, any thing ſhould loſe or forfeit for doing their true Duty, and Service of Allegiance. Be therefore ordained, enacted, and eſtabliſhed by the King our Sovereign Lord, by the advice and aſſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament Aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, that from henceforth no manner of perſon or perſons, whatſoever he or they be, that attend upon the King and Sovereign Lord of this Land, for the time being, in his Perſon, and do Him true and faithful Service of Allegiance, he or they be in no wiſe convict or attaint of High Treaſon, ne of other Offences for that cauſe by Act of Parliament, or otherwiſe by any Proceſs of Law, whereby he or any of them ſhall loſe, or forfeit Life, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Poſſeſſions, Hereditaments, Goods, Chattels, or any other things, but to be for that Deed and Service utterly diſcharged of any Vexation, Trouble or Loſs. Where Note,

1*ſt*. That this Service and Allegiance mentioned in this Statute, is *faithful Service*, and *true Allegiance* once and again, and it is declared to be *the duty of all Subjects*. 2*dly*. That

2*dly*, That it is to be yielded to *the King for the time being*, without enquiry whether he be the *rightful King* or no; for *it was agreeable to reason of Estate*, saith the *Lord Bacon*, *That the Subject should not enquire of the justness of the King's Title, or Quarrel; and it was agreeable to good Conscience, That whatsoever the fortune of the War were, the Subject should not suffer for his Obedience.* History of the Reign of H. 7. P. 144.

3*dly*, That this Service and Allegiance is to be yielded to *the King for the time being against* **every Power and Might reared against him.**

4*thly*, That through the whole Body of the Act he is called *the Sovereign Lord of the Land, their Sovereign Lord*; and so it seems we need not scruple the use of the said Title in our Prayers, it being only that which the Law of the Land gives to every one that is *King for the time being*.

5*thly*, That this Statute hath continued unrepealed about Two hundred years, and therefore hath been so long approved by the whole Nation, and judged well consistent with the duty of Allegiance owing to their lawful Sovereign; they therefore judged it not repugnant to their Oaths of Allegiance to their rightful Sovereign to bear *true Allegiance*, and to do *true* and *faithful Service of Allegiance* to any other *King* for the time being, who had got quiet possession of the Throne, which is all that this Oath requireth of us.

Moreover, all *High Treason* committed by a Native of the Land, is an offence against his natural Allegiance, which appears from the Indictments of Treason, (*which*, saith the *Lord Cook*, *are of all other things most curiously and certainly indited and penned*) for they run for committing this Crime *contra debitum fidei & ligeantiæ suæ, quod præfato Domino Regi naturaliter, & de jure impendere debuit, Against the duty of Faith and Allegiance which he naturally and of right ought to yield to his Lord the King*; or for committing this fact, *contra Dominum Regem supremum, & naturalem Dominum suum, Against our Lord the King, his supreme and natural Lord*; or, *contra naturalem ligeantiam Domino Regi debitam, Against the natural Allegiance due to our Lord the King*. n. 3. Cook's Reports, Par. 7. Calvin's Case, P. 435.

Now the same *Lord Chief Justice Cook* in his descant on these words of the 25th. of *Edward* the Third, *Seignior le Roy*, used in that Statute concerning *High Treason*, saith, Instit. Par. 3. ch. 1. p. 7.

"That

" That this Act is to be understood of a *King in possession* " *of the Crown and Kingdom*; for if there be a *King Regnant in possession*, although he be *Rex de facto, & non de jure*, yet he is *Seignior le Roy, within the purview of this Statute*; and the other that hath right, and is out of possession, is not within this Act. Nay, if Treason be committed against a *King, de facto, & non de jure*, and afterwards the *King, de jure*, cometh to the Crown, he shall punish the Treason done to the *King, de facto*; and a Pardon by a *King, de jure*, that is not also *King, de facto*, is void. The *Lord Chief Justice Hales* doth also say, That *a King* de facto, *and not* de jure, *is a King within this Act, and a Treason against Him is punishable, though the right Heir get the Crown.*

Pleas of the Crown, p. 11.

And suitably to these declarations of these great Men, I find in *Bagot's Case*, argued in the Ninth year of *Edward* the Fourth, that it is said, That *the King shall have the advantage of any Forfeiture made to* Henry *the Sixth*, &c. *and of Trespasses made in his time, the Brief shall be*, contra pacem H. 6. nuper de facto, & non de jure, *against the peace of* Henry *the Sixth, late King in Possession, though not of Right*, &c. *and a Man shall be arraigned of Treason done to the said King* Henry *in compassing his Death*; and it is there added, *Qu' si cesty qu' est ore Roy in temps le Roy* Henry *ust fait Charter de Pardon c' sera void a ore car chescun qu' ferra Charter de Pardon covient estre Roy en fait*, That *if he who is now King had given a Charter of Pardon in the time of King* Henry, *that Charter shall be void at present, because it is necessary that every one who makes a Charter of Pardon should be actually King.* Now hence,

Pasc. 9 Ed. 4.

1. I inferr, that we cannot reasonably except against the using of those terms, *Our most Gracious Sovereign, our Sovereign Lord and Lady King* William *and Queen* Mary, they being only the terms which our Law gives to every one that is in Possession of the Government; yea, say our great *Lawyers*, terms which belong to the *King* in Possession alone, though he be *King de facto*, and not *de jure*.

2*ly*, If Treason committed against a *King in Possession*, though *de facto* only, by any of his *native Subjects*, be an offence against his *natural Allegiance* due to him, and against that duty of Faith and Allegiance which he naturally, and of right ought to yield to him, then is Faith and Allegiance both his Right to challenge, and our Duty to yield to him;

and

and then he, by requiring us to ſwear it, requires us only to give him his Right, and we by ſo doing ſhall only engage our ſelves to the performance of our Duty. If it be his Right, becauſe he is a *King Regnant in Poſſeſſion*, then it is his Right no longer than he is in Poſſeſſion, and then the Oath can require it no longer then he is in Poſſeſſion; and then we have no juſt Ground to fear that the Oath of Allegiance to King *James* doth bind us now he is not in Poſſeſſion; or that the Oaths we take unto King *William* and Queen *Mary* can bind us any longer than they are in Poſſeſſion; this Oath can therefore do no real Injury to King *James*; for if he be not in Poſſeſſion, he hath not, by theſe Expoſitions of *Seignior le Roy*, a Right to actual Allegiance. If he become again the *King Regnant in Poſſeſſion*, the duty of bearing Faith and Allegiance to him immediately returns without taking any new Oath.

Again, if the *King* that hath Right, and is out of Poſſeſſion, is not within this Act, and therefore cannot be the *Seignior le Roy* within *the purvieu of this Statute*, and therefore not the *King* againſt whom Treaſon may be committed, againſt this Act, then can I not offend againſt my natural Allegiance, or againſt any Duty of Faith and Allegiance, which of right I ought to yield to him, and then I do not ſo offend by taking of the Oath of Faith and true Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*; and therefore I may take that Oath notwithſtanding my former Promiſe upon Oath to bear Faith and true Allegiance to King *James*, becauſe by doing ſo I offend not againſt any Faith and Allegiance due to him.

Moreover, if the *King in Poſſeſſion* be the *Seignior le Roy within the purvieu of this Act*, it muſt be Treaſon againſt him to compaſs or imagine his Death, or to prepare by any Overt-Act to depoſe him; *This being*, ſaith the Lord *Coke*, *a ſufficient Overt-Act to prove the compaſſing and imagination of the Death of the King; for this, upon the matter, is to make the King a Subject, and to diſpoſe of his Kingly Office of Royal Government*: Then muſt it be High Treaſon againſt Him to *Levy War againſt him in this Realm, to be adherent to his Enemies within this Realm, giving to them aid and comfort in this Realm, or elſewhere*; for all theſe things are by that Act made Trea- Ibid. p. 12.

ſon

ſon againſt the *Seignior le Roy within the purview of this Statute.* This Statute therefore as it is expounded by the Lord Chief Juſtices, *Coke* and *Hales*, muſt oblige the Subjects of King *William* and Queen *Mary* not to aſſiſt King *James* againſt them, that being *Treaſon* againſt the 25*th.* of *Edward* the Third, which they cannot be obliged to commit. If King *James*, ſhould he come again to the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, might puniſh me for any of theſe treaſonable Acts committed againſt King *William* and Queen *Mary*, but could not puniſh me by the Eleventh of *Henry* the Seventh for any Duty of Allegiance, or faithful Service paid to them as my *Sovereign Lord and Lady*, then ſure Allegiance and Faith will be due to them whilſt in Poſſeſſion, and to them only; for were it due to King *James*, I might be puniſhed for not performing it to him. If, laſtly, no Pardon now given by King *James* can ſave me from the guilt of Treaſon againſt King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and that guilt only be contracted by offending againſt that Duty of *Faith* and *Allegiance*, which of right I owe to them; ſure I cannot offend by want of *Faith* and *Allegiance* againſt him who cannot pardon me, but againſt them only againſt whom I commit that Treaſon; and therefore unto them alone Faith and Allegiance muſt of Right be due, and ſo to them by Oath and Promiſe may be given.

n. 4. As an Addition to, or a Conſideration ſtrengthening the former Argument, let it be obſerved,

Sand. de juram. præl 7. §. 7. 1. That it is agreed on all hands, that a *promiſory Oath ceaſeth to bind, when the matter of the Oath ceaſeth.* Thus, if a Man ſwears to appear at ſuch an Aſſizes, if there be no Aſſizes kept there, he cannot be bound to appear, becauſe *impoſſibilium nulla eſt obligatio*, there is no obligation to impoſſibilities; and of the matrimonal Vow, St. *Paul* declareth,

1 Cor. vii. 39. That *the Woman is bound by the Law whilſt her Husband lives; but if her Husband die, ſhe is at liberty to be married to whom ſhe will*; becauſe then the matter or object of her Vow is removed.

Ames. Others deliver the Rule thus, *Quum aufertur Ratio formalis juramenti juramentum ceſſat*; *When the formal Reaſon of an Oath ceaſeth, the Obligation of the Oath muſt ceaſe.* Thus, if a Man ſwears Reſidence on a Living, his Oath only binds him whilſt

whilſt he is *Incumbent*, becauſe he only took, and only was obliged to take it for that very reaſon, becauſe he was Incumbent. Now the formal Reaſon of the *Fidelity* and *Allegiance* promiſed to King *James*, was this, That he was *our Sovereign Lord King* James, ſaith the *Oath of Allegiance*; the *Supreme Governour of this Realm*, ſaith that of *Supremacy*; and therefore when he ceaſeth, in the ſence and meaning of the Law, to be *our Sovereign Lord*, and *the Supreme Governour of this Realm*, my Oath to yield Faith and Allegiance to him muſt ceaſe to be obliging to me. If when another is *King Regnant in poſſeſſion*, he is legally dead for that time, his politick capacity being then ſeparated from the natural Perſon of the *King*, then muſt the *Subjects* of *England* be free from their Allegiance to him for that time; for though *Ligeance is due*, as was reſolved in *Calvin*'s Caſe, *to the natural Perſon of the King, and not to the politick Capacity only*; yet is it only due to the *natural Perſon* of the *King*, when it is accompanied with his *politick Capacity*; for otherwiſe he could not poſſibly diveſt himſelf of it by any the moſt formal or voluntary reſignation of the Government whatſoever, nor by any other Act whatſoever, *viz.* the entrance into a *Monaſtery* out of his Dominions, and the continuance there during life; for he cannot ceaſe, while he lives, to be deſcended *of the Blood-Royal of the Realm*, which immediately conſtitutes him in his *natural Capacity*, nor to be *King by Birth-right inherent*; he therefore only in ſuch caſes ceaſeth to be *King*, and our *Allegiance* to him only ceaſeth to be due, becauſe he hath ſeparated from himſelf that *politick Capacity* which was before apropriated to his *natural Perſon* by the Law, by virtue of the Lineal deſcent of that Perſon from the Blood-Royal, whereupon Succeſſion doth attend.

Cook's Reports, P. 438.

Ibid.

2*dly*, It is agreed on all hands that we cannot have *two Kings* at once, and therefore either the *King Regnant in poſſeſſion only*, or the *King*, de jure, *out of poſſeſſion only*, can be our *legal King*; or he who is in the eye of our Law, *our Sovereign Lord the King, and the only Supreme Governour of this Realm.*

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P. 438. P. 439.

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P. 438. P. 439.

Roy; and ſo to a *King Regnant in poſſeſſion*, though he be only *King, de facto*, if the Law make him *Seignior le Roy*. It is due *ſoli* to him alone, if he alone for the time being be *our Sovereign Lord the King*. It is due unto him *ſemper*, as long as he continues the *King Regnant in poſſeſſion*, upon the ſame account.

A. 9. Edw. 4. Term. Paſch. 4*thly*, Obſerve that in *Bagot*'s Caſe it is determined that *le Roy Hen. fuiſt Roy en poſſeſſion, & il covient qu' le Royalme eit un Roy South qu' les leges ſeront tenus & maintein doq; per c' qu' il ne fuiſt eins forſq; per uſurpation, unc' cheſcun act judicial fait per luy qu' touche juriſdiction Royal ſera bon, & licra le Roy de droit quand il fait regreſs*; *King* Henry *the Sixth was King in poſſeſſion, and it is neceſſary that the Kingdom ſhould have a King, under whom the Laws ſhould be held and maintained; therefore be it that he was only in by uſurpation, yet every judicial Act done by him which toucheth the Royal juriſdiction ſhall be good, and ſhall bind the rightful King when he returns.* And it is there added, that *le dit Roy H. ne fuit merement comme uſurper, car le corone fuiſt taile a luy per Parliament*; *The ſaid King* Henry *was not meerly as an Uſurper, becauſe the Crown was entailed upon him by Act of Parliament*, as now it is upon King *William*. If then *il covient qu' le Royalme eit un Roy, The Realm muſt always have a King, under whom the Laws ſhall be held and maintained*, the *King Regnant in poſſeſſion* being he alone under whom, for the time being, they can be held and maintained, he only can be *our Sovereign Lord the King for the time being*. If every Judicial act done by him which concerns the Royal Juriſdiction ſhall be good, though it be always done under the Title and Authority of *our Sovereign Lord the King*, then muſt he be *our Sovereign Lord the King*, to all intents and purpoſes of Law, for the time being; then muſt the Laws made by him be good alſo, though they run in the ſtile of *our Sovereign Lord the King*, or *our Lord the King*. And if all this be true of a *King Regnant*, or *in poſſeſſion*, though it ſhould be granted that he held the Kingdom meerly by uſurpation, it muſt more certainly be true of one on whom *the Kingdom is entailed by Act of Parliament*, as in our caſe it is, and who is therefore not to be looked on as *a meer Uſurper*.

P. 434. 5*thly*, Obſerve that in *Calvin*'s Caſe it is determined, that, *Protectio trahit ſubjectionem & ſubjectio protectionem*, Protection requires Subjection, and Subjection Protection. *Quia ſi-*

cut

cut ſubditus Regi tenetur ad Obedientiam, ita Rex ſubdito tenetur ad Protectionem; *For as the Subject oweth to the King his true and faithful Ligeance and Obedience*; *ſo the Sovereign is to govern and protect his Subjects*; that *Power and Protection draweth Ligeance*, and that *the Ligeance of the Subject is of as great extent and latitude as the Royal Power and Protection of the King*; that *though the King in his natural Perſon is ſubject to Death, Infirmity*, &c. *yet in his politick Capacity he is eſteem'd to be Immortal, not ſubject to Death, Infirmity*, &c. P. 436, 437. P. 438.

Now I would not hence inferr with others, that I owe a King no Subjection or Allegiance any longer than he doth actually protect me; or that, if he neglect his duty in protecting me in my Goods or Body, or of protecting the Laws, (according to theſe words of *Forteſcue*, *Rex ad tutelam legis, corporum & bonorum erectus eſt*,) I may neglect my duty of Allegiance to him. Cap. 13.

But yet I think it reaſonable hence to inferr affirmatively, "From the King Regnant in poſſeſſion, I, for the time being, "do receive Protection; therefore to him for the time be- "ing I do owe Subjection. Protection draws Allegiance, "therefore Protection from him draws Allegiance to him. "The Ligeance of the Subject is of as great extent and lati- "tude as is the Royal Power and Protection of the King; "therefore it muſt extend it ſelf unto all times and places "in which, and where this Royal Power is exerted, and "this Protection is afforded to me. St. *Paul* doth found the reaſon of our Subjection, Ταῖς ὑπαις ἐξουσίαις, *to the preſent Powers*, on this ground, That they are unto us *the Miniſters of God for good*; or in the words of Chriſt, that they are εὐεργέται, *Benefactors*; to whom we therefore owe Subjection on the ſcore of gratitude, as far as we with juſtice can afford it. "Since therefore, ſaith the Reverend Biſhop *Sander-* "*ſon*, we owe it to the Supreme Powers, even when they "are uſurped, that we enjoy what is our own, that we live "ſafe from ſlaughter, and from rapine; yea that we live at "all; ſince without them we neither could have remedy or "ſafe-guard againſt the Luſts, the Furies, or the Injuries "of wicked Men; 'tis the moſt equitable thing, and that "which the Old Law of giving and receiving mutually doth "require, that for ſo many and great benefits we ſhould "make ſome return unto that Power which affords them: Rom. xiij. 1,4. Luk. xxij 25. De legum Obligatione, lec. 5. §. 18.

And what is that Return, he doth ſufficiently explain in the enſuing words, *Profecto perverſiſſimæ mentis eſt*, *'Tis certainly an indication of a moſt perverſe mind to deſire to live under the Patronage of his Government whom you will not obey, and to refuſe to be governed by him whoſe Protection you enjoy.*

Moreover, if the *King* in his *politick Capacity* doth never die, and yet the *King* out of poſſeſſion is no *King*, as to that *politick Capacity*, or as to all intents and purpoſes of Law; then the *King Regnant* in poſſeſſion muſt be *King* for all the ſame intents and purpoſes, or there muſt be an *Interregnum*, which yet our Law will not admit of.

n. 5. *Hiſtory of the Reign of* H. 7. p. 144. 1 Chr. xxj. 17.

The *Lord Bacon* tells us, That *the Spirit of this Law was wonderfully pious and noble, being like in matter of War to the Spirit of* David *in matter of Plague, who ſaith, Is it not I that commanded the people to be numbred? even I it is that have ſinned, and done evil indeed; but theſe ſheep, what have they done? Let thy hand, I pray thee, O Lord my God, be upon me, and on my Fathers houſe, but not on thy people that they ſhould be plagued.* The equity of which Prayer is built on this foundation, That *they who had no hand in the ſin, ſhould bear no ſhare in the puniſhment*, and ſhould not be dealt with, *ut oves quæ ducuntur ad mortem, neque evadere poſſunt, As ſheep led to the ſlaughter, which they cannot avoid.* This, applied unto the preſent Law, runs thus: They who have had no ſhare in the Sin, if any be committed in that Revolution which hath diſpoſſeſſed the *King* of *Right*, and given poſſeſſion to the King *de facto*, ſhould have no ſhare in the Puniſhment, and ſhould not be brought into an unavoidable neceſſity of being ruined, and undone by it. But now, without the benefit of this Law of *Henry* the Seventh, and on the ſuppoſition of a neceſſity ſtill laid upon them to retain Faith and Allegiance to the rightful *King*, though out of poſſeſſion, and to deny it, whatever they may ſuffer by ſo doing, to the *King Regnant*, or in poſſeſſion as aforeſaid, they muſt be under an unavoidable neceſſity of being ruined, and undone; for they cannot reaſonably expect Protection from the *King Regnant*, if they deny him their *Allegiance*; and not only ſo, but declare they hold themſelves in Conſcience bound to give it to his Enemies; nor can they hope to eſcape thoſe Penalties which are at preſent, or may hereafter be impoſed on all who ſhall refuſe to promiſe *they will*

will bear Faith and true Allegiance to him; and ſo the more honeſt, and the better Subject any Man is, the greater miſeries and hardſhips will he lie expoſed to; for the Senſe of his Allegiance will induce him to preſerve his *rightful King* upon the Throne, as far as lawfully he can, and hazard Life and Fortunes in ſo doing; and when he hath done this, he muſt, if he be ſtill obliged to retain *Faith* and *true Allegiance* to him, when out of Poſſeſſion, in oppoſition to the *King Regnant*, expoſe his Life and Fortunes ſtill to a greater and more certain hazard. Whereas, as the Seaſonable Diſcourſe well obſerves, *Let Men argue as much as they pleaſe, yet it is certain, that no Man is of ſuch a captivated Allegiance, as by reaſon of it to engage himſelf, or think himſelf engaged to his own certain Ruine and Deſtruction.* P. 2. The moſt valiant and ſtrictly obliged Troops ſtick not to ask Quarter when they cannot defend themſelves any longer, and are juſtified for it by thoſe to whom they ſwore to bear Faith of Life and Member, as the old Oath of Ligeance did oblige all Subjects. Excellent to this purpoſe is that Obſervation of the ſame Author, "A Man cannot by Oath, or by any other way, *viz.* P. 41. "by natural Allegiance, be obliged further to any Power, "than to do his utmoſt in behalf thereof; and thoughthe Oath "for the right Magiſtrate be taken in the ſtricteſt terms of "bearing Faith or Life, or his natural Allegiance be conſtrued to extend to the venturing the laſt drop of his Blood in "his Service; yet it is to be underſtood always with this condition, if the Action or Paſſion may be for that *Prince*'s Advantage. For Inſtance, In an Army each man is, or may be "obliged by Oath to loſe his Life to the *Prince* whoſe Army "it is, rather than turn back, or avoid any danger. This "Army, after it hath done its utmoſt, is beaten, and now "the Souldiers can do no more for their *Prince* than die, "which indeed is to do nothing at all, but to ceaſe from doing "any thing either for him or themſelves: In theſe ſtreights "therefore, it is not repugnant to their Oaths to ask Quarter, "or a new Life, nor to take it with an Obligation of Fidelity "to thoſe who give it only upon that condition, or with an "Oath never more to fight againſt him who gives it, whilſt "his Power continues. In like manner, they who live under the full Power of the *King Regnant* for the time being, "may be ſaid to take Quarter, for he hath their Lives and

"their

" their Subſtance at his Mercy; and ſo they may as lawfully
" oblige themſelves to that which the *Prince* in Poſſeſſion re-
" quires from them; *viz.* that they will live in *Allegiance*,
" or obedience to him, and will not attempt any thing a-
" gainſt him.

n. 6. Ibid. *Secondly*, The ſame Lord *Bacon* adds, That *this Law wanted not prudence, and deep foreſight; for it did the better take away occaſion for the People to buſie themſelves to pry into the King's Title; for that, howſoever it fell, their ſafety was already provided for.* And truely, if, as the Author of the Seaſonable Diſcourſe Aſſerts, we may aſſure our ſelves of a juſtifiable Obedience by this, That he who requires it is King in Poſſeſſion, *and hath us, and the means of our Subſiſtence in his Power*; then Subjects may eaſily know the Rule of their Obedience, and the meaneſt capacity will not be wanting for a Rule of that Subjection to the *Higher Powers* which the *Apoſtle* requires, *for Conſcience ſake*, from *every Soul.* But if all perſons whatſoever muſt be put to the perplexity of examining the Title of every *King* that reigns over them, and is in Poſſeſſion of the Government, it will, I fear, prove a very difficult task, if not impoſſible for *every Soul* to yield this Subjection, Ὑπ ἔσαις ἐξουσίαις, *to the preſent Powers, for Conſcience ſake*, or to *every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's ſake*; there being often very intricate perplexities both as to matter of Right, and as to matter of Fact touching theſe things: For, not to inſiſt upon the long Conteſt betwixt the Houſe of *York* and *Lancaſter*, the meaneſt capacity, to ſatisfie himſelf of the Juſtice of the preſent Cauſe, beſides his general knowledge of the Nature and Obligation of an Oath, muſt be able to paſs an exact Judgment firſt concerning the Deſertion of King *James*, Whether it do not amount to an *Abdication.* Secondly, Whether there were not ſome *Original Contract*, by the Violation of which he may have loſt his Right to govern. Thirdly, Whether by his Endeavours to ſubvert the Fundamentals of this Government he may not have forfeited it. And Fourthly, Whether he may not have done it by actually ſubjecting part of it to a foreign Power; and both it, and himſelf, to *Papal* and *French* Power. Again on the part of King *William*, he muſt know Whether he had not a juſt cauſe of War; and if he had, Whether that do not create a right to the thing gained by it; Whether King *James*, by diſban-

ding

ding his Army, and withdrawing his Perſon, did not virtually yield him the Throne: And muſt not the Deciſion of theſe things, if it be neceſſary to be made by every Soul in order to the paying that Obedience to the *Higher Powers*, he ſtands obliged to yield them for Conſcience ſake, caſt many honeſt Souls into great Mazes, and under inſuperable difficulties? And muſt it not then be very reaſonable to conceive, that God hath given them ſome way more eaſie? And fitted to their mean capacities for ſatisfaction in this caſe; and what can that more likely be, than this of yielding actual Obedience to him whom they find in actual Poſſeſſion of the Government, whilſt they enjoy the benefit of his Protection, and of his Government?

Thirdly, *God*, ſaith the *Apoſtle*, *hath called us to Peace*, i. e. to peace even with *Pagans*, and to a peaceful Deportment in our conjugal and œconomical Relations; for unto that, he in that *Paragraph* ſeems more immediately to referr: And the *Apoſtle* requires the *Chriſtian* to yield Subjection to the preſent Powers; that by this good Behaviour their Adverſaries might be convinced of the peaceable Deportment of *Chriſtians*, and how free their Religion was from cauſing any diſturbance to the Government. Now if *Chriſtianity* did indeed enjoin them to yield this peaceable Subjection to the Powers then reigning, and having full Poſſeſſion of the Government, without a ſcrupulous enquiry into the juſtneſs of their Titles, they muſt be then obliged to live peaceably under all Governments, and give diſturbance unto none; but if it did enjoin them firſt exactly to enquire, and ſatisfie themſelves of the validity of every *Princes* Title, and refuſe Subjection as oft as they found reaſon to diſpute the Juſtice of it, it might then often happen, that all of them might be obliged to diſturb the Government; and the *Jewiſh Converts* at that very time, who ſcrupled the Title of any *Heathen Ruler* over them, might lie under continual Temptations to Diſobedience and Tumults. Again, even in our preſent Caſe, if we can bring our ſelves to this perſwaſion, That *Allegiance is due to a King in Poſſeſſion for the time being*, we may not only pray for *all that are in Authority, that under them we may live peaceable and quiet Lives in all holy Converſation and Godlineſs*, but we ſhall actually do ſo. But if, after the Wiſdom of the *Nation*, in the moſt *ſolemn Aſſembly*, hath

n. 7.
1 Cor. vii. 15.
1 Pet. ij. 12.
1 Tim. ij. 2.

hath conferred the Government on ſuch a Perſon, and given him the Title of *our Sovereign Lord the King*, and put him in full Poſſeſſion of the *Crown*, every private perſon may ſtill not only Queſtion whether they ought to own him as ſuch, but even deny him their Allegiance, and maintain that by an immutable Law of Nature they ſtand bound to give it to another, it is in vain to pray *we may live peaceable and quiet lives* under his Government, to hope for any Settlement of ſuch a Government, or any peaceable ſubſiſtence of it, ſince we conceive our ſelves indiſpenſably obliged to promote, and to abett all ſtruglings to diſturb and overturn it.

n. 8. *Obj.* " But againſt this Diſcourſe it may be urged, That Allegiance " is a Duty we owe unto a lawful Sovereign, not only by vir- " tue of our Oath, which is ſtiled legal Obedience, but by " virtue of the Law of Nature. Now though our legal Obe- " dience may ceaſe, as being that which only is impoſed on us " by Law, and ſo may be removed by ſuch a Law as render- " eth it impracticable, or transferrs it to another, yet our " natural Allegiance muſt be immutable, becauſe the Obliga- " tions of the Law of Nature are ſo. To ſtrengthen this " Objection let it be conſidered out of the famous Judgment
P. 440. " given in *Calvin's Caſe: Firſt*, That *our Ligeance is due to* " *our natural Leige Sovereign, deſcended of the blood Royal of the* " *Kings of this Realm.*

Ibid. *Secondly*, " That by the Law of Nature is the Faith, Ligeance " ance and Obedience of the Subject due to his *Sovereign* or " *Superiour*, becauſe Magiſtracy is of Nature; for whatſoever " is neceſſary and profitable for the preſervation of the Society of Man, is due by the Law of Nature, but ſo is Magi- " ſtracy. Seeing, as *Tully* ſaith, *Sine imperio nec domus ulla,* " *nec civitas, nec gens, nec hominum univerſum genus ſtare, nec* " *ipſe denique mundus poteſt*, Without Government no Houſe, " City, Nation, nor the whole Race of Mankind could " ſtand.

Ibid. *Thirdly*, " That *ſeeing Faith, Obedience and Ligeance are due* " *by the Law of Nature, it followeth that the ſame cannot be* " *changed or taken away.*

P. 441. *Fourthly*, " That when a Man is out of the *Kings legal Pro-* " *tection*, as a Man *Out-law'd*, a Man *attainted with a Premunire*, " he is not out of his *natural Protection*; but, notwithſtanding

" any

" any Statute, the *King* may protect and pardon him: And ſo, in like manner it ſeems reaſonable to diſtinguiſh betwixt legal and natural Obedience or Allegiance, and to affirm, That by theſe Statutes and Judgments we ſeem to be abſolved indeed from our legal, but cannot by them be abſolved from our natural Allegiance. I think I have made the Objection as ſtrong as the moſt ſcrupulous perſon would propound it; and if I can really tender a clear and ſatisfactory Anſwer to it, I hope my foregoing Argument will hold good even in the judgment of the moſt impartial.

I therefore Anſwer, 1. That what is granted ſeems to yield Advantage enough to us, *viz.* That *legal Allegiance may ceaſe to be due to a King* de jure, *and may be due to a King* de facto; though natural Allegiance cannot, this laſt is due Antecedently to all Laws, Promiſes and Oaths, whereas legal Allegiance is that which we by Law do ſwear and promiſe. Natural Allegiance is due to our *natural Liege Lord deſcended of the Royal Blood of the Kings of this Realm.* Legal is that which the Laws exact to the *King* for the time being, though he ſhould not be thus our natural Lord. Natural Allegiance is due becauſe he to whom I owe it is *rightful King*. Legal, becauſe he is *King Regnant*, and actually affords me that protection which calls for Subjection. This is undoubtedly mutable, the other is eſteem'd immutable. Well then, ſuppoſing, but not granting what this Objection doth ſuppoſe, That King *William* were *King* only *de facto*, no natural Allegiance can be due to him, but only legal and mutable; that therefore only is required by the Law impoſing this Oath, and that according to Law is due to him for his legal Protection; Why therefore can we not ſwear to yield him this legal Allegiance, whilſt this Protection doth continue. n. 9. *Repl.*

" We cannot, ſay ſome, do it, becauſe it obſtructs the " exerting of our natural Allegiance, and ſo obliges us not to " perform our Duty, not to yield to the *rightful King* his " Right: For inſtance, if a ſtruggle happen betwixt the King " *de jure* and *de facto*, it obliges us not to aſſiſt the firſt, as " *natural Allegiance*, which never ceaſeth, doth require againſt " the latter. Now that is an unlawful Oath which doth oblige us not to perform our Duty. *Obj.*

Repl. But to this I Anſwer, That this Exception makes it as unlawful for a *Conquered Army* to ask *Quarter*, or to receive it upon the Terms forementioned, or for a *Conquered Nation* to ſubmit unto the *Conqueror* until the lineal Succeſſion be extinct; and yet it is generally granted, That in theſe Caſes we may take *Quarter*, and ſubmit upon condition never to fight againſt the *Conqueror*, but to bear Faith and true Allegiance to him. 2. This obſtruction of our *natural Allegiance* is only ſuch as we may reaſonably take for the *preſumptive Will* of the *rightful King*, or that which he ſhould rationally grant to his oppreſſed Subjects; for in extream neceſſity it is to be preſumed, that he would recede from the Rigour of his Right for Preſervation of his Subjects, rather than by holding them to it, to ſubject them to certain Miſery and Ruine, without receiving any benefit thereby. We think that the Will of the diſpleaſed Prince is, That he would not have us hopeleſly begin the Miſeries of a new Confuſion for him, we therefore muſt believe his Will, that we ſhould not exert our *Natural Allegiance* in ſuch Caſes. Why therefore ſhould it not be as much ſuppoſed his *Preſumptive Will*, that when we cannot refuſe the Promiſe of bearing Faith and true Allegiance to the *King in Poſſeſſion for the time being*, without our preſent Miſery and Ruine, we ſhould ſubmit unto it? And therefore it is ſaid, That *King* Charles [redacted] *gave way to the taking the Engagement, rather than that his Good Subjects ſhould loſe their Eſtates for refuſing the ſame.* And Biſhop *Sanderſon* would not condemn the taking of it in this Senſe; " I *N. N.* promiſe, " That ſo long as I live under this Power and Protection, I " will not contrive or attempt any Act of Hoſtility againſt " them, but living quietly and peaceably under them, will " endeavour my ſelf faithfully in my Place and Calling to do " what every good Member of a Commonwealth ought to do " for the ſafety of my Country. Only he adds this, " He " who underſtandeth the words of the Engagement, ſo as " if they did oblige him to any thing contrary to his Allegi- " ance, or render him unable to act according thereunto upon " any ſeaſonable emergent occaſion, cannot with a good " Conſcience take it, but only he who underſtands it to be " no way contrary to his bounden Allegiance ſo long as he is " under ſuch a force, and cannot exerciſe it; and that when- " ſoever that force is removed from him ſo, or he from it, " as

Caſe of Engag. p. 113.

P. 123, 124.

P. 131.

" as that he hath Power to act according to his Allegiance, " the Obligation of the Engagement of it ſelf determines and " expires. Now if this be underſtood to be a promiſe to live quietly and peaceably under the Government, without contriving or attempting any act of Hoſtility againſt it, till by the Providence of God it doth expire, or ceaſeth to be the Government under which I am for the time being; then is it the ſame with that Allegiance which the Statute of *Henry* the *Seventh* requireth, and theſe Caſes plead for: But if it only be a Promiſe to live quietly under their Government, till they can get an opportunity to deſtroy, and cut their Throats; or an occaſion offers it ſelf to ſide with them that are ſtruggling ſo to do; It is one of the moſt vain, illuſory, ſenſeleſs Engagements in the World, for who knoweth not that, without any Engagements, all men will be quiet till they can get an opportunity to be otherwiſe? Who can have the face to go to any *Prince* with this Petition, Sir, I deſire the benefit of your Protection, and your Government, aſſuring you I will give your Government no Diſturbance till I can get an opportunity to do it, or till I can find ſome Body ſtruggling to Dethrone you? Who can judge it fit that any Government ſhould permit ſuch perſons to live in it, who declare themſelves bound, when any opportunity, or ſeaſonable occaſion happens, to endeavour its deſtruction; and when they ſee any body ſtruggling to do ſo, to ſide with them? What are ſuch perſons under the preſent Government, Subjects or Enemies? If the Firſt, then Biſhop *Sanderſon* informs them, That *Allegiance is ſo intrinſecal, proper, and eſſential a Duty, and as it were fundamental to the Relation of a Subject*, qua talis, *as that the very name of a Subject doth after a ſort import it.* If they be Enemies and not Subjects, how can they reaſonably expect that Protection which is due only unto Subjects, for that very cauſe that they are *Subjects*, and not that Treatment which all Governments think fit to uſe to their avowed Enemies. Ibid. p. 108

Secondly, I Anſwer, That the Reply removes not the whole ſtrength of the Argument, part of it being this, That *Treaſon may be committed againſt a King* de facto *in Poſſeſſion, and cannot be commited againſt a King* de jure *out of Poſſeſſion, and yet it always is committed againſt the natural Allegiance which is due to our Sovereign Lord the King.* And therefore even this natural n. 10. *Anſw.* 2.

Allegiance seems due to the King in Possession, and the exercise of it for the time being is Suspended as to the *King out of Possession.* Moreover our *Law Books*, as they tell us, That the Allegiance of the Subject is due by the Law of Nature; so do they also tell us, That *Protection and Government is due by the Law of Nature.* What Incongruity therefore is it, that for the time that he cannot perform what is due to the Subject by the Law of Nature, the Subject should suspend the exercise of what was due to him by the same Law. *Grotius* affirms, That *Reges qui Regnis exuti sunt, cum aliis Regni bonis, etiam jus legandi perdiderunt*, That *Kings out of Possession of their Kingdoms, have lost the Right of sending Ambassadors*; and yet that is a natural Right of Kings: And if that, for that time may be lost to him, and gained to the *King in Possession*, Why may it not be so as to *Natural Allegiance*? 3. Though our Lawyers distinguish between *Natural* and *Legal* Allegiance, yet they do truly tell us, That they differ not in Substance; but only as the Duty of Allegiance promised and sworn doth differ from it before those Engagements. *The Substance and Effect thereof is due by the Law of Nature, the Form and Addition of the Oath is of humane Provision.* So that legal Allegiance contains the Natural, and adds the confirmation of an Oath unto it. Where then the legal Obedience is suspended, and ceaseth for a time, the natural Obedience must much more cease to be exerted.

Calv. Case. p. 441.

De jure belli l. 3. c. 18. §. 2.

Calv. Case. p. 435.

Again, the Allegiance which all Subjects owe unto their *Sovereign* is natural, or that which is required of them by the Law of Nature, whether they live under an *absolute* or *mix'd Monarchy*, under a Government which in no case allows them to resist, to take up Arms against the *Sovereign*; or under such Governments as that of *Poland*, that of the King of the *Romans*, and of *Arragon*, and that of the Emperor over the *Princes* of the *Empire*; where, if they violated their Oaths, if they did not preserve their Laws and Liberties, their very Contract was, *Their Promise of Allegiance should go for nothing*, the *Inhabitants of the Kingdom should not be bound to shew them any Obedience*, but they should be impowered to resist them, *sine Rebellionis aut infidelitatis crimine, without the guilt of Rebellion, or breach of Faith.* Whence it is plainly evident, that all natural Allegiance is not immutable and indispensable.

See Bodin l. 2. de Republ. c. 5. Grot. de jure belli annot. ad l. 1. c. 4. Sect. 14. Sleid. Comment. l. 8. p. 195. *See Sect. 3. Numb. 4.*

Thirdly, To

Thirdly, To this Objection I anſwer by Explanation, and Diſtinction of a natural Right, or a Right grounded on the Law of Nature; and by Application of theſe things to the preſent Subject. n. 11.

1. The Law of Nature is that which the Dictate of Reaſon, from Principles known, and approved from their own evidence, obligeth me to judge fit to be done, or left undone by reaſon of that Moral honeſty or turpitude which is apparent in the Action.

2. Nature may be eſteemed to dictate any thing either directively, as a thing conſentaneous to the Laws of Reaſon, fit and agreeable to natural Principles; as perhaps *Kingly Government* in oppoſition to *Ariſtocracy*, or *Democracy*; or elſe Preceptively, as neceſſary to be done, or be omitted by virtue of ſome evidence, which clearly ſhews the Equity or Turpitude of the performance or omiſſion of it.

3. Of theſe Laws of Nature ſome are Principles, and thoſe either general; as that what is good is to be choſen; what evil is to be avoided, that I am to do; or avoid any thing out of reſpect unto ſome good or evil to my Soul or Body. That which I judge to be fit, due, and meet by the Laws of Humanity and Juſtice to be done to me, in the like caſes I muſt do to others; that the publick Good is to be preferr'd before my private Good of the ſame kind.

Or, ſecondly, relating to Particulars, *viz.* That I ought to do good to all, as far as I can do it without Spiritual, or great Temporal damage to my ſelf. 2*dly*, That I am to do no hurt or damage to any innocent perſon, if I can avoid it. 3*dly*, That I am to be true to my Word, and faithful to my Promiſe, eſpecially when I have, for the more aſſurance of another, confirmed it with an Oath. 4*thly*, That I ought to do my beſt endeavour, that he who hath deſerved well of me, ſhould receive well from me. And againſt theſe Laws of Nature God himſelf cannot diſpenſe, *i. e.* he cannot grant liberty to any one to act againſt the Tenor of theſe Laws, even in thoſe circumſtances in which they would have otherwiſe been obliging; and therefore they are truly called immutable, and are the ſame in all who are endowed with the exerciſe of Common Reaſon.

Some

Some are Concluſions reſulting from theſe Principles, and they do only bind, as we may clearly ſee the natural connexion of them with theſe Principles, and when no Laws of a more ſtrict connexion with them intervene to hinder their obliging force.

4. Some Laws of Nature continually do oblige under all circumſtances, and ſo their Obligation never ceaſeth; as the Laws forbidding the hatred of God and Idolatry: Others oblige only under ſuch circumſtances; as, *Thou ſhalt not kill*, viz. except when it is neceſſary for thy own preſervation and defence; Thou ſhalt not take away what is thy Brothers, *viz.* unleſs extream neceſſity compel thee to it. In theſe latter there muſt be a compariſon of Duties, and of Circumſtances, that we may know the better when they are to us Laws of Nature, and when not. Now to apply theſe things.

n. 12. It ſeemeth hard to ſay, that by ~~any~~ dictate of Common Reaſon, clear by its own native Light, or any firſt Principle of Nature, we, in theſe circumſtances, are ſtill obliged to yield natural Allegiance to King *James*, and cannot, without violating theſe Common Principles of cleareſt Reaſon, afford it to King *William* and Queen *Mary*; for then that great *Aſſembly* of the *Nation*, thoſe *Reverend Biſhops*, and that numerous *Clergy*, which believe they may, and therefore actually have done the contrary, and either have obliged, or exhorted others ſo to do, muſt ſin againſt the cleareſt light of Common Reaſon, which ſure we cannot charitably think or ſay; then muſt this Law of *Henry* the *Seventh*, which hath ſo long obtained, and all thoſe Judgments which have been made ſo ſolemnly by the great *Sages* of the Law, have been Laws made, and Judgments given, and Sentences pronounced againſt the cleareſt light of Nature. Then, thirdly, all perſons of other *Nations*, who in like caſes have done the like in *Swedeland*, *Portugal*, and *Germany*, and other places; and all thoſe learned Perſons, who in their Writings have expreſly, or by juſt conſequence allow'd the transferring of our *Allegiance* in theſe circumſtances, muſt both have acted themſelves, and authorized others to act in contradiction to the plain light of humane Reaſon; which yet ſeems a plain contradiction to that property of a true Law of Nature, that it is the ſame in all who are endowed with the exerciſe of Common Reaſon.

2*dly*, When

2*dly*, When it is ſaid that Allegiance from the Subject is due by the Law of Nature to his *Soverign*, this is none of thoſe Laws of Nature which oblige under all Circumſtances: For when I am ſubdued by the Power of another who hath conquered me, and hath my life at his mercy, no Man doubts but that I may engage, for preſervation of my life, that I will not be active againſt him that gives it; That is, that I will no further bear Allegiance to my former *Sovereign*. When a Nation, or part of it, is ſubdued by a *Conqueror*, without viſible hopes of recovering Freedom, they may ſwear Allegiance to the *Conqueror*. n. 13. P. 47. "Upon Frontiers, ſaith the *Seaſonable Diſcourſe*, all Men are moſt ſtrictly obliged to the deſtruction "one of another, according to their ſeveral Allegiances; yet "it happeneth daily, that by Sieges, and other Extremities, "Towns are reduced to the Juriſdiction of thoſe to whom "they were ſworn not to ſubmit, but to deſtroy; and upon "their Surrender, the muſt ſwear Allegiance to another Ma"ſter, and to deſtroy thoſe whom before they were bound "to preſerve; if they afterwards be re-taken by their for"mer *Prince*, he cannot look upon them as *Traitors* or *Re*"*volters*; for he could neither expect Allegiance from them, "when it was impoſſible for them to give it; or the refuſal "of Allegiance to the *Conqueror*, when it was impoſſible they "ſhould refuſe it without being put to the Sword. The "Reaſons which juſtifie ſuch particular places, juſtifie a more "univerſal; ſuch as are whole Kingdoms, which are made "out of ſuch particular places, and are ſubject to the ſame "Fate, and neceſſity of War, to the ſame Confuſions and Re"volutions of Government, and ſo to the ſame oppoſite Al"legiance. This therefore can be only ſuch a Law of Nature as binds under ſuch circumſtances, and ceaſeth when thoſe circumſtances ceaſe, *viz.* When Power of Protecting, Governing and Preſerving ceaſe without my fault, and I can have them only from another upon condition of Allegiance.

3*dly*, Let us conſiderately peruſe the Grounds of natural Allegiance, or the Foundations upon which, according to the learned, it relies; and they, perhaps, may ſomewhat contribute unto our ſatisfaction in this caſe. The foundation of *legal Allegiance* is the natural Law of Fidelity, which obligeth n. 14.

us

us to be true unto our Promiſes and Oaths; and this the Objection grants may ceaſe. The grounds of natural Allegiance are by our *Judges* in that famous Caſe of *Calvin* declared to be two:

1. Protection and Government; and from this Ground it is demonſtratively evident, that my natural Allegiance muſt ceaſe to be actually due to him who cannot govern and protect me, and muſt be due to him who actually doth ſo.

2*dly*, The Neceſſity of Government, and the Profit of it for the preſerving the Society of Man; 'tis neceſſary, becauſe the *Prince* cannot attain the ends of Government, unleſs his Subjects yield him due Obedience; 'tis profitable, becauſe Peace is preſerved, and Juſtice hath its due uninterrupted Current, whilſt the *King*, who protects and governs, finds Obedience from his Subjects. Now both theſe Grounds, as hath been ſhewn in *Bagot*'s Caſe, and from the Reverend Biſhop *Sanderſon*, require Obedience to the King in Poſſeſſion for the time being; for if there be a neceſſity, when we have loſt our Governor *de jure*, and he is out of Poſſeſſion, that we ſhould ſtill have Government, and we cannot have it but from the King *de facto*; there muſt be a neceſſity that we ſhould yield Obedience or Allegiance to him; for they are words of the ſame import, and uſed indifferently for the ſame thing in the Old Statute of *Allegiance*; the Old Oath being commonly called, ſaith the
P. 188. Act for the abrogation of it, *The Oath of Allegiance or Obedience.* Peace alſo is preſerved, and Juſtice hath its Courſe under the King in Poſſeſſion, and cannot have its Courſe under him who is out of Poſſeſſion.

Caſe of Engag. P. 109. 3*dly*, Biſhop *Sanderſon* ſaith, That *Allegiance is a Duty that every Subject by the Law of Nature owes to his Country, and conſequently to the Supreme Power thereof; for the ſame Law which we may call the Law of Nature (at leaſt in a large acceptation) which inclineth particular Men to grow into one Civil Body of a Common-wealth, muſt neceſſarily withal imprint a Senſe and tacite acknowledgment of ſuch a Duty of Allegiance in every inferior Member of the Body to the Sovereign Power by which the Common-wealth is governed, as is neceſſary for the preſervation of the whole Body:* It therefore, ſay I, muſt imprint an acknowledgment of ſuch a Duty of Allegiance in every inferior Member of the Body to the King, *de facto*, in full Poſſeſſion of the Government, becauſe he is *Caput communitatis*; and is, for the time being, that *Sove-*

reign

reign Power by which the Common-wealth is governed. And this he elſewhere proveth in our very caſe by this cogent Argument: " Whatſoever is to be done for any end, is ſo far " to be done, as it ſeems neceſſary and profitable for the ob- " taining of that end; but the end of Civil Government, and " of the Obedience due to it, is the ſafety and tranquillity of " humane Society; and therefore every Subject is bound to " obey the Commands of him who, *de facto*, is *Supreme Go-* " *vernor*, as far as the ſafety and tranquillity of that Society " requires that Obedience. Now three things are neceſſary " for preſerving of humane Society: 1. Defence of our " Country againſt Foreign force, and the attempts of her " Enemies. [*Add*, And by parity of Reaſon, againſt thoſe " who would create Seditions in her bowels; for, ſurely, they " are oppoſite to the ſafety and tranquillity of the Society.] " 2*dly*, The adminiſtration of Juſtice, by which Rewards and " Puniſhments may duly be adminiſtred as by Law eſtabliſhed. " 3*dly*, The care of Trade and Merchandice; for in theſe " three things the welfare of Mankind doth ſo much conſiſt, " that without them all things muſt run to ruin; all places " will be filled with Rapines, Murthers, Frauds and Injuries. " The Lives and Fortunes of the moſt innocent Subjects will " become a prey to the Luſt of the more powerful; the only " remedy againſt which Evils is, That good Subjects remem- " ber that it is their duty to obey their Commands and Laws " in all things which relate unto the publick ſafety, by whoſe " Sword and Authority they are defended from the injuries " of wicked Men. Lect. 5. de leg. §. 19.

I know he concludes with this exception, That we muſt *ſo yield Obedience to the Invaſor, as not to violate the Right of the Lawful Heir, or do any thing to his prejudice:* §. 20.
Which Exception ſhall be conſidered in the following Head.

4*thly*, Allegiance may be grounded on that Law of Juſtice which enjoins us to give every one his right. But then according to our Laws, according to that Old Rule, *Protection doth require Allegiance*, according to thoſe known Principles, *That there muſt be always a Government under which the Laws may be preſerved, and Juſtice executed*; and where there is a Government, there muſt be Obedience: I ſay, according to theſe Rules, Allegiance for the time being muſt be the Right

of the *King in poſſeſſion for the time being*. Moreover, in many things which are in general enjoined by the Law of Nature, humane Laws determine both of the exerciſe and meaſures of them; for inſtance, *Thou ſhalt not ſteal*; Thou ſhalt not defraud another of his Right, are Laws of Nature; but yet the Law of Man determines what ſhall be eſteemed ſtealing, and what defrauding others of their Right. *Thou ſhalt not kill*, is another Law of Nature; but yet the Law of Man determines when I may kill without committing Murther, and when not; ſo in like manner the Law of Nature requires Allegiance to my *Sovereign*; but for any thing I can ſee to the contrary, the Law of Man may determine who ſhall be eſteemed that *Sovereign*, and what is that *Allegiance* I ſtand bound to yield him; and were this otherwiſe, all thoſe Laws foremn. 10 mentioned of *Poland*, *Arragon*, and the *Imperial Princes*, muſt be contrary to the Law of Nature, and to the natural Allegiance due to their *Sovereigns*. 3*dly*, There can be no prejudice to the Right of the King, *de jure*, in theſe matters in which he doth or ought to be preſumed willing to recede from that Ibid. Sect 21. Right. " Now, ſaith the *Biſhop*, it is to be preſumed that Al-
" legiance ſhould be ſo far paid to the Invader, as it ſerves
" for the good of the Community; the ſafety of which is far
" more the intereſt of the right Heir, than of him who hath
" the Poſſeſſion without Right; and ſo this Father of the
" Country cannot but have that affection for it; that rather
" than it ſhould be deſtroyed, and his Subjects ruined, they
" ſhould modeſtly accommodate themſelves to the preſent af-
" fairs, than by their unſeaſonable reſiſtance (*add*, or refuſal
" of Allegiance) they ſhould bring upon themſelves certain
" deſtruction.

5*thly*, The true foundation of Allegiance is that of the Law of Gratitude, which ſaith, That *from whom I receive Protection, and all the other benefits of Government, to him in gratitude I owe Subjection and Obedience*; and upon this Subjection is founded by St. *Paul*, declaring, That we muſt needs be ſubject, *becauſe he is the Miniſter of God for good*. Now this makes plainly for Subjection to that *King* from whom, for the time being, we receive Protection, and all the benefits of Government. This is the ground of that Obedience which Children owe unto their *Parents* and *Servants* to their *Maſters*; and therefore

fore where theſe ceaſe, we may much more ſuppoſe that the Allegiance of Subjects to their *Prince* ſhould ceaſe. Now,

Though no Man can have the ſame relation to me as my *Father* has, or do that Action which gave him that Relation; yet do the *Roman Laws* conclude, That even *Fathers* may forfeit this right; ſo far, as that their Childrens obligation to Obedience to them may ceaſe. The Law of the *Twelve Tables* ſaith, That *if the Father ſell his Son thrice, or his Daughter once, they ſhall be freed from obligation of Obedience to him*; the *Roman* and *Imperial Laws*, That *if the Parents will not nouriſh, but expoſe their Children, they ſhall have no power to recover them to their Obedience*, though by that Action they cannot ceaſe to be their *natural Parents*; That *if Parents ſeek to poiſon, or otherwiſe to attempt the life of their Children, or neglect to take care of them, then ſhall they have no benefit of their Obedience.* And as for Servants, their Law provided thus; That *if ſick Servants were neglected by their Maſters, if, in that ſtate, they caſt them out of their Houſes, neither providing for them themſelves, nor committing them to the care of others, they were to enjoy their liberty.* Now if our Caſe ſhould be determined by the equity of theſe Rules, and I can ſee no reaſon why it may not be ſo; I mean if we do only take our meaſures of it from the Law of Nature, abſtracting from our Oaths, and the deciſion of the *Holy Scriptures*; that *Father* of the Country who hath deſerted us, caſt off all care of us, expoſed us to the pleaſure of another; that *Maſter* who hath left us when ſick and diſtemper'd, neither taking care of us himſelf, nor committing the care of us to any other, muſt have loſt his Title to our Subjection and Obedience.

Vide Sharock de officiis ſecundum naturæ jus, *c.* 5. *n.* 7. *p.* 352.

Ibid. P. 353.

Laſtly, I anſwer, That in matters of this nature there muſt be place for a compariſon of natural Obligations; and when they ſeem to claſh, thoſe which are more immediate, and neareſt to firſt Principles; thoſe which are moſt obliging under all circumſtances; thoſe which are moſt immutable, and indiſpenſable, muſt prevail againſt all others which have leſs of theſe great Characters of the Law of Nature inſtamped upon them. Let us then bring this matter to theſe Rules, as Men ſuppoſed to be left purely to the Law of Nature for the deciſion of this caſe, as the Objection doth ſuppoſe, and then it ſeems to be fairly argued, n. 15.

1. That the firſt and moſt immediate Law of Nature is Self-love and Preſervation, as that imports the love and preſervation of my Soul and Body; of my Soul abſolutely, and of my Body by all lawful means, or by ſuch means as are not prejudicial to the higher intereſts of my Soul. This is ſo certainly the fundamental Ground of Action, that I can have no Motive to do any thing, and ſo no Motive to yield Obedience to any *Sovereign*, which may not be reſolved into theſe Principles; and when theſe Principles combine, and equally affect the whole Society, 'tis their moſt ſtrong and moſt immediate bond of Action; according to that known Rule, *ſalus populi eſt ſuprema Lex.* When then the ſafety and preſervation of the Community depends upon their promiſe of Allegiance to the *Supreme Governor* for the time being, as it muſt do when they are in his Power, and cannot have the benefit of his Protection, and his Government without it; it muſt prevail above all Obligations of Allegiance to him, who, being out of Poſſeſſion, can no more Protect or Govern them.

Obj. If it be ſaid that the acting, even in this caſe, contrary to their Promiſe and Allegiance, rendring them guilty of falſhood and perjury, muſt be more prejudicial to their Souls, than their refuſal of Allegiance to the *King Regnant* can be to their Bodies; and ſo it muſt be acting contrary to the true Principle of Preſervation and Self-love.

I anſwer by Conceſſion, That if thus acting were indeed acting contrary to the true intent and meaning of the Oath of Allegiance; and it were lawful thus to bind our ſelves by Oath and Promiſe; we by thus acting ſhould act againſt Self-love, and the true import of Self-preſervation; but if Men will examine either their own Actions, or the general Conditions of an Oath, they will find reaſon to believe, that, in ſo doing, they do not indeed act againſt the true intent and meaning of their Oath or Promiſe. For,

1. This Oath of Allegiance, ſay theſe Objectors doth oblige us *to ſpend the laſt drop of our Blood*, and to *hazard our Lives and Fortunes in the King's Service againſt all Men whatſoever*; and yet did any of this Nation, beſides *Roman Catholicks*, conceive themſelves obliged thus to act for King *James* againſt the *Prince* of *Orange*, when they ſaw they could not do it without

without being active towards the Ruine of themſelves, their Liberties and their Religion? 'Tis therefore evident, That, by their Actions, they declared they judged themſelves exempted ſo far from that Oath, as it did lay upon them a neceſſity of being inſtrumental to promote the Ruine of themſelves, the Laws and the Religion of the *Nation*. Or doth any Man call a Conquer'd Nation, or a City taken by Storm, or a Routed Army, perjured, becauſe they accept of their Lives upon condition of promiſing, upon Oath, Allegiance to their *Conqueror?*

2*dly*. The General condition of all Oaths, is, That I will perform them ſo long, and ſo far as it is lawful ſo to do. Now can any Man think it lawful to be active to the apparent Ruine of himſelf, the Laws, Religion, and Community of which he is a Member. If not, he cannot think himſelf obliged by his Oath or Promiſe to thoſe things which will, in humane probability, have theſe ſad Effects.

3*dly*. The Oath of Allegiance is a legal Oath impoſed by the *Repreſentatives* and *Guardians* of the Community. Now can it reaſonably be thought that they intended to bind the whole Community, and, in them, themſelves to ruine both their Laws, Religion, and their private Intereſts? If not, no Man can rationally think himſelf obliged by ſuch an Oath to do that which apparently doth tend to ſuch an End.

Again, the immediate Law of all Societies is the publick Good. Now *Allegiance*, ſaith Biſhop *Sanderſon*, *is a Duty that every Subject owes to his Country, that is, the Publick, and conſequently to the Supreme*. And hence it ſeems demonſtratively to follow, that he cannot owe it to the *Supreme Power*, when the performance of it tends plainly, and directly to the ruine of the *publick Good*, and therefore cannot owe it to him, when it tends to the deſtruction of that Community of which he is a Member. The Allegiance which is confirmed by Oath is ſtronger than is *natural Allegiance*; and yet the *Caſuiſts* do generally teach, that when the Obſervation of a promiſſory Oath is plainly deſtructive of the publick Good, it is not Obligatory, becauſe the matter of it then becomes unlawful: For,

Caſe of the Engag. p. 109.

1. That

1. That the firſt and moſt immediate Law of Nature is Self-love and Preſervation, as that imports the love and preſervation of my Soul and Body; of my Soul abſolutely, and of my Body by all lawful means, or by ſuch means as are not prejudicial to the higher intereſts of my Soul. This is ſo certainly the fundamental Ground of Action, that I can have no Motive to do any thing, and ſo no Motive to yield Obedience to any *Sovereign*, which may not be reſolved into theſe Principles; and when theſe Principles combine, and equally affect the whole Society, 'tis their moſt ſtrong and moſt immediate bond of Action; according to that known Rule, *ſalus populi eſt ſuprema Lex.* When then the ſafety and preſervation of the Community depends upon their promiſe of Allegiance to the *Supreme Governor* for the time being, as it muſt do when they are in his Power, and cannot have the benefit of his Protection, and his Government without it; it muſt prevail above all Obligations of Allegiance to him, who, being out of Poſſeſſion, can no more Protect or Govern them.

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I anſwer by Conceſſion, That if thus acting were indeed acting contrary to the true intent and meaning of the Oath of Allegiance; and it were lawful thus to bind our ſelves by Oath and Promiſe; we by thus acting ſhould act againſt Self-love, and the true import of Self-preſervation; but if Men will examine either their own Actions, or the general Conditions of an Oath, they will find reaſon to believe, that, in ſo doing, they do not indeed act againſt the true intent and meaning of their Oath or Promiſe. For,

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2*dly*. The General condition of all Oaths, is, That I will perform them ſo long, and ſo far as it is lawful ſo to do. Now can any Man think it lawful to be active to the apparent Ruine of himſelf, the Laws, Religion, and Community of which he is a Member. If not, he cannot think himſelf obliged by his Oath or Promiſe to thoſe things which will, in humane probability, have theſe ſad Effects.

3*dly*. The Oath of Allegiance is a legal Oath impoſed by the *Repreſentatives* and *Guardians* of the Community. Now can it reaſonably be thought that they intended to bind the whole Community, and, in them, themſelves to ruine both their Laws, Religion, and their private Intereſts? If not, no Man can rationally think himſelf obliged by ſuch an Oath to do that which apparently doth tend to ſuch an End.

Again, the immediate Law of all Societies is the publick Good. Now *Allegiance*, ſaith Biſhop *Sanderſon*, *is a Duty that every Subject owes to his Country, that is, the Publick, and conſequently to the Supreme*. And hence it ſeems demonſtratively to follow, that he cannot owe it to the *Supreme Power*, when the performance of it tends plainly, and directly to the ruine of the *publick Good*, and therefore cannot owe it to him, when it tends to the deſtruction of that Community of which he is a Member. The Allegiance which is confirmed by Oath is ſtronger than is *natural Allegiance*; and yet the *Caſuiſts* do generally teach, that when the Obſervation of a promiſſory Oath is plainly deſtructive of the publick Good, it is not Obligatory, becauſe the matter of it then becomes unlawful: For,

Caſe of the Engag. p. 109.

1. That

1. That which we cannot lawfully promiſe, we cannot ſwear to do; but we cannot lawfully Promiſe to be actively Obedient to the Commands of our *Superior* to the ruine of the Publick; we cannot therefore ſwear to be ſo.

2. An Oath can only bind us to do that which we can be obliged to do; but no Member of a Community can be obliged to do what is deſtructive of the Good of the Community, he being, by virtue of his Relation to it, to *ſeek the Peace* and Welfare of it, and *to pray unto the Lord for it*; and therefore cannot be obliged to act in contradiction to his Duty, and his Prayers.

Jer. xxix. 7.

3*dly*. To this Effect may be urged that ſaying of our Lord, *The Sabbath was made for Man*, that is, for his behoof, *not Man for the Sabbath*; whence he concludes, That the Reſt commanded on that Day, and in which the Obſervation of it did conſiſt, may be violated for the preſervation of Man. Accordingly *Kings* were made for the publick Good, the Welfare and Safety of the Government; and Allegiance, ſaith St. *Paul*, is therefore due to them, *becauſe they are the Miniſters of God to us for good*: The Community or Publick was not made for them, and conſequently the humane Laws concerning them, and the *Allegiance* we owe to them ~~may~~ be violated, when it is neceſſary to do ſo for the preſervation of the Publick. When therefore Subjects are under a neceſſity either to Hazard or Ruine the Publick, or to transferr their *Allegiance*, for the time being, to the *King Regnant*, they may do the latter.

Mar. ij. 27.

Moreover, it may very probably be argued, That when a King, being wrongfully outed, repairs to a *foreign Power* by which to conquer his own Kingdom, I am not bound by my Allegiance tamely to give up my ſelf, without reſiſtance, to be enſlaved to that power, as I muſt be, if, in ſuch caſes, I may not reſiſt; it being not in the King's Power, how much ſoever it may be in his Will, to Rule or to Command theſe *Conquerors*, and therefore not to hinder our enſlavement to them.

Yea, when he viſibly attempteth to diſſolve thoſe Laws on the Preſervation of which the Good of the Community conſiſts, or by ſuch evil Methods to ſubject it to *Popery* and *Slavery*, *i. e.* to Temporal and Eternal Ruine, my Duty of Allegiance cannot

cannot oblige me to be obedient to him in profecution of thoſe ends. Had I ſworn to ſtay a Priſoner in ſuch a Houſe, that Oath would bind me to ſtay in it, though I found it ſmoaky, and wanting Accommodations for my Health; but not when it is on Fire, or ready to fall down upon my Head, becauſe the Obſervation of it to my own immediate Deſtruction, is againſt the Law of Nature. Much leſs can my Oath of Allegiance bind me to the Subverſion of the Publick, that being more againſt the ſame Law, and the very End of *Societies*. When therefore a King hath put his Conſcience under ſuch Guides as render it morally impoſſible for him to deſiſt from the Subverſion of the Eſtabliſhed Religion, and his Power, and Perſon under ſuch Hands, that it is morally impoſſible he ſhould return to his Government without enſlaving the Community, and ſubverting her Laws and Liberties, I know not what natural Allegiance, or Principles of meer natural Reaſon can tie me to hazard my own ſafety, by refuſing to promiſe Allegiance for the time being to another who will preſerve both.

In caſes of ſuch unhappy Conteſts between the good of the *Governor* and the *Governed*, it ſeems moſt natural to think it better, *ut pereat unus, potius quam unitas*. For the preſent Governor, in ſuch a ſtruggle, may ſuffer much, and yet the Government may not ſuffer, but be as well preſerved in another Perſon. But when a *Kingdom* and a *Church* is thus ſubverted and enſlaved, the Government then ſuffers without proſpect of Recovery, and the Effects of theſe things reach unto Poſterity. Witneſs the woeful Spectacle of *France*.

According to the ſuppoſition of the Statute of *Henry* the *Seventh*, and the Caſes cited, the King out of Poſſeſſion is *de jure* King, and ſo we muſt be his Subjects *de jure*; theſe being eſſential Relatives which mutually inferr one of the other. If we be of right his Subjects, we muſt owe him Allegiance of right; and then, How can we promiſe and ſwear to give away his right to another? *Obj.* 2.

To this Objection I have given a ſufficient Anſwer in what I have Diſcourſed on the Fourth Foundation of Allegiance, the Law of Juſtice. To which things I add, n. 16. *Anſw.*

1*ſt*. That

1*ſt*. That as a King *de jure* hath right to the Allegiance of his Subjects, ſo have they alſo the ſame right to Government, and Protection by him, and he is by his Coronation Oath obliged to afford it. If then, whilſt he is out of Poſſeſſion, the exerciſe of his Government and Protection ceaſeth, though I have a right to it, and he is not to be eſteemed a violater of his Oath becauſe he doth not then protect us, or execute Juſtice for us; Why may not the Exerciſe of that Allegiance which I have promiſed by Oath to him ceaſe, though he hath the ſame right to it?

2*dly*. When we ſay a King out of Poſſeſſion hath right to the Allegiance of his Subjects, we mean not an immediate right, but mediate; *i. e.* our meaning is, That firſt he hath right to Poſſeſſion and actual Government, and by that to Allegiance; he therefore muſt be firſt in Poſſeſſion, before we can exert the Allegiance due to him. Accordingly, though *Edward* the Fourth is by Act of Parliament in the Firſt Year of his Reign declared to have been *in Right, from the Death of the Right Noble Prince* Richard *Duke of* York, *very juſt King of the Realm of* England; yet becauſe he only took upon him to uſe his Right and Title to the ſaid Realm of *England* on the Fourth of *March*, *A. D.* 1460. and entered only then *into the Exerciſe of the Royal Eſtate, Dignity, Preheminence and Power of the ſame Crown, and to the Governance of the ſaid Realm of* England, *by the amotion of* Henry *the Sixth* (till then King *in Deed*, though not *of Right*;) therefore is he ſaid by the Act of *Parliament* to have been only *on the Fourth day of* March *in the lawful Poſſeſſion of the ſame Realm, with the Royal Power, Preheminence, Eſtate and Dignity belonging to the Crown thereof*; and then only *to be lawfully ſeized and poſſeſſed of the Crown of* England *in his ſaid Right and Title, and of all Prerogatives belonging to it.*

See Bagot's *Caſe*, 9 H. 4. Term Trin.

Now what is only thus of Right, may be both promiſed and performed to another, whilſt this other is in Poſſeſſion, though he be not *de jure* ſo, provided he be ſo according to the Courſe of Law, or the accuſtomed Rights of giving and receiving Poſſeſſion, as is apparent in the Caſe of a *Lord of a Manor*, who is thus in Poſſeſſion of what is the Right of another, who is by Fraud, or corrupt Verdict, or Judgment, outed of his Right; for the Homage due of Right to the true Owner

owner is here, by Law, as occaſion offers it ſelf, to be ſworn to the unjuſt Poſſeſſor. Nay we read of divers Acts of *Parliament* continuing the Name and Honour of a King to him, who, by their own Confeſſion, had not the juſt Title, and only proclaiming him who had the right Title, *Heir apparent to the Crown*, as in the very Caſe of * *Richard* Duke of *York* and *Henry* the Sixth; and in the Caſe of † King *Stephen* and *Henry* Duke of *Normandy*: Not to mention the Treaty of Peace made afterwards for the avoiding the ſhedding of Chriſtian Blood, || That *Henry the Firſt being inveſted with the Crown, by the Act of the Kingdom, ſhould enjoy the ſame during his Life*, though the juſt Title was in *Robert*.

* In ipſa autem vigilia capta fuit concluſio differentiæ hujuſmodi, viz. Quod Dux, & Filii ſui, Edvardus Comes Marchiæ, ac Edmundus Comes Rutlandiæ, qui ambo diſcretionis annos attigerant, jurarent ipſi Regi fidelitatem, quodque ipſum recognoſcerent eorum Regem quamdiu ageret in humanis; id enim *Parliamentum ipſum jam decreverat*, addendo, de ipſius Regis conſenſu, quod quamprimum Rex ille in fata diſceſſerit, licebit dicto Duci, ſuiſque Hæredibus, coronam Angliæ vendicare, & poſſidere. *Hiſt. Croyl. Ed. Oxon. p.* 550. † Theobaldus Cantuarienſis—— Utroſque demum ad concordiam emollivit, in tantum quod Rex Juvenem Ducem in filium ſuſceperit adoptivum, & juramenti atteſtatione Regni ſui conſtituit Hæredem, Regi tamen honorem debitum. fidemque, dum viveret, Dux ipſe promiſerat ſe conſervaturum. *Ibid, p.* 451. *Vide Dunelm. continuat. p.* 282.

|| Daniel's *Hiſt. pag.* 91.

This Aſſertion, That actual Poſſeſſion makes a *Sovereign Lord the King* for the time being, deſtroys all *Hereditary* Succeſſions, in which the *Heir* is the power in being without farther Act done by him, or paſſed by the People, or others, and without actual Poſſeſſion. n. 17. *Obj.* 3.

Since it is certain that no perſon can now claim by a *Paternal Authority* uninterrupted from the beginning, 'tis certain that all Kingdoms are now *Hereditary* by virtue of their own Conſent and Compact, or by their own Eſtabliſhment, that the Crown ſhall be continued in ſuch a Line; it therefore is *Hereditary*, becauſe they have conſented and agreed it ſhould be ſo. If then all Parties concerned have conſented alſo to a Law that a *King*, in quiet Poſſeſſion of this Government, ſhall be looked upon, for the time being as the *Heir*; that is, ſhall be to all intents and purpoſes, as much *our Sovereign Lord the King*, as if he were ſo: This Law can bear no Contradiction to ſuch an *Hereditary Succeſſion*, *Anſw.* *Cook's* Inſtit. par. 3. c. 1. p. 7.

ceſſion, but only be a wiſe Proviſion, that in the interruptions of the *Regular Succeſſion*, Juſtice ſhould never fail, *there being by the Law always a King in whoſe name the Laws are to be maintained and executed*; and therefore they who have the leaſt acquaintance with our *Hiſtory*, muſt know that tho' our Kings *de facto* were more numerous, before the Union of the two Houſes, than thoſe *de jure*; yet are they equally placed in the Catalogue of the *Hereditary* Kings of *England*, and Allegiance was ſworn to them by their Subjects without any Scruple, as well as to the Kings *de jure*.

2*dly*. That the Heir is of Right the Power without farther Act done by him, than claiming of the Crown, may be granted; but that he is actually the Power in Being, whilſt he is uncapable, by being out of Poſſeſſion, to exerciſe any Act belonging to the *Supreme Power*, is denied. For we find throughout the whole *Hiſtory* of the Kings of *England*, That they who had the Right by Proximity of Blood, but wanted Poſſeſſion, were never owned as *Kings* and *Queens* of *England*, as is viſible in the Caſe of *Robert* the Eldeſt Son of the *Conqueror*, of *Maud* the *Empreſs* of *Germany*, Prince *Arthur* and *Elenor* his Siſter, and of all the Iſſue of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*; who, by the Judgment of the High Court of *Parliament*, in the Eighth of *Richard* the Second, were declared Heirs Apparent to the Crown, in caſe King *Richard* ſhould die without Iſſue, as he did. On the other hand, they who were Kings *de facto*, and not of Right, as unqueſtionably were King *Stephen* and King *John*, and as *Henry* IV, V and VI. by Act of *Parliament* were declared to be, were always reckoned as true *Kings* of *England*, and Allegiance was ſworn, and paid to them as ſuch.

Vide *Knighton* Chron. l. 2. c. 5, 8.

See the whole Pedegree of them in Bagot's *Caſe* 9 Ed. 4. Term. Trin.

Ed 4. 1° c. 1.

n. 18. *Obj*. 4. An *Inferior Magiſtrate* is not to be obeyed or owned as our *Superior* in oppoſition to a *Superior Magiſtrate's* Command, becauſe in ſuch things he hath no lawful Call, Warrant or Commiſſion; and for the ſame reaſon a King *de facto* is not to be owned, or obeyed as our *Superior* in oppoſition to a King *de jure*, becauſe he cannot be ſuppoſed to have a lawful Call or Warrant to Exerciſe the Kingly Government.

If

If an *Inferior Magiſtrate* hath a Law to warrant his Commands, he is to obeyed even againſt the verbal commands of his *Superior* without law. Now a King *de facto*, in quiet Poſſeſſion, hath a Law to warrant his Acting as our *Sovereign Lord* the *King*, and requiring our Faith and true Allegiance to him for the time being; he therefore is to be owned and obeyed, as having a legal Call to the Government for the time being. *Anſw*

Secondly, To give a ſatisfactory Anſwer to this, and many Objections of the like nature, it will be proper to conſider what a Call, or a Commiſſion to be the *Governor* of any *Nation* doth import; and for the Reſolution of this Enquiry let it be noted,

1. That God doth not now, as in the Caſe of *Saul* and *David*, by himſelf appoint and nominate the Perſon who ſhall ſway the Sceptre in any Nation of the World. We ſee by plain Experience God doth not interpoſe in this extraordinary manner in the Election or Conſtitution of *Superiors*. The *Roman Emperors* had no ſuch Appointment, but were Elected by the *Roman* Armies, or choſen and confirmed by the *Senate*; whence it muſt follow, That an immediate Appointment or Deſignation of the Perſon by God, cannot be neceſſary to render any *Prince* God's Ordinance.

2. By virtue of God's general Appointment or Ordinance, that all *Nations* ſhall have ſome Government placed over them, no Individual Perſon can claim a Right to be the *Higher Power* in any *Nation* more than Others; nor are the People tied to yield Subjection by it to this Man, rather than to that: As then the former Deſignation was more, ſo this is leſs than reaſonably can be required to make a Man the *Individual Perſon* who is God's *Civil Ordinance*, in reference to ſuch a *Nation*.

3. It cannot be ſaid of any Perſon or Family at preſent in the World, That he, or it claimeth, or holdeth the Throne in any Nation by a Right of *Fatherhood* or *Primogeniture* derived from *Adam*. I know no *Prince* on Earth who thus pretendeth to derive his Pedigree, and am perſwaded, that, if any hath the Vanity to make ſuch an Extravagant Pretence, he cannot thus make out his Title. It remains therefore,

4. That Government be conveyed to this or that Individual Perſon or Family, by Compact, or Conſent, and Choice of the Perſons governed, that ſuch a Perſon or Family ſhall Exerciſe the Government over ſuch a *Nation*, it therefore muſt be that Choice, Conſent, or Contract of the Perſons to be governed which renders any perſon the Ordinance of God to ſuch a *Nation*; that is, it muſt be granted that all the preſent *Governors* of any *Nation* become *God's Ordinance* to them by the Conſent of the Community. Where therefore any perſon is inveſted with the *Supremacy* by them to whom God hath committed the Choice of a *Superior*, or by their conſent to have ſuch Perſons for their *Superiors*, there is the *Ordinance of God.* And if they do admit that perſon to the Government, who by Conſtitutions and antecedent Compacts hath a right to be ſo, he is to them the *Ordinance of God* de jure. If, in this Choice, they deviate ſubſtantially from theſe Conſtitutions, he only is the *Ordinance of God* de facto; but yet he truly is the *Ordinance of God*, becauſe he is ſo by the only means which God hath left for the Inveſting any Individual Perſon with that Office. Hence do we find throughout the *Hiſtory* of our *Kings*, that the Election of, or elſe a Compact with the People, hath generally been looked upon as a thing proper either to ſatisfie the People, or to ſtrengthen their Title to the Crown, thus, *v. g.*

Dunelm. p. 195. Hoved. par. 1. p. 258. Of the Conqueror, *Simeon Dunelmenſis* and *Hoveden* inform us, That *Fœdus pepigit, he made a Covenant with his People*, and at his Coronation took an Oath *to defend the Holy Church of God, and the Rectors of the ſame, to govern the Univerſal People Subject to him juſtly, to eſtabliſh equal Laws, and ſee them duly executed.*

Daniel, p. 36.

Ibid. p. 52. *William* the Second held the Poſſeſſion of the *Crown* of *England by the Will of the Kingdom, the Succeſſion in Right of Primogeniture being none of his.*

* Dan. p. 61. Rich. Huguſt. p. 310. * *Henry* the Firſt was inveſted in the Crown *by the Act of the Kingdom.* *Concilio Communi Baronum Regni Angliæ*, ſaith the King.

†-*Aſſenſu populi & Cleri in Regem electum.* King *Stephen* declares himſelf to be choſen King †-*by the conſent of the People and the Clergy*, as he had good reaſon to do, *having no Title at all*, ſaith *Daniel*, *but as one of the Blood, by meer Election advanced to the Crown*, p. 69.

Malmesb Hiſt. Nov. l. 1. f. 101. b. Rich. Huguſt. p. 314.

King

King *John* received the Crown *by way of Election*, as being choſen *by the States*, ſaith *Daniel*.

The Succeſſion of *Edward* the Second, ſaith [1] *Walſingham*, was *not ſo much by Right of Inheritance, as by the unanimous Aſſent of the Peers and Great Men.*

Edward the Third was Elected [2] *with the Univerſal conſent of the People*, upon his *Fathers* Reſignation.

Edward the Fourth, on his entrance on the Government, makes a ſolemn declaration [3] *of his Right to the Crown of* England, *challenging it to belong to him by a double Right; The firſt as Son and Heir to* Richard *Duke of* York, *the Rightful Heir of the ſame; The ſecond, as Elected by Authority of Parliament upon King* Henry's *forfeit thereof.*

And *Henry* the Seventh to all his other Titles by [4] *Marriage, Conqueſt*, and *from the Houſe of Lancaſter*, adds that of *the Authority of Parliament.*

This Principle makes *Authority* and *Supreme Power* inſeparable from Actual Regency, or Command, inveſting him with the *Supreme Power*, who hath it for the time being; and making him incapable of being the *Higher Power*, who is out of Poſſeſſion, whilſt he ſo continues; which ſeems clear contrary to the deciſion of the *Holy Scriptures*; for though *all Iſrael choſe Abſalom to be their King, and anointed him over them*, though he had, for the time, the Kingdom in poſſeſſion; and *David fled out of the Land*, leaving no *Governor* behind him; yet the Power was in *David*, he was, even then, the *Supreme Governor* and *Higher Power*, to whom Subjection was due: So he was alſo when *all Iſrael followed Sheba*; And though *Athaliah* poſſeſſed the Kingdom of *Judah* ſix years, *Joaſh* was the true King; and ſo, *the Power ordained of God.*

1. This Aſſertion meddles not with the *Right* to, but only with the *Exerciſe* of the *Supreme Authority*. Now it is plain to Common ſence and experience, that a *King* out of Poſſeſſion, whilſt he ſo continues, cannot do any thing belonging to the *Higher Power* to do; nor is he ſuch an *Higher Power* as St. *Paul* repreſents; for he doth not actually *bear the Sword* of Juſtice; he doth not *watch continually for that very thing*; he makes no *Judges* or *Juſtices* of Peace; there are none Commiſſionated by him *for the puniſhment of evil-doers*,

[1] Pag. 127. *Non tam jure hæreditario quam unanimi aſſenſu procerum & Magnatum*, Ed. Franc. 1602. p 95.
[2] Dan. p. 217. *Cui electioni conſenſit populus univerſus*, id. p. 126.
[3] Truſſel, p. 179.
[4] *Lord* Bac. *Hiſt. of* H. 7. p 12.

n. 19. *Obj.* 5.

2 Sam. xix. 10.

2 Sam. xx. 2.

2 Chr. xxij. 12.

Anſw.

doers, or *for the praiſe of them that do well:* He cannot be *a terror unto evil works*, or a Rewarder of the good done in that *Kingdom* in which he hath loſt all Power. So that if it be neceſſary that we ſhould always have a *King* under whom Juſtice ſhould be executed, and the Laws be maintained; and he that is out of Poſſeſſion, for the time being, cannot be that *King*; it plainly ſeems to follow, that for the ſaid time he cannot be *the Miniſter of God to us for Good*, intended by St. *Paul.*

Again, it is as plain that the *King* in quiet poſſeſſion, for the time being, actually doth or may perform all theſe particulars, and ſo, in reference to them all, may be *the Miniſter of God to us for Good:* And why then may he not be deem'd *the Ordinance of God* for the time being? Or why may not thoſe Laws which make him the *Supreme Power*, and the Executor of theſe Offices for the time being, be alſo ſaid to render him *the Ordinance of God* for the time being?

Anſw. 2. The Inſtances produced from the *Old Teſtament* have nothing in them parallel to our caſe, or oppoſite to our *Hypotheſis*; as will be evident, if we conſider, that the Poſſeſſion pleaded for, as being that which creates a Right to our Allegiance for the time being, and renders any Prince *the Ordinance of God* for the ſaid time, is,

1. Full and quiet Poſſeſſion of *Kingly* Government, without the Conteſt of any oppoſite *Prince* in the ſaid *Nation*; for he who is not *King*, can never be *our Sovereign Lord the King.*

2*dly*, Poſſeſſion given and received by the uſual method, *viz.* The Conſent of all the Repreſentatives of the People Governed, and the Coronation of the Perſon Governing, with the uſual engagements to the Governed. Which Coronation, how unneceſſary ſoever it may be to a *Prince* who hath an *Hereditary* Title to the Crown, muſt neceſſarily be needful to make a *King*, who is not ſo by Birth-right, *our Sovereign Lord the King* for the time being.

For want of theſe two things, though *Oliver* had engroſſed the whole Government, yet was he ſtill a *meer Uſurper*, and no legal Governor; and therefore no Allegiance could, by our Laws, be due unto him, he being no *King*, much leſs a

King

King choſen by the *Houſe of Lords*, and Crowned in the uſual manner. And by the enjoyment of theſe things it was that King *Stephen*, *John*, and the three *Henrys*, though deficient in Title by Birth-right, were notwithſtanding, in their reſpective times, *our Kings*, and ſo *the Ordinance of God* for the ſaid time. This being premiſed, the impertinency of all the inſtances produced, will eaſily appear. For,

1. As for *Abſalom*, he never had any quiet poſſeſſion of the *Kingdom*, nor did ever *David* flee out of the Land; for when the Battel was fought, he was in *Mahanaim*, a City of Refuge, and a *Sacerdotal City*; He had with him an Army of his own Subjects able to cope with *Abſalom*, beſides thoſe who in reality were for *David*, though they pretended to follow *Abſalom*.

2*dly*, *Sheba* was never Anointed, or placed on the Throne; he never had Poſſeſſion, or any deliberate Conſent of the *ten Tribes*; for he was preſently purſued, not only by the Men of *Judah*, but of *Iſrael* alſo. 2 Sam. xx. 14.

3*dly*, That *Athaliah* ever ruled by the conſent and approbation of the People of *Judah*, is not evident from the Sacred *Records*; perhaps ſhe did it only by meer force and violence, *becauſe the houſe of Ahaziah had no power to keep ſtill the Kingdom*; or becauſe they knew of none of the *Seed-Royal* that ſurvived. 2 Chr. xxij 9. xxiij. 3.

Moreover, in all theſe inſtances there was an expreſs Law or Declaration of the Will of God againſt all theſe pretenders: For *Abſalom* and *Sheba* rebelled againſt that *David* whom the Lord had expreſly choſen *to feed Jacob his Choſen, and Iſrael his Inheritance*: *Athaliah* was excluded by that Declaration, Promiſe, Oath of God, whereby he had engaged that *David's Kingdom ſhould be eſtabliſhed for ever*, and that *there ſhould not want a man to ſit upon his Throne*. Whence having found a Son of *Ahaziah*, the *Prieſts* and *People* with one voice cry out, *The King's Son ſhall Reign, as the Lord hath ſaid of the Sons of David*. Now though 'tis granted that no man can be *God's Ordinance* againſt his own immediate and expreſs Appointment of another individual perſon to be; this hinders not, but where there is a Law to make it ſo, where the ſame ways are uſed which convey a good Title, and where the exerciſe of the Government is conveyed by them Pſ. lxxviij. 71. Pſ. lxxxix. 33, 34, 35. 2 Sam. vij. 16. 2 Chr. xxiij. 3.

them whom God hath intruſted with the deſignation of the *Individual Governor*; that *Governor* may exerciſe the Supreme Power for the time being, even when the Right is in another, or may at leaſt be deemed God's Ordinance in ſo doing.

Obj. For whereas it is ſaid that *Civil Magiſtracy* is by the Law of Nature; but he that is only King *de facto*, and ſo is *King* in prejudice to, and violation of anothers Right, cannot be a *Magiſtrate* by the Law of Nature, but againſt it; and ſo his exerciſe of that *Authority* is contrary to the Law of Nature.

Repl. I Anſwer, that *Magiſtracy* is only by the Law of Nature, becauſe ſome Government is ſo; not becauſe this *Individual Governor* is ſo. If therefore Government may equally proceed under a King *de facto*, as *de jure*; they may be equally by the Law of Nature, becauſe thoſe Acts of Government, *viz.* the puniſhing Offenders, the protecting of the Innocent, and whatſoever elſe is of the Law of Nature; becauſe eſſential to Government which is ſo, may equally be performed by both.

For a Concluſion of this Anſwer, and this Section with it, it may deſerve to be conſidered, That in theſe and all other caſes of ſuch *Popular Elections*, and *Revolts* left on Record in the *Old Teſtament*, we find not any perſon puniſhed afterwards as Rebels for ſiding with the oppoſite Party againſt their Rightful *King*; None that followed *Adonijah*, and proclaimed him *King*; none of the ten Tribes who Anointed *Abſalom*, or followed after *Sheba*; none who ſubmitted to *Athaliah*. To which add a like Obſervation out of *Daniel*'s *Hiſtory*, viz. *It is worthy the Note, that we find no execution of blood, except in open battel, in all theſe combuſtions; nor any Nobleman to die on a Scaffold, either in this King's Reign, or any other, ſince* William *the Firſt, which is now almoſt Three hundred years.*

In the Life of Hen. 3. p. 181.

SECT.

SECT. III.

NOW as the ſtrength of this Argument ſeems to me greater than is that of many others which are produced in this Cauſe, ſo are there many ſingular advantages which it hath above them. For inſtance:

Firſt, Whereas, 'tis ſaid, That we cannot take this Oath upon the Grounds which commonly are offered to move us ſo to do, without condemning the Doctrine of *Non-reſiſtance*, allowing Subjects, in ſome caſes, a Power to Depoſe their Prince; aſſerting, that our Allegiance to him may ceaſe even whilſt he doth continue to Govern, or to ſway the Sceptre; and ſo we cannot, upon thoſe Motives, comply with the Act enjoining us to take it, without condemning our ancient and avowed Doctrines, our Subſcriptions to our *Homilies* and *Canons*, if not the Doctrine of the *Ancient Church*, and that which once was counted the Glory of the *Church of England*; and conſequently we cannot do it on thoſe Principles, without the ſcandal of Hypocriſie and Mutability; and ſo of being *Eccleſiaſtical Weathercocks*, that turn with every wind that blows; and Men of ſuch flexible Conſciences, as will permit us to ſwear backwards and forwards, or any ways for our intereſt; which ſcandal would cauſe our Perſons to be deſpiſed, and our Doctrine not to be regarded. Whereas, I ſay, ſome of the other Grounds of taking the Oath of Fealty and Allegiance to King *William* ſeem to ſubject us to theſe and many other inconveniencies, this way entirely avoids them all. For, n. 1.

1. We may ſtill honeſtly declare, as do our *Statutes*, our *Canons*, and our *Convocations*, That *the King's Highneſs is the only Supreme Governor of this Realm, and of all other his Dominions and Countries*; That *the Kingly Authority within his Dominions and Countries is immediately, and after* God, *Chief and Supreme*; *and that all Subjects by divine Law ſtand bound to yield all Faith and Obedience to it above all Earthly Power whatſoever.* For this Doctrine doth not in the leaſt diminiſh any Privi- n. 2. 3. Jam. 1. c. 1. Can. 36. 60. Can. 1. 1640.

leges, or meddle with any Prerogatives of *our Sovereign Lord the King*, but only tells us who, for the time being, is that *Sovereign Lord* to whom these *Prerogatives* belong.

n. 3. Stat. Car. 2. A. 14. cap. 2. 12. Car. 2. cap. 10.

2. We may still honestly declare, That *it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up Arms against the King*; And that *by the undoubted fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor both together in Parliament, nor the People collectively or representatively, nor any other persons whatsoever had, have, hath, or ought to have any coercive Power over the Kings of this Realm.* And with our Convocation still assert, That *for Subjects to bear Arms against their King, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, is at the least to resist the Powers which are ordained of God.* We may still subscribe these Doctrines of our *Homilies* as *wholsome and godly Doctrines, and Doctrines to be embraced by all men*; That *it is not lawful for Subjects and Inferiors in any case to resist and stand against Superior Powers; that Christ hath taught us plainly, that even the wicked Rulers have their Power and Authority from God; and therefore it is not lawful for their Subjects to withstand them,* **Although they do abuse their Power**; That *if they would command us to do any thing contrary to God's Commandments, in that case we may not in any wise withstand them violently, or rebel against Rulers, or make any Insurrection, Sedition or Tumults, either by force of Arms or otherwise,* **Against the Anointed of the Lord, or any of his Officers**, *but we must in such case patiently suffer* **all wrongs and injuries,** *referring the Judgment of our Cause only to God. And that though Multitudes, not only of the Rude and Rascal Commons, but sometimes also Men of great Wit, Nobility, and Authority, have moved Rebellions against their lawful Princes (whereas true Nobility should most abhor such villanies,) though they should pretend sundry Causes; as the Redress of the Common-wealth (which Rebellion, of all other mischiefs, doth most destroy,) or Reformation of Religion (whereas Rebellion is most of all against true Religion,) yet were the multitude of the Rebels never so great, the Captains never so noble, politick, and witty, the pretences feigned to be never so good and holy; yet the speedy overthrow of all Rebels, of what number, state, or condition soever they were, or what colour and cause soever they pretend, is, and ever*

A. D. 1640. Can. 1.

2d Par. of the Serm. of Obed. p. 72.

P. 74, 75.

Hom. of Rebel. Par. 2. p. 301.

ever hath been such, that God thereby doth shew, that **he alloweth neither the dignity of any person, nor the multitude of any people, nor the weight of any cause as sufficient,** *for the which Subjects may move Rebellion against their Prince.* For this Doctrine only adds to these Particulars this, That the *King Regnant in possession* is the *King* whom we may *not resist in any case.*

3. We are not obliged for the justification of our selves, and of our Doctrine, to appeal from the *Homilies* themselves, to those who composed or subscribed them, to prove their Actions towards others, and the Sayings of one or two of them elsewhere, were inconsistent with the plain import of the words which they subscribed and taught as *good and wholsome Doctrine*, when it served to defend the *Protestants* against the Insurrections of the *Romanists*, the chief Adversaries of that Doctrine which *England* knew of in those times; or to insinuate, to their disparagement, that they held this to be good Doctrine, when it was useful to secure them against the *Romanists*; but that the Doctrine of the Lawfulness of Resistance was as good when it was useful to preserve the *Protestants* in *England*, or beyond the Seas, against the *Romanists:* But can fairly account for that assistance which they gave to their oppressed *Brethren* from the difference betwixt the constitution of their Government, and ours; this being one of the chief Laws by which the liberty of the *Netherlands* was long maintained and justified. n. 4.

If any Prince hath disturbed the State of the Republick either by violence, wrong dealing, or treachery, then all the States and Burghers may deny him Obedience, and shall be free, and discharged of their Oaths; they shall appoint a Chief in his place, until he be reduced to a better Mind, and more easie Government. From the Observation of Dr. *Hammond* out of *Bodinus*, That in *France*, *Spain*, *England* and *Scotland*, Reges sine controversia jura Majestatis habent per se: singulis civibus, nec universis fas est summi principis vitam, famam aut fortunas in discrimen vocare, sive vi, sive judicio constituto id fiat; *Their Kings have all the Rights of Majesty within themselves; and 'tis not lawful for any of, or all their Subjects to bring their Lives,* *Oration of the Lawfulness of the* Netherlandish *War*, p. 14.

L. 2. de Rep. c. 5.

Fame, or Fortunes into jeopardy, either by force, or way of juſtice. But as for the Emperor of Germany, Charles *the Fifth,* Tyrannide cives ad Rempublicam oppreſſit, cum jura Majeſtatis non haberet; *He, by his Tyranny over his Subjects, when he had not the Rights of Majeſty, forced them to reſolve themſelves into a Common-wealth.* And from that of Dr. *More,* That * *Luther would never aſſent to the Confederacy of defenſive Wars at* Smalcald, *till he was throughly inſtructed by the learned in the Law touching the Conſtitution of the Empire of* Germany, *that by the* Magna Charta *of that Empire the Princes of the Empire are inveſted with ſuch Rights, as if they be violated by the Emperor; it is lawful for them to take Arms and reſiſt,* Sine Rebellionis, & infidelitatis crimine, *Without the Crime of Rebellion and Unfaithfulneſs; and that the Emperor had violated thoſe Rights:* Much leſs are we conſtrained to fly to ſuch Aſſertions as theſe, *viz. The Homilies of Obedience do* **no where** *teach Submiſſion to lawleſs Violence, but only to lawful Authority; and the Homilies againſt Rebellion ſpeak not one word of ſubmitting to unauthoritative or lawleſs Violence.* Whence it muſt follow, that *Princes* have lawful Authority to *be ſharp and rigorous, and wrong doers; to abuſe their power; to do all wrongs and injuries to them who will not obey them againſt God's Commandments; to be mortal Enemies, ſeeking the Lives of their Subjects; to be naughty, cruel Princes; Princes that be to their good Subjects mortal Enemies; Princes that are hurtful, or like to be hurtful to the Common-wealth:* For whoſoever reads thoſe *Homilies* honeſtly and carefully, will find in them almoſt as many Paſſages as Pages requiring Obedience to ſuch *Princes.*

Divin. Dial. par. 2. p. 81.

* Lutherus ſemper docuerat, Magiſtratui non eſſe reſiſtendum, & extabat ejus de hac re libellus; cum autem in hac deliberatione periti juris docerent legibus eſſe permiſſum reſiſtere nonnunquam, & nunc in eum caſum de quo leges inter alia mentionem faciant, rem eſſe deductam oſtenderent, Lutherus ingenuè profitetur ſe neſciviſſe hoc licere. *Sleid. Comment. l. 8. p. 195.*

Mr. J. p. 73.

Serm. of Obed. Par. 2. p. 72. of Reb. p. 277.

Pag. 74, 75. Hom of Rebel. p. 287, 288.

4. We may ſtill with our *Forefathers* condemn thoſe *Romiſh Doctrines* which aſcribe unto the *Pope* a power of curbing and depoſing *Princes,* in caſe of *Hereſie,* perverting of Faith, and perſecution of their *Catholick Subjects,* which pronounce it lawful for *Catholicks* to break Faith with *Hereticks;* to do evil that good may come; to uſe fraud, falſhood, and injuſtice, treachery, and diſſimulation, for the benefit of

n. 5. *Biſh. Morton's diſcovery of the Rom. Doctrine in the Caſe of Conſpiracy and Rebellion,* p 9, 15, 19, 37.

of holy *Church*; we may, as they have done before us, condemn thoſe Principles as Rebellious, which ſet up a Democratical or Monarchical Power of People, or of Pope over *Princes*; which diſſolve the Oath of Obedience to *Princes*; which countenance the violating Faith with men of divers Religions; which allow the Doctrine of forcible Depoſing of *Princes* from their Thrones. I ſay, We may ſtill do all this without fear of having that of the *Apoſtle* retorted on us; *Thou art inexcuſable, O Man, whoſoever thou art that judgeſt: for wherein thou judgeſt another, thou condemneſt thy ſelf; for thou that judgeſt, doſt the ſame things. And thinkeſt thou this, O Man, that judgeſt them who do ſuch things, and doſt the ſame, that thou ſhalt eſcape the judgment of God.* For we by taking of the Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary* upon this Principle, approve of no *Democratical* Power over our *Sovereign Lord the King*: No forcible depoſing of *Princes* from their Thrones; but, without farther enquiry after their Right, if we find them ſetled by the Nations *Repreſentatives* in quiet Poſſeſſion of the Throne, give them *Faith*, and that *Allegiance* which our Laws have made due to every *King* in the Poſſeſſion of the Realm. And laſtly, we allow of no other Abſolution from our former Oaths than that which *Caſuiſts* of all Perſwaſions do admit of; *viz. By the Ceſſation of the matter of our Oath*, King *James* now ceaſing to be *King in Poſſeſſion*, and ſo in the Law Sence, to be our *King*. Rom. ij. 1, 3.

5*thly*. We may alſo retain our old Sence and Expoſition of St. *Paul* and *Peter*, *viz.* That the preſent Powers which by the Law are ſuch, be they ſuch as duly uſe, or do abuſe the Power committed to them; ſuch as, according to their Duty, are *the Miniſters of God for good*: Or, ſuch as prove eventually the Encouragers of evil Doers, are ſtill the Ordinance of God; and therefore he that doth reſiſt them ſhall receive to himſelf Damnation, and are not by our Principles obliged to reſtrain their words unto ſuch *Princes* as are in *Fact* as well as *Duty*, *the Miniſters of God for good*; but only to ſuch *Princes*, as, by the Tenor of our Law, become *our Sovereign Lords*, however they demean themſelves in the Exerciſe of the Government; and ſo n. 6.

we

we are not concerned in theſe Objections againſt the other Interpretation.

1. That it rather ſeems to make the Diſcourſe of theſe *Apoſtles* an Exemption from Subjection and Obedience to the then preſent Powers, and an allowance to them, than any Obligation to be ſubject and obedient to them, they being not in *Fact* as well as *Duty* the *Miniſters of God for good*; but moſt unnaturally and barbarouſly Cruel, of a moſt ſavage, bloody Temper, as is recorded in the *Roman Hiſtories* touching *Tiberius*, *Claudius*, *Caligula* and *Nero*; or if ſuch perſons were to be obeyed without Reſiſtance, as being the Miniſters of God for good, who then may be reſiſted for not being ſo?

2. It plainly ſeems to lay upon the Bleſſed *Apoſtles* the imputation of Diſſimulation, and acting not according to that Simplicity and Plainneſs as might have reaſonably been expected from the Diſpenſers of the Goſpel; for without any limitation or exception, they require every *Chriſtian* Soul *to be ſubject to the Higher Powers for Conſcience ſake*, and, upon pain of Damnation, never to reſiſt them: They declared to the *Heathen* World, That *Chriſtianity* required all its Profeſſors, how ill ſoever they were treated, how cruelly ſoever they were perſecuted, how wrongfully ſoever they did ſuffer from them, to ſuffer with the greateſt patience, and never to take up the Sword for their Defence againſt them, but after the Example of their Lord, when they thus ſuffer, not to revile and threaten, and much leſs to reſiſt their *Perſecutors*, but only *to commit their Cauſe to him that judgeth Righteouſly*. Now if, after all theſe Declarations, they indeed allowed all *Chriſtians* to reſiſt and take up Arms againſt their *Governors*, when they conceived them guilty of Tyrannical abuſe of Power; when they became *a terror to good Works*, and not to Evil only; when they did not act according to Juſtice, or eſtabliſhed Laws, or for the Good and Welfare of the Kingdom, but the contrary; ſurely they cannot be excuſed from a ſemblance of Deceit, and of impoſing on the *Heathen* World.

3. It plainly ſeems to make them guilty of the Murther of thoſe many *Chriſtians*, who, when they declared themſelves

ſelves * ſufficient both for ſtrength and number to reſiſt and overcome their Perſecutors, at the ſame time declared, they durſt not do it, becauſe it was forbidden by the *Chriſtian* Laws.

* Vide *Tertull.* Ap. c. 37. ad Scap. c. 5. *Cypr.* Ep. ad Demetr. *Euſeb.* l. 8. c. 1, 4. *Auſt.* de Civ. Dei l. 22. c. 6.

And whereas againſt our Interpretation of the words it may be objected, n. 7.

Firſt, That it makes wicked Magiſtrates the Miniſters of God to us for good, the Powers ordained of God; yea, that according to it, even *Uſurpers*, if they can once obtain quiet Poſſeſſion, and the conſent of the *Nobility* and of the *Commons*, muſt alſo be *the Ordinance of God* for the time being. *Obj.* 1.

This I confeſs is true; but then it ſeemeth to be only that which *Scripture*, which *Antiquity*, which Reaſon, and the Law of this our Nation doth allow and juſtifie. For of thoſe wicked *Enperors* forementioned, it is that St. *Paul* ſaith, They are *the Miniſters of God to thee for good*; to them it is St. *Peter* doth require Subjection, as to men *ſent for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.* And even of the Power of *Pilate* to condemn our *Saviour*, *Chriſt* doth himſelf confeſs, That it was *given* him *from above.* And Reaſon ſaith the ſame; for, even under wicked *Magiſtrates* Juſtice is executed, Offenders againſt the Lives and Lively-hoods of others puniſhed, and Peace preſerved; and from their Government it is that we are kept from the Inſolencies of Thieves and Robbers, from barbarous Aſſaſſinations, and all the miſeries of Anarchy. For, *take away the Higher Powers*, ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*, *and all goes to wreck, neither will City, nor Country, nor Family, nor Aſſembly, nor ought elſe ſtand, the ſtronger will devour the weaker, and all things will be turned upſide down.* So that we do in ſome meaſure receive that good from the moſt wicked and depraved *Governors*, which without Government we could not have. Accordingly the *ancient Chriſtians* ſay in General of thoſe Kings who were not very good, at leaſt many of them, in their times, That they are *the Ordinance of God*, That by his command *Kings are Ordained*, That they were *appointed by* *Anſw.*

1 Pet. ij. 14.

Joh. xix. 11.

Chryſ. in Rom. Hom 23. Tom. 3. p. 191.

Theoph. ad Autol. l. 1. p. 76.

by God, That *they received their Government from above*; That *the Emperor derives his Government from him from whom he doth receive his breath*; That *he is the Man whom God chuſeth, and therefore muſt be loved by Chriſtians, who know he is appointed by God*, and that *he makes them Governors over the Nations*. *Athenagoras* ſaith of *Aurelius* and *Commodus*, *You have received the Kingdom from above*. *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, of *Valerianus* and *Gallienus*, *God hath committed the Kingdom to you*. *Hoſius* of *Conſtantius*, who laboured might and main to introduce the *Arian Hereſie* into the *Church*, againſt thoſe *Imperial* Laws which had eſtabliſhed the *Nicence* Faith, That *God had given to him the Empire*. *Paulinus* of *Trier*, *Lucifer* of *Calaris*, *Euſebius* of *Vercelli*, and *Dionyſius* of *Millain*, That *God gave to him the Kingdom*. *Athanaſius*, That *God by his Word had given the Kingdom to his Servant* Conſtantius. *He that gave the Government to* Marius, ſaith St. *Auſtin*, *gave it to* Cæſar; *he who gave it to* Auguſtus, *gave it alſo to* Nero; *he who gave it to the* Veſpaſians *moſt ſweet Emperors*, *gave it alſo to the moſt cruel* Domitian; *and he who gave it to that moſt Chriſtian Prince* Conſtantine, *gave it to* Julian *the Apoſtate*. *Tho he be wicked, abominably wicked; though he commit Ten thouſand Evils, and do the worſt of miſchiefs to us*, ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*, *yet he is a King, a Governor, one to whom the Government is committed, and therefore to be reverenced, and not to be deſpiſed for his wickedneſs, but revered for his Dignity*.

Iren. l. 5. c. 24. Tertull. Apol. c. 30, 33. ad Scap. c. 2. Legat. pro Chriſtianis. Apud Euſ. H. Eccl. l. 7. c. 11. Apud Athanaſ. Ep. ad Solit. Vit. agentes. Apol. ad Conſtant. De Civ. Dei l. 5. c. 21.

n. 8. But yet it may be ſaid, How true ſoever this may be of an evil King, who hath a lawful Title to his Government, it ſeems ſtrange and incongruous to aſſert, That he who is only King *de facto*, and ſo can only Exerciſe that Government which doth of Right belong unto another, ſhould be *the Ordinance of God*; and it is liable to theſe great Objections and Abſurdities.

1*ſt*. " That which renders a man an Uſurper of another " Man's Right, without due Title or Admiſſion to the Ex- " erciſe of that Right, can never render him the Ordi- " nance of God to which I owe Subjection and Allegiance; " but that which makes him only King *de facto*, in oppo- " ſition to a King *de jure*, makes him an Uſurper of another

" Man's

" Man's Right, without due Title or Admiſſion to the Exer-
" ciſe of that Right.

2*dly*. " The Precept: *Let every Soul be Subject to the*
" *Higher Powers* cannot agree to him who is only King *de*
" *facto* in oppoſition to him that is King *de jure*; for this
" Subjection doth not only ſignifie a Paſſive Obedience, or
" *Non-Reſiſtance*, but an active Execution and Obſervation
" of all his lawful Commands, the Contribution of Taxes,
" to his Support and Maintenance, our Aſſiſtance and En-
" deavours to keep him in his Station by our Arms,
" Purſe; our Counſel and our Prayers; our Love, Reve-
" rence and Honour of him: In a word, our Fidelity and
" Allegiance to him againſt all others. Now can all this
" be due to a King *de facto* in oppoſition to him whoſe
" Right it is.

3*dly*. " It is Damnation to reſiſt the Power ordained of
" God in favour of any other perſon; but can it be Damna-
" tion to reſiſt him who is only King *de facto*, in Favour of
" a King *de jure*, to whom aſſiſtance muſt be due *de*
" *jure?* If ſo, then what juſt War can be made for the
" Recovery of his Right? or, why did *Jehoiada* not only
" Depoſe, but cauſe *Athaliah* to be Murthered for the ſake
" of *Joaſh*?

4*thly*. " The Power is *the Miniſter of God*, or one Com-
" miſſionated and Deputed by him, for the ſame Depen-
" dance that a Subordinate *Magiſtrate* hath upon his *So-*
" *vereign* for becoming *his Miniſter*, the ſame hath a *So-*
" *reign Magiſtrate* upon God for being *his Miniſter*; but
" can any one be Deputed or Commiſſionated by God to
" take away another Man's Right, or wrongfully to de-
" tain it?

5*thly*. " By this Aſſertion no King *de facto*, or in quiet
" poſſeſſion can be an unjuſt Poſſeſſor, or an unlawful occu-
" pant of the Throne; for he that is ſo in, as to be God's
" Ordinance; *i. e.* Commiſſionated and Deputed by him to
" be the *Higher Power*, muſt needs be rightly in, and Autho-
" rized to execute the Government.

Theſe, I confeſs, ſeem to be great Abſurdities at the firſt view, and ſuch as plainly ſhock the whole Foundation of

n. 9. *Anſw.*

our Argument; but yet, I hope, their force may be ſufficiently abated by theſe Conſiderations following.

1. That ſome of theſe Arguments ſeem with an equal ſtrength to prove, that wicked *Kings* are not, and cannot be the *Higher Powers*, or, *the Ordinance of God*, as that *Kings* in poſſeſſion without Right, can never be ſo.

2. That it is plain to common Senſe, and the Experience of Men, that a *King out of Poſſeſſion*, whilſt he is ſo, exerciſeth none of the *Characters* and Offices aſcribed by St. *Paul* to the *Higher Powers*, and that the King *de facto* doth, or may exerciſe them all.

3. That he who in our Caſe is *King Regnant in Poſſeſſion* is not to be deemed an *Uſurper* in the Law Sence and Acceptation of the Word.

4. That by the difference which muſt be put betwixt him and a meer *Uſurper*, all the forementioned Objections may be ſolved. And,

Firſt, Some of theſe Arguments ſeem with an equal ſtrength to prove what moſt undoubtedly is falſe, *viz.* That *Princes* acting wrongfully and injuriouſly towards their Subjects cannot be the *Higher Powers*; for it is certain they can derive no Power from God, but for the good of Man. They can have no Commiſſion, Title or Authority from him to hurt the Innocent, to pervert Judgment, or to do Evil to his People; they therefore do exert this Power without due Title or Commiſſion from God, they uſurp upon the Rights of other Men; for every Subject has a right to Juſtice, every innocent perſon to Protection from ſuffering hurt or violence. They cannot be Commiſſionated or Deputed by God to do theſe things; for then they muſt have Authority from God to do them, and ſo they muſt be rightly done: And yet even in theſe Caſes we muſt *ſuffer patiently*, and be thus ſubject *for Conſcience towards God*, and cannot forcibly reſiſt them without the peril of Damnation, which we only can incurr, becauſe we do reſiſt the *Higher Powers*. They therefore in theſe Actions are at once the Power, and the Abuſers of the Power, yea the *Uſurpers* of a Power which belongs not to them; and therefore even of the Power of *Pilate* to condemn the bleſſed *Jeſus* our Lord ſpeaks thus:

Joh. xix. 11. *Thou couldſt have no Power over me, unleſs it were given thee from*

from above. And when *Peter* drew his Sword in the defence of his Innocence againſt men Commiſſionated by an *Illegal High Prieſt*, he ſaith unto him, *Put up thy Sword into its place, for all that take the Sword ſhall periſh by it.* Moreover, if Subjection ſignifies active Subjection to their Adminiſtration of the Government, if it require our Arms, Purſe, Counſels, Prayers, 'tis certain this cannot lawfully be afforded to ſtrengthen and aſſiſt them in theſe Evil Actions; but that, in all theſe Caſes, we may both Counſel, and pray againſt their Wickedneſs, and though we may not even then lift up our hands againſt them, we may hold them down. Mat. xxvi. 52.

Secondly, In Anſwer to the Fifth Objection in the Second Section I have proved, that it is plain to common Sence, that a King out of Poſſeſſion, whilſt he is ſo, cannot do any thing belonging to the *Higher Powers* to do, and that a King *de facto* in Poſſeſſion may perform all things of that Nature. n. 17.

Thirdly, I add, That King *William* and Queen *Mary* being *King* and *Queen* by the conſent of the *Nobility* and *Commons*, the *Repreſentatives* of the Kingdom, cannot be looked upon as meer *Uſurpers* for the Reaſon given in *Bagot*'s Caſe concerning *Henry* the *Sixth*, That *he was not to be deemed an Uſurper, becauſe the Crown had been entailed on him by Act of Parliament.* Which may be proved,

Secondly, From the nature of a meer Uſurper or Poſſeſſor, *viz.* " That *he is one who is in the place of Power without any* " *Call, Conſent, or Conſtitution of the People*; *or, that he is* " *one that is in meerly by his own Act:* Whereas King *William* and Queen *Mary* are not in the place of Power meerly by their own Acts, but by the Call, Conſent, and Conſtitution of the *Nobility* and People. Gre. p. 295.

Thirdly, From the Nature and the Eſſentials of Government. For what doth conſtitute it but the Subjection of the governed Party, or the Reſignation of themſelves, their wills, abilities or powers to the Rule and Arbitration of ſome other? What Title hath any *Conqueror* to another Man's Subjects without this? Or what *King* now in Being can claim a Right unto his Kingdom upon any other Title? What are the motives to Government but the preſervation of Peace and Order, and the prevention of Injuries and

Wrongs? When then there is, after mature deliberation had, ſuch an actual Deſignation of the whole Community, there is Government conveyed in that very way in which it always was, ſince paternal Government ceaſed, communicated; and in which alone it can be properly conveyed: And ſo, there is no Uſurpation of it in reſpect of him who thus receives it, whatever irregularities may be in their Actions who do thus conferr it.

Laſtly, I add, That by due obſervation of the difference which muſt be put betwixt Uſurpers, and our preſent *King* and *Queen*; and the two Obſervations made, all the forementioned Objections may be ſolved. For,

Firſt, As we compared them before with the Caſe of a *King* injurious to his Subjects, and found them almoſt as ſtrong againſt his being the *Higher Power*, ſo let us again compare them with the Caſe of a *King* injurious to his fellow *King*, injuſtly Invading, and ſo entirely Conquering his Dominions, and ſeizing on them for himſelf. Did not the beginning of this Action conſtitute him an injurious Perſon, when he takes upon him the Government thus got? doth he not take away another Man's Right? and muſt he not then wrongfully detain it? is not the perſon, thus wrongfully Excluded, King *de jure*? may he not juſtly wage War for the Recovery of his Right? but yet do not all Perſons own that 'tis not only lawful, but even neceſſary for the People, after ſuch Conqueſt, to conſent to take the *Conqueror* for their *Governor*, to yield Allegiance to him; and that by doing ſo, they render him the *Higher Power*, and the *Ordinance of God*? And yet all the forementioned Objections are as ſtrong againſt him, as any other unjuſt Poſſeſſor of the Throne.

Moreover, by a particular conſideration of them, it will be evident, that they partly have received a ſufficient Anſwer, and that 'tis eaſie from the Premiſes, to give a full Solution to them. To reaſſume them therefore in their order, it is Objected,

n. 10. *Obj.* 1. "That which renders a Man an Uſurper of another "Man's Right, without due Title or Admiſſion to the "Exerciſe of that Right, can never render him the Ordi-

"nance

" nance of God, to which I owe Subjection and Allegiance ;
" but that which maketh any perſon King *de facto* only, in
" oppoſition to a King *de jure*, maketh him an Uſurper of
" another Man's right without due Title or Admiſſion to the
" exerciſe of that Right, *Ergo.*

Repl. To this I Anſwer, That a due Title may be either ſuch, as, according to the ſtrict Rules of Juſtice bears that name, as being obtained by due means, and conferr'd without injuſtice or injury done to any perſon; and ſo it muſt be granted, that a King *de facto*, or an unjuſt *Conqueror* can have no due Title againſt a King *de jure:* Or, 2*dly*, that may be ſtiled a due Title which is legal, or allowed of by the Law, and which is conferr'd with thoſe Formalities of Law, and with thoſe uſual Ceremonies and Rites which cuſtomarily are obſerved in the moſt Regular Collations of thoſe Titles. A Title juſt, in the firſt ſence, cannot be neceſſary to render a *Prince* the Ordinance of God, or any other *Secular* and *Eccleſiaſtical* perſon capable of being owned as ſuch; for then none of the *Jewiſh High Prieſts*, in the times of our *Saviour*, could have been owned as *God's Ordinance*, they having ſeldom obtained that Office by due means; nor having it conferr'd upon them without the injury of him, to whom by God's direction it belonged for life, viz. *The eldeſt Son of the houſe of Aaron*; for the *Procurator* of *Judea* made that Office *Annual*; it was uſually bought and ſold: *Joſephus* reckons no leſs than twenty eight of theſe irregular Advancements to that Dignity; and yet St. *Paul* owns one of theſe very perſons as *the Ruler of the People:* Our Lord owns thoſe who were ſent by their Authority as men who *could not be reſiſted lawfully.* The *Holy Ghoſt* doth own them as *High Prieſts*, and even aſſiſted one of the worſt of them to *propheſie* whilſt he held the Office: Nor doth our *Lord* himſelf deny his Right unto that Title. Moreover, thoſe *Biſhops* which received their Power and Inveſtiture from thoſe *Popes* who wreſted it from *Kings*, and others who had right to nominate, and to elect them, could not, upon this ſuppoſition, be *God's Ordinance*, nor as ſuch obeyed in prejudice to the Rights of *Kings*, and theſe *Electors.* 3*dly*, No *Conqueror* of a Rightful *King* could be God's Ordinance, notwithſtanding

Vide Ham. in Luc. 3. not c.

Act. xxiij. 5.

Matt. xxvj. 52.

Joh. xi. 49, 51.

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any conſent afterwards obtained from the People. 4*thly*, The four great *Monarchies* could not be *the Ordinance of God* with reſpect to the greateſt part of their Dominions, which they obtained only by the Sword. 5*thly*, Moſt of the *Roman Emperors* in the *Primitive* Times could not be truly ſtiled God's Ordinance, as being advanced to the *Imperial* Throne, rather by the Arbitrary choice of the *Army*, than the free Antecedent choice of the *Senate*. Then, *laſtly*, had we of this Nation no Ordinance of God in being, during the Reigns of *Henry* the *Fourth*, *Fifth*, and *Sixth*, that is, for the ſpace of ſixty years, they being accounted, and in one of our
1. *Edw.* 4. Acts of *Parliament* often ſtiled Kings *in Deed*, and not *of Right*.

And if a due Title, in the Second ſence, be ſufficient to render a perſon the Ordinance of God; then, be it ſuppoſed, though not granted, that King *William* and Queen *Mary* are only King and Queen *de facto*, yet may they have a due Title, becauſe they have a legal Title from thoſe Laws which declare the *King* and *Queen*, for the time being, to be our *Sovereigns within the purview of the Statute*. The Government alſo being conferr'd upon them by conſent of the *Nobility* and *Commons*, repreſenting all the Governed, they being Crowned *King* and *Queen* after the uſual manner; and ſo having the Government conferr'd upon them with thoſe Formalities of Law, and with thoſe uſual Ceremonies and Rites which cuſtomarily are obſerved in Collating of it.

n. 11. *Obj.* 2. " The Precept; *Let every Soul be ſubject to the Higher Pow-*
" *ers*, cannot agree to him who is only King *de facto*, in
" oppoſition to him who is King *de jure*; for this Subjection
" doth not only ſignifie a paſſive Obedience, or Non-reſi-
" ſtance, but an active Execution and Obſervation of all
" his lawful Commands; the Contribution of Taxes to his
" ſupport and maintenance; our Aſſiſtance and Endeavours
" to keep him in his Station by our Arms, Purſe; our
" Counſel and our Prayers; our Love, Reverence, and Ho-
" nour of Him: In a word, our Fidelity and Allegiance to
" Him againſt all others. Now can all this be due to a King *de facto*, in oppoſition to him whoſe Right it is?

1. Our

1. Our Law ſeems very plainly to require moſt of this to a King *de facto*, for the time being; as making it our duty, to do him *true and faithful Service and Allegiance*, and that becauſe, for the time being, he is *our Sovereign Lord the King*, and ſo the *Higher Power*, to which we are to be ſubject for the time being; and if he may be *the Ordinance of God*, as I have ſhewed he is, moſt of the things here ſaid to be included in Subjection, muſt be due unto him by St. *Paul*'s Injunction. *Anſw.*

2*bly*, I have ſhew'd already, that a King out of Poſſeſſion, while he continues ſo to be, cannot do any thing required by the Office of the *Higher Power*; he cannot *bear the Sword* of Juſtice; he can Commiſſion none to *puniſh evil doers*, or reward the Good; he cannot be *the Miniſter of God to us for good*: And yet it is on theſe accounts that St. *Paul* lays a neceſſity of Subjection on us, *Not only for Wrath, but Conſcience ſake*; and that he tells us we are *to pay tribute*, becauſe he is *continually attending on theſe things*.

I have alſo ſhew'd, that from a King, *de facto*, in full and peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Government, we do or may enjoy all theſe benefits, and in all theſe particulars; He may be unto us *the Miniſter of God for good*, and that from Him alone it is we can receive actual Protection, and all the benefits of Government, (if therefore it be neceſſary that we ſhould always have a *King* under whom Juſtice ſhould be executed, and the Laws have their courſe, it ſeems as neceſſary that the *King*, for the time being, ſhould be received as our *King*; if Protection doth require Allegiance, and we, for the time being, do receive it only from him, it ſeems as evident, that for the time being, we ſhould yield it only to Him.) If then the King, *de jure*, out of Poſſeſſion, can be to no intents and purpoſes *the Miniſter of God to us for good*, and the King, *de facto*, may be ſo to all the ſaid intents and purpoſes; then may he alſo be the *Higher Power*, and the *Ordinance of God* for the time being. In a word, the *Lord Chief Juſtice Coke* expreſly ſaith, That *by the Law there is always a King in whoſe name the Laws are to be maintained and executed, otherwiſe Juſtice ſhould fail*; and if ſo, then by the Law the *King Regnant* muſt be our *King*, there being no other in whoſe name Inſtit. par. 3. P. 7.

name the Laws can be maintained and executed, and the failure of Juſtice be prevented: And if he be the *Higher Power*, he muſt alſo be that *Ordinance of God*, for the time being, to which we owe the Duties mentioned in the Objection.

3*dly*, As for the firſt of theſe Duties, *An active execution and obſervation of all the lawful Commands of the King Regnant for the time being*, it admits no real Ground of Scruple; for lawful Commands may lawfully be obeyed.

The Contribution of *Taxes* to his ſupport and maintenance, is by St. *Paul* declared to be due, διὰ τοῦτο, *for this very cauſe*; that *he attends continually upon the Government*, and therefore due to him that doth ſo.

Our Aſſiſtance to promote the welfare of the Government we are under, by our Prayers and Counſels, ſeems plainly to be our duty by virtue of that Command which God gave to his own People, and the continuance of the Reaſon of it;

Jer. xxix. 7. *Seek the peace of the City, whither I have cauſed you to be carried away Captives, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof you ſhall have peace*; and of that *Apoſtolical* Injunction,

1 Tim. ij. 1, 2. That *prayers, and ſupplications, interceſſions, and giving of thanks be made for all that are in Authority, or eminent Place.*

As for our endeavours to keep them in their Station by our Arms, it only can be ſo far our duty as it is lawful ſo to do: Nor do I find St. *Paul* inculcating it as any part of our Subjection to the *Higher Powers*; nor doth our Law, ſince the Ceſſation of the Tenure of Knights-Service require it perſonally of all Subjects. At leaſt we of the *Clergy* cannot be concerned in it, becauſe we by ſo many Statutes are exempted from bearing Arms.

And, *laſtly*, as for *bearing Faith and true Allegiance*, you ſee our Law doth plainly and expreſly make it due unto a King *de facto*. And ſo I cannot ſee why all theſe Duties may not, as far as we can be concerned in them, be paid to ſuch a King for the time being.

n. 12. *Obj.* 3. " It is damnation to reſiſt the Power ordained of God " in favour of any other perſon; but can it be damnation " to reſiſt him who is only King *de facto*, in favour of a King " *de jure?* if ſo, then what juſt War can be made for the " Recovery of his Right? or why did *Jeboiada* not only de-

" poſe,

" poſe, but even cauſe *Athaliah* to be murthered for the " ſake of *Joaſh*.

1. The word which we tranſlate *Damnation*, in the Original is κεῖμα, that is *Judgment*. Now, by our Law, Treaſon may be committed againſt a King *de facto*, and that is puniſhable by the Judgment of Death; and if this Treaſon be an offence againſt the natural Allegiance due to the King *de facto*, as all Treaſons are, and I do thus offend *by levying War againſt the King for the time being, in this Realm, by being adherent to his Enemies, or giving Aid unto them*, I muſt be guilty of it by doing this in favour of a King *de jure*. It therefore may be judgment to reſiſt the King *de facto*, in favour of the King *de jure*, i. e. it may be an Offence which, by the Law, will render me obnoxious to judgment. If the King *de jure*, at his return to exerciſe the Government, may puniſh me for any Treaſonable action done againſt the King *de facto*, and conſequently for reſiſting ſuch a King in favour of himſelf, it muſt be an Offence deſerving Judgment, according to our Law, thus to reſiſt the King *de facto*, in favour of the King *de jure*. *Anſw.*

Nor doth it follow hence, that the King *de jure*, can make no juſt War for the Recovery of his Right; for this he may do by the Aſſiſtance of his Allies, by Foreign Aids, or by thoſe Subjects who have ſtill adhered to him, or will repair unto him; only they cannot do it who have received Protection, and lived for a time in quiet ſubjection to another Government. If therefore Men will act up to their principle, That *their Allegiance is ſtill due to King* James, they muſt immediately go out of the Realm, and repair thither where they alone can pay it to him. If they think it unlawful to own any Allegiance due to King *William*, they muſt expect no Protection, ſeek for no Juſtice from him, pay no Taxes to him; for if they repair to him, as the *Avenger* of any evil done to them, or as *the Miniſter of Juſtice*; if they pay him any Taxes, they thereby virtually own him as the *Higher Power*, ſeeing theſe things are only due unto him, and can be expected from him, becauſe he is the *Higher Power*, and you are his *Subjects*.

name the Laws can be maintained and executed, and the failure of Justice be prevented: And if he be the *Higher Power*, he must also be that *Ordinance of God*, for the time being, to which we owe the Duties mentioned in the Objection.

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The Contribution of *Taxes* to his support and maintenance, is by St. *Paul* declared to be due, διὰ τοῦτο, *for this very cause*; that *he attends continually upon the Government*, and therefore due to him that doth so.

Our Assistance to promote the welfare of the Government we are under, by our Prayers and Counsels, seems plainly to be our duty by virtue of that Command which God gave to his own People, and the continuance of the Reason of it;

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As for our endeavours to keep them in their Station by our Arms, it only can be so far our duty as it is lawful so to do: Nor do I find St. *Paul* inculcating it as any part of our Subjection to the *Higher Powers*; nor doth our Law, since the Cessation of the Tenure of Knights-Service require it personally of all Subjects. At least we of the *Clergy* cannot be concerned in it, because we by so many Statutes are exempted from bearing Arms.

And, *lastly*, as for *bearing Faith and true Allegiance*, you see our Law doth plainly and expressly make it due unto a King *de facto*. And so I cannot see why all these Duties may not, as far as we can be concerned in them, be paid to such a King for the time being.

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§. 2. n. 17. To the Caſe of *Athaliah* I have Anſwered before; and ſhall now only add, That if ſhe obtained any conſent from the People, it was by reaſon of their ignorance that ſhe had any Competitor, or that any of the Sons of *Ahaziah* were alive; and that ſhe could not have the Throne of *Judah* whilſt any of the *Seed-Royal* lived, by reaſon of God's manifeſt declaration to the contrary; and therefore when the King's Son was diſcovered, *the Prieſts, the Levites, and* 2 Chr. xxiij. 3. *the Chief of Iſrael* do preſently cry out, *Behold the King's Son ſhall Reign, as the Lord hath ſaid of the houſe of David:* Here therefore was the immediate Declaration, the Promiſe, and the Oath of God againſt her; which whoſoever in our caſe can ſhew, will make this inſtance pertinent. Moreover, ſhe who gained conſent only on ſuppoſition, that there was none of that Seed of *David* left, of whom God had expreſly ſaid, That they *ſhould ſit upon the Throne*, could only be ſuppoſed to have their conſent ſo long as no ſuch Seed appeared.

n. 13. *Obj.* 4. "The Power is the Miniſter of God, or one Commiſſio-
" nated and Deputed by him, for the ſame dependance
" that a Subordinate Magiſtrate hath upon his Sovereign
" for becoming his Miniſter; the ſame hath a Sovereign
" Prince upon God for being his Miniſter: But can
" any one be Deputed or Commiſſionated by God to
" take away another Man's right, or wrongfully to de-
" tain it?

Anſw. That the *Supreme Magiſtrate* is Commiſſionated by God to be his Miniſter, as well as the Inferior Officer is to be the *Prince*'s Miniſter, is true; but there is a ſignal difference as to the manner of conveying this Commiſſion; for the Inferior Officer is perſonally named by ſome of his *Superiors*, and acts by virtue of a particular Grant or Inſtrument of his *Superior* conveying that Office to him, or impoſing it upon him by name; whereas ſince the times of the *Jewiſh Kings*, no man can pretend any ſuch Title to be the *Supreme Power* in any Kingdom; God never perſonally naming now,

now, or immediately declaring the Perſon who is to preſide in any Kingdom, but leaving this to be done by the Governed, according to Prudential Rules, or according to the Conſtitutions they have made among themſelves; here therefore may be great fault committed by the Governed, in varying from the form of Government preſcribed by their Conſtitutions, or from the Perſon they by thoſe Conſtitutions were obliged to admit unto the Government; and yet the Perſon they do pitch upon to Govern after ſuch a form may be *the Ordinance of God*, as being pitched upon by them to whom his Providence thought fit to leave the management of this affair; and though their irregular Proceedings can juſtifie no man in taking or detaining what is another Man's right, eſpecially if he in conſcience be convinced that it is ſo; yet may it render him *the Ordinance of God* who exerciſeth the Government thus devolved upon him, becauſe he is the Miniſter of God by the ſame way and method by which the juſteſt Title is conferr'd.

" By this Aſſertion no King, *de facto*, thus put in quiet " poſſeſſion of the Government, can be an unjuſt Poſſeſ- " ſor, or an unlawful Occupant of the Throne; for he " that is ſo in as to be God's Ordinance, that is Com- " miſſionated and Deputed by him to be the Higher Power, " muſt needs be rightly in, and Authorized to exerciſe " the Government. n. 14. *Obj.* 5.

He that is ſo God's Ordinance as to be immediately Deputed by him, as *Saul*, *David*, *Solomon*, can never be an unjuſt Poſſeſſor; but he who is only the Ordinance of God mediately, and by virtue of ſuch and ſuch Acts done by the Governed to make him ſo, may be an unjuſt Poſſeſſor as oft as they conferr the Government upon him in oppoſition to another, to whom in juſtice, or by the conſtitution of their Government they ſhould have given it. *Anſw.*

Again, He may be ſtiled an unlawful Occupant of the Throne, with reference to them, who, againſt the Tenor

of their Laws and Conſtitutions, did conferr it on him; but cannot be ſtiled an unlawful Occupant, as that importeth one, who by Law cannot exerciſe the Government conferred on him; becauſe the Law doth make him for the time being our *Sovereign*, and one to whom true Duty and Service of Allegiance is to be tendered by his Subjects. Thus he, who by an unjuſt Decree of a corrupt Judge, or the falſe Teſtimony of a Witneſs, not then diſcerned ſo to be, gets the Poſſeſſion of, and becomes Lord of a Manor, is an unjuſt Poſſeſſor, but not an unlawful Occupant, becauſe he hath obtained it by form of Law; and the Tenants are obliged, whilſt he continues in Poſſeſſion, to ſwear Homage to him, as there is occaſion, as much as they did formerly to him who juſtly was poſſeſſed of it.

6*thly*. Moreover, we are not by our Principles obliged to condemn the *ancient Chriſtians*, not only as Fools and ſelf-Murtherers, but introducers of *a miſchievous Turkiſh Doctrine*, even *the ſlaviſh Doctrine of the Bow-ſtring*; but may, with *Origen*, continue to aſſert, That *the mild Laws of Chriſtianity are ſuch by which they are obliged to ſuffer themſelves to be ſlain, rather than to avenge themſelves upon their Perſecutors, of what kind ſoever*; and may believe the *Perſian Martyrs*, to be never the worſe *Chriſtians*, becauſe they ſaid, *We have given up our ſelves as Sheep to the ſlaughter, having learnt to be ſubject to every Ordinance of Man.* We may ſtill judge it was for the Praiſe, and not the Condemnation of *Chriſtians*, that *Origen* declared, That, after all the barbarous and unjuſt Severities the *Emperors* inflicted on them, they could give *no example of any Sedition of the Chriſtians*. That *Tertullian's Apology* for them runs thus, *No Chriſtian was ever found a Rebel*: *As for* Peſcenninus Niger, *and* Clodius Albinus *who rebelled againſt* Severus; *and* Caſſius, *who conſpired againſt* Verus; *they were* Romans, *but none*

Δι' ὧν ὡς πρέπει ἀναιρεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνετο, μηδέποτε ὑπ' ἀμύνασθαι οἷοι ἦσαν διώκοντες. Contr. Celſ. l. 3. p. 115.

Nos enim nos ipſos tanquam oves tradidimus ad occiſionem, ut qui didicerimus eſſe ſubjecti omnibus poteſtatibus. *Apud* Uſher, *Power of the Prince*, p. 223.

Οὐδὲν κάτωθεν ἔργον ἐπιδείξαι χειρανῶν. Ibid.

Circa Majeſtatem Imperatoris defamamur, ſed nunquam Albiniani, vel Nigriani vel Caſſiani inveniri potuerunt Chriſtiani. Ad *Scap. c.* 2. Erant de Romanis non Chriſtianis, *Apol. c.* 30.

none of them Chriſtians. Though the *Hiſtorian* tells us, That the Emperor *Severus* was a Man truly anſwering his Name, *and of infinite Cruelty, not only to the meaner ſort, but to the Senators.* That Saint *Auſtin* ſaid, That *the City of Chriſt, though it had Armies of great People appertaining to it, did not fight for their temporal ſafety againſt their cruel Perſecutors, but rather, that it might obtain eternal happineſs, made no reſiſtance at all.* And we may ſtill think it no diſparagement to the *Chriſtians*, that they accounted the *Thebæan Legion* true *Martyrs*, and *compoſed Hymns to be ſung in praiſe of them Day and Night.* Nor need we have a worſe Opinion of that which anciently was ſtiled, Θεία ἄρηξις, καὶ πανοπλία Θεοῦ, καὶ στρατόπεδον τῆς εὐσεβείας, *The Divine Aid, the whole Armor of God, the Hoſt of Piety.* And by Saint *Bernard* is called, *The Weapons with which alone it is lawful for us to fight againſt our Prince*; becauſe this hath been lately rendered *the miſchievous Cant of Prayers and Tears*; for our Principles oblige us to reſiſt none, to be patient under, and ſubmiſſive to all *Higher Powers* for the Lord's ſake.

Æl. Spartian. in Vita Severi P. 347, 349, 353.

Neque tunc Civitas Chriſti—quamvis haberet magnorum agmina populorum adverſus impios perſecutores ſuos pro temporali ſalute pugnavit, ſed potius, ut obtineret æternam, non repugnavit. *De Civ. Dei l.* 22. *c.* 6.

Orig. Contr. Celſ. l. 8. p. 426, 427.

Pugnabimus uſque ad mortem, ſi ita oportuerit, pro matre noſtra *ARMIS QUIBUS LICET*, non ſcutis & gladiis, ſed precibus, fletibuſque ad Deum. *Ep.* 221. ad Ludovic. Regem.

7thly. Again, our Principles give no encouragement to any to rebel againſt, or call their *Princes* to an account for Arbitrary Government, or violation of their *Coronation Oaths*; but, whatſoever they may be to us, require our Subjection and Allegiance to them, and our ſincere endeavours, by all lawful means (though not by being active to the Ruine of the *Church* and State) whilſt they are in poſſeſſion of the Government to keep them there. For as the Statute of *Henry* the *Seventh* ſaith, That *no perſon or perſons ſhall take any benefit or advantage by this Act, which ſhall hereafter decline from his, or their ſaid Allegiance*: So can they, from our Doctrine, have no advantage ſo to do.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, Our *Principles* do not concern themſelves either with the ſuppoſed Title of the *Prince* of *Wales*, or the ſuppoſed defect of Title in King *William*; for do but grant what is plain matter of Fact, that neither King *James*, nor the *Prince* of *Wales* are in Poſſeſſion of the *Crown* of *England*, and that King *William* and Queen *Mary* are in Poſſeſſion of it by the conſent and approbation of the *Parliament*, and *Faith and true Allegiance* for the time being, muſt, by our Principles, be due unto the latter, whatſoever Right or Title may being unto the former.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 18. line 16. for *diſpleaſed* read *diſplaced* : p. 31 l. 32. dele *of* : p. 46. l. 5. add *reſiſt*.

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An Hiſtorical

ACCOUNT

OF

SOME THINGS

Relating to the Nature of the

English Government,

AND THE

CONCEPTIONS

Which our Fore-fathers had of it.

With ſome Inferences thence made for the ſatisfaction of thoſe who ſcruple the *Oath of Allegiance* to KING WILLIAM and QUEEN MARY.

LICENS'D, *Decemb.* 19. 1689.
J. FRASER.

LONDON,
Printed for *Awnſham Churchill* at the *Black Swan* in *Ave-Mary Lane*. MDCXC.

An Hiſtorical

ACCOUNT

OF

SOME THINGS

Relating to the Name of the

[illegible] CHRISTIANS,

AND THEIR

DESCRIPTION

With ſome Reflections thereupon:

Some Inferences thence made &c.

THE

PREFACE.

I Would not have the Reader think that I approve of every thing related in this Hiſtorical Account. That which I think my ſelf concerned to make good is this,

1. That what I do relate as Hiſtory, is Hiſtorically true, or that it is delivered without fraud, or wilful perverſion of the Authors cited.

2. That what I lay as the Foundation of my Inferences is ſufficiently confirmed by what I have delivered in this Hiſtory.

That may, perhaps, be useful for many other ends relating to our Late happy Change, but they are obvious in themselves, and were not chiefly designed by me, and therefore are not mentioned here.

Farewell.

THE

THE CONTETNS.

SECTION I.

THAT *from the* Norman *Conqueſt, to this preſent time, there was an Original Compact or Eſtabliſhment of Laws, by which the Kings of* England *were to Govern, and the People to be governed.* Page 1

Sect. II. *That they thought it abſolutely neceſſary, that whoſoever would be their King, ſhould make this Compact with them, and be as much obliged by Oath to grant theſe Priviledges to them, as they were to ſwear Allegiance to him.* p. 6

Sect. III. *That when the ancient Laws of their Country were wholly violated, they conſtantly complain'd of the Injuſtice of the Action, required the obſervation of them; and when they could not prevail by fair means, they ſought to recover their Right by Arms. Where an account is given of*

of the Barons Wars for the preſerving of the Magna Charta, *and the* Charta de Foreſtis. p. 14

Sect. IV. *That we find throughout the Hiſtory of our Kings, that their Election, or elſe their Compact with the People, hath generally been conceived a thing proper to ſtrenghen their Title to the Crown, or at the leaſt to ſatisfie their People,* p. 35

Sect. V. *That we find mention in Hiſtory of divers Acts of Parliament, or of the Nobles of the Kingdom, continuing the Name and Honour of a King to him, who, by their own confeſſion, had not the immediate Title to the Kingdom, and only proclaiming him, who had the Right by Proximity of Blood, Heir Apparent to the Crown,* p. 40

Sect. VI. *The Inferences from the Reſolutions of the beſt Caſuiſts, to prove that the Oath of Allegiance, and of the Coronation, are reciprocal; and conſequently that the obligation of the Oath of Allegiance doth ceaſe, when the Original Compact is Fundamentally violated,* p. 43

AN

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

SECTION I.

That from the Norman *Conqueſt, to this preſent time, there was an Original Compact or Eſtabliſhment of Laws, by which the Kings of* England *were to Govern, and the People to be governed.*

I Am apt to think it may be want of due conſideration of the *Hiſtory*, and *Conſtitution* of our *Government*, which makes ſome worthy Perſons of the *Clergy* ſo ſtiff in their refuſal of the *Oath* of *Allegiance* to King *William*, and Queen *Mary*. Now the great miſchief which this unhappy Diviſion may bring upon the *Proteſtant Religion*, both at home and abroad, and the vile Imputations which are caſt on that great Body of the *Clergy* which hath taken this *Oath*, will juſtifie our Endeavours to ſet this matter before them

in the cleareſt light, and to let others know what hath been done by our *Fore-fathers* to ſecure their Laws and Liberties; what *Compacts* they made with their *Kings*; how uneaſie they were under the Violation of them, and what Conceptions they had touching the Nature and Conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government, and touching the *Allegiance* due to their *Prince*. Now in order to theſe things, let it be obſerved,

Ubi Aldredus Archiepiſcopus, Wulfunus Wigornienſis Epiſcopus, Clito, Eadgerus Comites, Eadwinus & Morcarus & de Lundoniâ quique Nobiliores, cum multis aliis ad eum venerant, & datis obſidibus illi deditionem fecerunt, fidelitatemque juraverunt, cum quibus & ipſe fœdus pepigit. Dunelm. p. 195. Flor. Wig. p. 635. R. Hov. F. 258.

Firſt, That *Florence* of *Worceſter*, *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *R. Hoveden* expreſly ſay, That *William*, called the *Conqueror*, *made a League, or Compact with the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Earls, and Nobles of the Land, who met him at* Beorcham.

Daniel p. 36.

Ipſo Nativitatis die ab Aldredo Eboracenſium Archiepiſcopo in Weſtmonaſterio conſecratus eſt, honorificè prius, ut idem Archipræſul ab eo exigebat, ante Altare Sancti Petri Apoſtoli, coram Clero & populo, jurejurando promittens ſe velle Dei Sanctas Eccleſias, & earum Rectores defendere, necnon & cunctum populum ſibi ſubjectum juſtè, & Regali providentiâ verè regere, rectam legem ſtatuere, & tenere, &c. Flor. Wigorn. p. 634, 635. Dunelm. p. 195. Hoved. F. 258. Chron. Joh. Brompt. p. 962.

Seeondly, That the aforeſaid Authors, with *John Brompton*, declare, That as the *Biſhops* and *Barons* of the Realm ſwore Fealty to him, *ſo he reciprocally, being required ſo to do by the Arch-Biſhop of* York, *made his Perſonal Oath before the Altar of St.* Peter *to defend the Holy Church of God, and the Rectors of the ſame, to govern all the People ſubject to him juſtly, to eſtabliſh equal Laws, and to ſee them duly executed.*

And

And when new Commotions were made by the *Nobility*, and *Clergy*, upon their Submiſſion, and *Oath* of *Allegiance* re-taken, he *himſelf takes his Perſonal Oath again before Archbiſhop* Lanfranc, *and the Lords, for the good of Peace, to obſerve the Ancient Laws of the Realm, eſtabliſhed by his Predeceſſors the Kings of* England; *and eſpecially of* Edward *the Confeſſor*; *and this ſo pacified the* Engliſh, *that they went joyfully to their own homes.* Daniel p. 37.

Occurrerunt igitur Angli memorati, ubi poſt multas diſceptationes, præſente Archiepiſcopo Lanfranco, Rex, pro bono pacis, juravit, tactis Sacro-ſanctis Evangeliis, bonas & approbatas antiquas Regni leges, quas Sancti & Pii Angliæ Reges ejus Anteceſſores, & maximè Edvardus ſtatuit, inviolabiliter obſervare, & ſic pacificati ad propria læti receſſerunt. M. Paris in vitâ 23. Monach. p. 30.

Thirdly, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* ſaith, That when the two Sons of *Swain* came into *England* to fight againſt it, the *Conqueror recalling many of the* Engliſh *Nobles*, *made a League with them*, *and by their Aid he overcame the* Danes. And that this League contained the Grant of their Rights and Liberties, or the Laws of their Country, is evident from what follows in the ſame Hiſtorian, *viz. That the Conqueror being thus ſecured*, *in many things violated his promiſes*, *taking from the Churches*, *and Monaſteries in which they lay the Charters*, *in which the Nobles of* England *confided*, *and to which he had ſworn when he was in ſtraits.* Et ſic revocatis multis Anglorum Nobilibus, fœdere cautius cum omnibus confirmato, Eboracum, ubi fuit Danorum receptaculum, potenter cum ibi inventis, expugnavit. A. D. 1069.

Jam factus ſecurior, in multis promiſſa violavit, Monaſteria totius Angliæ perſcrutari fecit, & pecuniam ſimul cum Chartis, in quarum libertatibus Nobiles Angliæ confidebant, & quas Rex, In arcto poſitus, obſervaturum ſe juraverat, ab Eccleſiis, ubi in ſecuro poſitæ erant, auferri præcepit violenter. Ibid. p. 226.

Fourthly, *R. Hagulſtadenſis*, *S. Dunelmenſis*, *R. Hoveden*, *M. Paris*, *Henry* of *Knyghton*, and *W.*

of *Malmsbury* inform us, That *Henry the firſt granted to all the People the Laws of* Edward, *with the emendations which his Father had made of them, ſtrengthning them with his own Oath, and the Oath of all his Nobles, that they might not be eluded*; And *W. Lambard* cites this as one of the Laws of *W.* the *Conqueror*. *This alſo we command, That all Men have, and keep the Law of King* Edward, *with the additions we have made to them for the benefit of the* Engliſh *Men.*

Legem R. Edvardi vobis reddo cum aliis emendationibus, quibus pater meus eas emendavit conſilio Baronum ſuorum. R. Hagulſt. p. 311.

Dunelm. p. 225, 226. Hoved. par. 1. p. 268. M. Paris p. 38. Henr. de Knyght. p. 2374. Malmſ. l. 5. F. 88. Hoc quoque præcipimus, ut omnes habeant, & teneant legem Edvardi Regis in omnibus rebus, adauctis iis quas conſtituimus ad utilitatem Anglorum. Apud Seld. Annot. ad Eadm. p. 192.

Fifthly, The *Chronicle* of *Lichfield* doth inform us, That *the whole Community of* England *ſued to the Conqueror that he would permit them to have the proper Laws, and ancient Cuſtoms, in which their Fathers had lived, and under which they were born, and educated*, viz. *The Laws of St.* Edward; *And that the King conſented to their Petition.*

Poſtea ad preces communitatis Anglorum Rex adquievit, qui deprecati ſunt quatenus permitteret ſibi leges propriias, & conſuetudines antiquas habere in quibus vixerant patres eorum, & ipſi in iis nati & nutriti ſunt; ſc. leges Sancti Edvardi, & ex illo die magna Authoritate veneratæ, & per univerſum Regnum corroboratæ, & conſervatæ ſunt præ cæteris Regni legibus, leges R. Edvardi. Chron. Eccl. Lichfield apud Seld. ibid. p. 171.

Sixthly, *Ingulphus* his *Secretary*, ſaith, That *he, under the ſevereſt penalties, proclaimed, that the Laws of King* Edward *ſhould be perpetual, authentical, and be obſerved inviolably thro' the whole Kingdom of* England, *and as ſuch he commended them to his Juſtices.*

Attuli mecum de Londoniis leges æquiſſimi R. Edvardi quas dominus meus Rex W. Authenticas eſſe, & perpetuas per totum Regnum Angliæ inviolabiliter obſervandas, ſub pœnis graviſſimis, proclamârat, & ſuis juſtitiariis commendârat, p. 88.

Seventhly,

Seventhly, R. *Hoveden* informs us, That *he commanded the Laws of King* Edward *to be obſerved in all things: and that in the fourth year of his Reign, by the Counſel of his Barons, he made the Noble and Wiſe Men of* England *to be ſummoned throughout all the Provinces of* England, *that he might hear from them, who were ſkilled in their Law, their Rights and Cuſtoms; and that twelve Men were choſen out of every County, who ſwore, to their power, to tread in a right Path, neither turning to the right hand or to the left, and to make known to him the cuſtom, and the eſtabliſhments of their Laws.* And then he adds the very words contained in the *Chronicle* of *Lichfield*.

W. Rex, quarto Anno Regni ſui, conſilio Baronum ſuorum, fecit ſummoneri per univerſos conſulatus Angliæ, Anglos Nobiles, & Sapientes, & ſuâ lege eruditos, ut eorum & jura & conſuetudines ab ipſis audiret. Electi igitur de ſingulis totius patriæ comitatibus viri duodecim jurejurando confirmarunt primò ut, quoad poſſent, recto tramite, neque ad dextram neq; ad ſiniſtram partem divertentes, legum ſuarum conſuetudinem & Sancita patefacerent. Hoved. par. poſt. F. 343.

Now all theſe things put together ſeem plainly to conclude an *Original Compact* or Eſtabliſhment of Laws, by which the *Kings* of *England* were to govern, and the *Kingdom* to be governed; and the continuance, and renewal of that Eſtabliſhment by our ſucceeding *Kings*, ſuch as *Malmſbury* ſtiles our *Patriæ Leges*, and the Statute of *Henry* the Eighth, *the accuſtomed and ancient Laws of this Realm originally eſtabliſhed.*

Hiſt. Nov. F. 186. A. 25 H. 8. c. 21.

Add to this then that Rule of *Grotius*, *That Succeſſion is not a Title of Empire which gives the form to it, but is only a continuation of the old Title.*

Succeſſio non eſt titulus Imperii, qui Imperio formam aſſignat, ſed veteris continuatio, jus enim ab electione cœptum, familiæ ſuccedendo continuatur, quare quantum prima electio tribuit, tantum defert ſucceſſio. De jure Bell. & Pac. l. 1. c. 3. Sect. 10.

tle. The Right begun by the Election of the Family, being continued by Succession. And thence, with him, we may reasonably infer, that *Succession only brings down to Kings what the first Election gave*, and makes them only *Kings* according to the *Compact*, and with the Conditions agreed on at the first admission of their *Progenitors* to the exercise of the *Royal Authority*.

SECT. II.

That they thought it absolutely necessary, that whosoever would be their King, should make this Compact with them, and be as much obliged by Oath to grant these Priviledges to them, as they were to swear Allegiance to him.

2*dly*. OUR *Kings* well knowing what a Reverence the *Community* had for their Laws, found no better means to gain, or to secure to themselves the Crown, and to pacifie the discontented Parties, than by fair Promises, and Engagements to maintain, or grant to them their Laws. *Eadmerus* informs us concerning *W. Rufus*, that *desiring to forestall his elder Brother* Robert *in getting the Kingdom, he pawned his Faith and Oath, that if they would make him King, he would in all things observe Justice, Equity, and Mercy throughout his Kingdom, and defend the Peace, Liberty, and Security of the Church against all Men.*

Cum Regni fastigia fratri suo Roberto præriperet, cœpit tam per se, quam per omnes quos poterat, fide, sacramentoq; *Lanfranco* promittere justitiam, æquitatem & misericordiam se per totum Regnum, si Rex foret, observaturum, pacem, libertatem, securitatem Ecclesiarum contra omnes defensurum. *p.* 13.

When

When his Brother *Robert* was come into *England* to claim his right, and he had many of the *Nobility* who favoured him, and ſided with him, *W. Rufus* calls the *Normans*, and *Engliſh Nobility* to *London*, & leges ſtatuens, *and there ſtabliſhing the Laws*, he marched with them againſt his Brother, ſaith *Florence* of *Worceſter*. He bound them to him, ſaith *M. Paris*, faciles leges promittendo, *by promiſing them eaſie Laws*; as thoſe of King *Edward* were by them ſtiled, and accounted. He ſweetned them, ſaith *John Brompton*, *by promiſing that he would eſtabliſh* meliores leges quas ſibi vellent eligere, *thoſe more acceptable Laws which they would chuſe*. Now thoſe we know, by their requeſt in his *Fathers* days, were *the Laws of* Edward, and they with the emendations of his *Father*, were the Laws then eſtabliſhed. Theſe Promiſes he very little regarded after his agreement made with his Brother *Robert*; but falling ſick, at the ſuggeſtion of his *Barons*, he again promiſed to God, ſaith *Radulphus de Diceto*, Rectas leges ſtatuere, *to ſtabliſh right Laws*.

Pag. 642.

Pag. 10.

Pag. 984.

Pag. 490, 491.

Henry the firſt, his Succeſſor, in the beginning of his Reign, ſaith * *R. Hagulſtadenſis*, *gave to the People their juſt Laws and Liberties*, *confirming them with his Charter, and his Seal. Dunelmenſis*, *R. Hoveden*, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, *W.* of *Malmeſbury*, *M. Paris*, and *Henry* of *Knyghton* ſay, that *on the very day of his* † *Conſecration he granted to all his People the Laws of* Edward, *with the emendations which his Father had made of them.*

* Ipſe in principio Regni ſui leges juſtas & libertates populo dedit, chartâ confirmavit, ſigillo corroboravit. p. 310.

† Qui conſecrationis ſuæ die — legem Regis Edvardi omnibus in commune reddidit cum illis emendationibus quibus pater ſuus illam emendavit. Dunelm. p. 225, 226. Hoveden p. 1. F. 268. B. Flor. Wigorn. p. 650. W. Malmsbur. F. 88. M. Paris p. 38. H. de Knyghton p. 2374.

* *Henry*

* Pag. 216. B. Chron. p. 997.

* *Henry* of *Huntington*, and *John Brompton* ſay, that *having promiſed a deſirable melioration of the Laws and Cuſtoms, he was conſecrated by* Maurice *Biſhop of London.* M. *Paris* ſaith moſt expreſly, that † *Henry, having aſſembled the Clergy, and all the People of* England, *that he might diſpoſe their minds to the love and the promotion of him, and the taking him for their King, and Patron, promiſed them the emendation of the Laws by which* England *had been oppreſſed in the time of his Brother, and that all the Clergy and Nobility anſwered, That if he would freely grant to them, and confirm by his Charter thoſe Liberties, and ancient Cuſtoms which flouriſhed in the time of King* Edward, *they would unanimouſly conſent to receive him for their King; and that upon his Conſent, and Oath to do ſo, he was created King at* Weſtminſter. And when his Brother *Robert* came to challenge the *Crown* as his by right of Succeſſion, and the Concord made betwixt him and his Brother *Rufus*, to animate his Subjects to ſtand by him, he ſpeaks thus to them, * *I your mild King am deſirous to preſerve you in your Ancient Liberties, as I have often promiſed upon Oath,—— And command all things to be inviolably obſerved which holy King* Edward, *by the Inſpiration of God, adviſedly eſtabliſhed.*

† Henricus — congregato Londoniis clero Angliæ, & populo univerſo, promiſit emendationem legum quibus oppreſſa fuerat Anglia tempore patris ſui, & fratris nuper defuncti, ut animos omnium in ſui promotionem accenderet, & amorem, & ut illum ſuſciperent in Regem & Patronum. Ad hæc clero reſpondente, & Magnatibus cunctis, quod ſi animo volente ipſis vellet concedere, & chartâ ſuâ communire illas libertates & conſuetudines antiquas quæ floruerunt in Regno tempore Sancti Regis Edwardi, in ipſum conſentirent, & in Regem unanimiter conſecrarent. Henrico autem hoc libenter annuente, & ſe id facturum cum juramento affirmante, conſecratus eſt in Regem apud Weſtmonaſterium. p. 38.

† Ego vero Rex humilis & pacificus vos in pace in antiquis veſtris libertatibus prout crebrius jurejurando promiſi geſtio confovere — omnia videlicet quæ ſanctus Rex Edvardus, Deo inſpirante, provide ſancivit, inviolabiliter jubeo obſervari. Ibid. p. 42.

Steven

Steven ſucceeded him, and he, to get the Kingdom, *promiſeth a Melioration of their Laws according to their minds.* Our Hiſtorians tell us, That *on the day of his Coronation he made a Compact with his Church and People, which afterwards at* Oxford *he ſwore to obſerve.* And one of the terms of this Compact was, *That he would obſerve good Laws, and ancient and juſt Cuſtoms in Hundreds, and Pleas, and other Cauſes.*

Melioration-nem legum promiſit juxta voluntatem & arbitrium ſingulorum M. Paris. p. 51. R. Hagulſtad. p. 314, 315. Chron. Jo. Brompt. p. 1024.

Bonas leges, & antiquas & juſtas conſuetudines in Hundris & Placitis & aliis Cauſis obſervabo. Rich. Hagulſtad. p. 314.

Confirmavit Pacta quæ Deo & populo atque Eccleſiæ Sanctæ in die Coronationis ſuæ conceſſerat Matth. Paris p. 51.

Henry the Second follows him, at the beginning of his *Reign, eſtabliſhing Peace in his Kingdom, and commanding the Laws of* Henry *the Firſt, his Grand-father, to be inviolably obſerved throughout his Kingdom.*

Ipſe pacem ſtabilivit in Regno, & leges Henr. Avi ſui præcepit per totum Regnum ſuum inviolabiliter teneri. Hoved. par. 2. F. 281. B.

Richard the firſt, ſucceeds him, and *promiſeth upon Oath at his Coronation theſe three things,* viz. 1. *That he would give Peace, Honour, and Reverence to God, and the Church, and her Clergy all the days of his life.* 2ly, *That he would exerciſe true Juſtice and Equity to the People committed to his Government.* 3ly, *That he would put away all*

Juravit quod ipſe omnibus diebus vitæ ſuæ pacem, & honorem, & Reverentiam Deo, & Sanctæ Eccleſiæ, & ejus ordinatis portaret. 2°. Quod rectam juſtitiam, & æquitatem exerceret in populo ſibi commiſſo. 3°. Quod malas leges & conſuetudines perverſas, ſi quæ in Regno ſuo inductæ ſunt, deleret, & bonas leges conderet, & ſine fraude & malo ingenio, eas cuſtodiret. Hoveden. F. 374. A. M. Paris p. 108. Rad. de Diceto Imag. Hiſt. p. 647. Chron. Joh. Brompt. p. 1157.

evil Laws, and perverſe Cuſtoms, which were introduced into his Kingdom, and would make good Laws, and maintain them without fraud and evil inclination. Then the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury conjures him by God not to take upon him this Honour, unleſs he uprightly intended to perform what he had ſworn*; and when he anſwered, *That by the help of God he intended ſo to do*, the Archbiſhop puts the Crown upon his Head.

Conjuratus eſt ab Archiepiſcopo ex parte Dei, & prohibitus ne hunc honorem acciperet, niſi in mente habeat

Sacramenta tenere quæ fecit; & ipſe reſpondit ſe, per auxilium Dei, bona fide obſervaturum omnia ſupra dicta. Ibid.

King *John*, *at his entrance on the Government*, took the ſame Oaths for ſubſtance which his predeceſſor *Richard* had done, ſwearing *to preſerve the Church and her Dignities from harm; to aboliſh unjuſt Laws, and to eſtabliſh Good, and to exerciſe right Juſtice*; and he was alſo by the Archbiſhop *conjured not to take upon him the Kingly Honour, unleſs he really intended to perform his Oath.* When he was abſolved from his *Excommunication* by the Archbiſhop at *Wincheſter*, he was by him compelled to ſwear, *That he would deſtroy all unjuſt Laws, and would reſtore good Laws*, viz. *The Laws of King* Edward, *and cauſe them to be obſerved of all throughout his Kingdom.*

In coronatione ſuâ R. Johannes triplici involutus eſt Sacramento, viz. quod Sanctam Eccleſiam, & ejus ordinatos diligeret quod perverſis legibus deſtructis, bonas conſtitueret, & rectam

juſtitiam in Regno Angliæ exerceret, deinde adjuratus eſt ab Archiepiſcopo ex parte Dei, & diſtrictè prohibitus ne honorem hunc accipere præſumeret niſi in mente habuit opere quod juraverat adimplere. Chron. Burton p. 256. R. Hoveden F. 450. M. Paris p. 138.

Audiſtis quomodo ipſe apud Wintoniam Regem abſolvi, & ipſum jurare compulerim quod leges iniquas deſtrueret, & leges bonas, viz. leges Edwardi, revocaret, & in Regno faceret ab omnibus obſervari. M. Paris p. 166, 167.

King

King *Henry* the Third was but nine years old when he ſucceeded King *John*, and in the ninth year of his *Reign* he granted to all his *Clergy*, his *Nobles*, and his People, his *Magna Charta, and his Charter of the Liberties of the Foreſt*; and by theſe Charters he confirms to them *libertates & liberas conſuetudines quas prius habuerant*, *the Liberties and free Cuſtoms which they had before.* *M. Paris* ſaith, *That he exacted the fifteenth part of the Moveables, both of the Clergy, and of the Laity, and that they promiſed to grant them*, ſi illi diu petitas Libertates concedere voluiſſet, *provided he would give them the Liberties they had ſo long deſired*; *And that accordingly he gave them theſe two Charters, which were the ſame that had been granted by King* John. The Barons requiring a confirmation of theſe Liberties from the King, *William Briwere*, one of the King's Council, anſwered, *That the Liberties which they demanded were not to be obſerved, becauſe they were violently extorted*; the King replied, *All of us have ſworn to theſe Liberties, and that which we have ſworn, all of us are bound to obſerve*; and the truth is, at the concluſion of the Peace with *Lewis* the King, the Legate, and Earl Marſhal *ſware that the King ſhould reſtore to the Barons, and others, all their Rights and Inheritances, with all the Liberties formerly demanded of his Father.* And in the year 1225. the King again drawn with the deſire of Mony, *grants thoſe his Charters under his Seal, and Oaths were taken by Royal commandment to tye all Men to the obſervation of the ſaid grants.*

Annales Mon. Burton p. 271, 276.

Pag. 274.

Pag. 223.

A. D. 1223. Speed p. 581.

Speed p. 578.

Speed p. 585.

Edward the firſt was declared King, and Succeſſor of his Father when abſent in *Paleſtine*, and

returning into *England*, is Crowned in the Second year of his Reign, and in the Third calls a Parliament at *Westminster*, where he hears the complaints of the ill Government of the Realm, and the Church, and makes that wholsome Statute to relieve them which is called *the first Statute of Westminster*.

At the Coronation of *Edward* the Second, the Earls and Barons of the Kingdom of *England* treated of the State of the Kingdom, requesting the Banishment of *Peter* of *Gaveston* from the Kingdom, and that *Baronum suorum vellet consiliis tractare Regni negotia, he would transact the business of the Kingdom by the Councils of his Barons; which the King denying to grant, the Nobles endeavoured to hinder his Coronation; which the King understanding, promised faithfully, in the next Parliament, to do that which they desired.*

Hypadygm. Neustr p. 500.

Rex noluit consentire, idcirco proposuerunt comites Coronationem Regiam impedire, quod Rex intelligens promisit bona fide se facturum illis in proximo Parliamento quicquid peterent, tantum ne Coronatio differatur. Walsingh. Hist. Angl. p. 96.

At the Coronation of *Richard* the Second, one *of the Bishops makes an Oration to the People concerning the Constitution of the King and Kingdom, how the King should behave himself to them, and in what things they were to obey him: this being done, the King swears before the Archbishop and Nobles, that he would permit the Church to enjoy her Liber-*

Tunc Episcopus Sermonem fecit de materiâ Regis, & Regni ad populum, qualiter Rex se haberet in populo, & in quibus populus sibi debuit obedire, quo completo juravit Rex, coram Archiepiscopo & proceribus, quod Ecclesiam suis permitteret gaudere libertatibus, & eam, & Ministros ejus honoraret. 2°. Ut leges terræ bonas ubique observari faceret, & præcipuè leges Sancti Edvardi. 3°. Ut non esset personarum acceptor, &c. quibus expletis Archiepiscopus convertit se ad omnes plagas Ecclesiæ, indicans populo Regium juramentum, & quærens si se tali principi, & Rectori subjicere, & ejus jussionibus obtemperare vellent; & responsum est à plebe — quod libenter sibi parere vellent. Wals. Hist. Angl. p. 195.

ties,

ties, and would honour her and her Miniſters. 2dly, *That he would cauſe the good Laws of the Land to be obſerved every where, eſpecially thoſe of St.* Edward. 3dly, *That he would be no acceptor of Perſons, but would exerciſe right Judgment between man and man, and eſpecially would ſhew Mercy. This being done, the Archbiſhop, the Marſhal being preſent, turns himſelf to all the quarters of the Church, declaring to the People the Kings Oath, and asking them, if they could ſubject themſelves to ſuch a Prince and Governour, and would obey his commands; to which they all anſwered, That they would willingly do it.*

Here then you ſee that *William Rufus*, *Henry* the Firſt, and *Steven*, get the conſent of the People by virtue of this promiſe *to grant them their uſual Laws, and ancient Cuſtoms*, that *Henry* the Firſt, *Richard* the Firſt, and King *John*, and *Richard* the Second at their Coronation oblige themſelves by Oath to grant them; And upon theſe Obligations the People, Nobles, Biſhops, and Commons conſent to own them as their King, that the Archbiſhops conjure *R.* the Firſt, and K. *John*, not to take upon them the Crown, unleſs they uprightly intended to perform theſe Oaths; that all of them at the beginning of their Reigns by Oaths, or Promiſes oblige themſelves to grant theſe Laws and Cuſtoms to the People, and that if any ſcrupled ſo to do, the Nobles thought it their concern to hinder his Coronation, till he had either made, or promiſed this engagement

They therefore thought it abſolutely neceſſary, that whoſoever would be their King, ſhould make this Compact with them, and be as much engaged by Oath to grant theſe Priviledges to them, as they

they were to ſwear Allegiance to him, and commonly that this ſhould be firſt done by their Kings before they would engage to be their Subjects. And then it muſt be as neceſſary that he who doth continue to be their King ſhould continue to perform his Oaths, and grant theſe Priviledges to his People.

SECT. III.

That when the ancient Laws of their Country were wholly violated, they conſtantly complain'd of the Injuſtice of the Action, required the obſervation of them; and when they could not prevail by fair means, they ſought to recover their Right by Arms. Where an account is given of the Barons Wars for the preſerving of the Magna Charta, *and the* Charta de Foreſtis.

FOR farther evidence of this matter, let it be conſidered,

3*dly*, That when theſe *Patriæ Leges*, theſe *Ancient Laws of their Country* were violated, they conſtantly complained of the Injuſtice of the Action, required the obſervation of them; and when they could not prevail by fair means, they revolted from their Subjection, and ſought to recover their Right by Arms. This they require of *W. Rufus*, when he was ſick: And it was probably for neglect of theſe good Laws, that *moſt of the Nobility*, ſaith *M. Paris*, did *una Rabie conſpirare*, *conſpire againſt him with one fury*. For the ſame reaſon was

Page 10.

it

it, that when *Robert* came againſt King *Henry* the Firſt, a great part of the Navy went over to *Robert*, for this they did, ſaith *M. Paris*, *quia Rex jam Tyrannizaverat*, *becauſe the King was become a Tyrant*, i. e. he governed not according to Law. Page 40.

When *Steven* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in the year 1213, had found the *Charter* of *Henry the Firſt*, by which *he granted to them the Law of King* Edward, *with thoſe emendations which his Father, by the Counſel of the Barons, did ratifie*, he told the Nobles *this was the Charter, by which, if they pleaſed, they might reduce their long loſt Liberties into their former ſtate*; The *Charter* being read, *they much rejoyced, and ſwore, in the preſence of the Archbiſhop, that when they could ſpy out a fit time, for thoſe Liberties, if need required, they would ſpend their blood*; *the Archbiſhop, on the other ſide, promiſed to help them to the uttermoſt of his power*, and ſo, *having made a League among themſelves, they diſſolved the Aſſembly.*

Per quam, ſi volueritis, libertates diu amiſſas poteritis ad ſtatum priſtinum revocare. M. Paris p. 167.

Archiepiſcopus vero promiſit eis fideliſſimum auxilium ſuum pro poſſe ſuo, & ſic confœderatione facta inter eos, colloquium ſolutum eſt. M. Paris ibid.

When King *John* ſtill neglected to obſerve theſe Laws, *the Nobles come unto him, requiring him to confirm the Liberties and Laws of King* Edward, *and other Liberties granted to him, the Kingdom, and the Church of* England, they being *leges Antiquæ, & Regni conſuetudines*; *the Ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, contained partly in the* Charter *of* Henry *the Firſt, and partly gathered out of the old Laws of King* Edward, *threatning that*

Petierunt quaſdam libertates, & leges R. Edvardi, cum aliis libertatibus ſibi, & Regno Angliæ, & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ conceſſis, confirmari. M. Paris p. 176.

Capitula libertatum & legum quæ ibi magnates confirmari quærebant partim in Charta R. Henrici ſuperius ſcripta ſunt, partimq; ex legibus R. Edvardi antiquitus excerpta— affirmantes quod, niſi Rex illas incontinenti concederet, & ſigilli munimine confirmaret, ipſi per captionem caſtrorum ſuorum, terrarum, & poſſeſſionum, ipſum Regem compellerent, donec ſuper præmiſſis ſatisfaceret competenter. M. Paris p. 176.

if

if he would not inſtantly grant them, and confirm them under his Seal, they would compel him ſo to do, by ſeizing on his Caſtles, Lands, and Poſſeſſions, till he gave them competent ſatisfaction in that matter. Then the Archbiſhop ſhewed the King the Contents of that *Charter*; and upon the Kings anſwer, that *he would never grant ſuch Liberties by which he himſelf was made a ſervant; and that the Barons might as well ask the Kingdom*, they betake themſelves to War, and the Barons having got the City of *London* on their ſide, *they write Letters to all the Earls, Barons, and Knights who adhered to the* King, *exhorting them, with threats, that as they loved the Indemnity of all their Goods, Poſſeſſions, deſerting the perjured* King, *they would adhere to them faithfully, and ſtand immoveably with them, fighting for the Liberties, and Peace of the Kingdom.*

Quod nunquam tales libertates concederet unde ipſe efficeretur ſervus, & quare cum iſtis iniquis exactionibus Barones non poſtulant Regnum. ibid.

Miſerunt literas ad comites, Barones, & milites illos qui adhuc per Angliam Regi, licet fide, adhærere videbantur, exhortantes eos, cum comminatione, ut, ſicut omnium Rerum ſuarum & poſſeſſionum indemnitatem diligebant, **Regem perjurum deſerentes**, & ſibi fideliter adhærentes, ſimul cum eis pro libertatibus, & pace Regni immobiles ſtarent, & efficaciter decertarent. M. Paris p. 177.

Whereupon the King, finding that he was not able to reſiſt the ſtrength of the Barons, without difficulty grants the Laws and Liberties they demanded, and confirmed them by his *Charter*. And thus it was, as *Henry* of *Knyghton* ſaith, that *in his time were procured the Articles of* Magna Charta *to the common good of the Realm.* And when the King, by the inſtigation of ſome *Sons of Belial*, was again perſwaded to fly from his Oath and Promiſe, the Barons ſpake thus to another, *What ſhall we do*

In ejus tempore fuerunt proviſi Articuli M. Chartæ ad communem profectum Regni. p. 2424.

Quid faciemus de iſto Rege iniquo, ſi ſic dimiſerimus illum, delebit nos, & populum noſtrum, expedit igitur ut deleatur à ſolio Regni ſui, nolumus enim de cætero eum regnare ſuper nos. Henr. de Knyght. de Event. Angl. p. 2423.

with

with this wicked King? if we let him thus alone, he will deſtroy us, and our People; it is expedient therefore, that he ſhould be expelled from the Throne, we will not have him any longer to Reign over us. And thereupon they ſend preſently to *Lewis* the Son of the *French* King to come to their aſſiſtance, promiſing him the City of *London*, and their Allegiance to him. And though the *Pope* ſent his *Bull*, by which he made void this *Charter* of the Liberties of the Kingdom of *England*, and writ a threatning Letter to the Barons of *England* upon that affair. Notwithſtanding all his threats, *noluerunt deſiſtere ab incæptis, the Barons would not deſiſt from their Undertakings*, but riſing up ſtill againſt him, they vehemently annoyed him, ſaying, concerning the Pope, that of the Prophet, *Wo to him that juſtifies the wicked.* And when the Pope proceeded to Excommunicate the Barons by name, and in particular, neither would the Barons obſerve, nor the Prelates publiſh the *Excommunication.* And what the judgment of the generality of this Nation was of the whole War, we may learn not only from the general engagement both of the *Laity* and *Clergy* in it, but alſo from our own *Hiſtorians*; for they inform us, That our Nobles *were forced to make this War out of a double neceſſity, becauſe he would not permit the Laws of St.* Edward *to be kept, as formerly they were wont to be, but did all things by his own will, nor would obſerve the form of the Law; but diſinherited his Nobles without the judgment of their Peers.*

M. Paris p. 186.

Pag. 192. Inſurrexerunt in eum Magnates duplici neceſſitate coacti, eo quod noluit permittere leges Sancti Edwardi teneri, ſed omnia fecit in ſuo velle, nec voluit legis formam obſervare. Henr. de Knyghton p. 2418.

To this effect I find, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, a long Rhyme in the *Chronicle* of *Mailros*, deploring the infelicity of this Affair,

That the Body ſhould attempt to rule the Head, and the People to be above their King; but adding, *that there was a great and manifold neceſſity that it ſhould be ſo, ſeeing the King perverted all the good Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, neither rightly managing Laws, Rights, or Subjects, but making that to be Juſtice which was agreeable to his own will, which moved them to ſwear they would not ſuffer this Tyranny of the King, and to require the Depoſition of him, if he would not conſent to the Reformation of the Law, and to reſign the Homage they had made, till he would give them caution to preſerve the Peace.* And the ſame *Annals* ſay, the Barons only fought *pro legibus priſtinis reſtaurandis, for Reſtauration of their ancient Laws.* And when the Earl of *Pembroke* made his Oration to the *Aſſembled States* in behalf of *Henry the Third* his Son, he begins it thus, * *Albeit the Father of this Prince, for his evil Demeaners, hath worthily undergone our Perſecution — we ought of Duty and Conſcience, to obey his Son.*

* Speed P. 575.

Ordinem præpoſterum Anglia ſancivit,
Mirum dictu dicitur, tale quis audivit?
Nam præeſſe capiti corpus concupivit;
Regem ſuum regere populus quæſivit:
Cauſa tamen multiplex illud exigebat,
Nam Rex mores optimos Regni pervertebat,
Jura, leges, ſubditos recte non regebat,
Quicquid erat placitum ſummum jus credebat,
Proprios Indigenas nimis deprimebat,
Barbaros Rutarios illis præponebat,
Hæredes legitimos obſides perdebat,
Quorum Adventitius terras poſſidebat,
Regis ad colloquium Milites citati
Cautè ſibi præcavent, veniunt armati,
Juramt unanimiter jam ſe nolle pati,
Amplius Tyrannidem Regis tam ingrati.
Die primo veniunt juri parituri:
Rex venire diſtulit nolens ſtare juri,
Diem ponit alterum temporis futuri:
Nec venit, ſed veniunt ipſi coacturi.
Regis ergo poſtulant depoſitionem,
Legis niſi faciat emendationem,
Plenam & exhibeat certam cautionem
Pacis ad perpetuam conſervationem.
Humagium quod fecerant reconſignaverunt,
Et Barones Militum cauſam ſuſceperunt;
Leges tandem priſtinas Regni ſitientes,
Sed in Regem mittere manus non volentes.

Vide Reliqua p. 188.

When

When *Henry the Third* made *void the Charters of Liberties, and of the Foreſt, pretending they were granted whilſt he was in dureſs, and had not the power of his Body, or of his Seal; the People preſently begin to murmur, and the Barons ſiding with* Richard *Earl of* Cornwal, *the Kings Brother, with threats requeſt him to do right to his Brother, ſharply denouncing to him, that he ſhould without delay reſtore the Charters to him ſealed which he had cancelled at* Oxford; *and if he did not, they would compel him by the Sword to make him competent ſatisfaction in theſe matters.*

In eodem Concilio fecit Rex cancellare, & caſſare omnes Chartas in provinciis omnibus Angliæ de libertatibus Foreſtæ, hanc occaſionem prætendens quod Chartæ illæ conceſſæ fuerant, & libertates ſcriptæ, & ſignatæ, dum ipſe erat in cuſtodia, nec ſui corporis, aut ſigilli aliquam habuit poteſtatem. M. Paris p. 232.

Sin autem, ipſi illum gladiis diſcurrentibus compellerent ut ſibi ſuper his ſatisfaceret competenter. M. Paris p. 233.

A. D. 1233. the King invites over the *Poictovins*, and other Strangers, who, with the Biſhop of *Winton* oppreſs the Nobles with all their power, and cauſe great diſcord and complaints; *For judgments were committed*, ſaith *M. Paris*, *to the unjuſt, the Laws to them who were Outlaw'd, Peace to thoſe who were given to Diſcord, and Juſtice to the Injurious.* Theſe things ſo exaſperate the Nobility, that they Combine for Defence of the publick; and by *Richard* his Brother, and the Earl Marſhal, *humbly requeſt of the King, that he would ſpeedily correct theſe exceſſes which tended to the ſubverſion of his Crown and Kingdom, to the op-*

Judicia committuntur injuſtis, leges exlegibus, pax diſcordantibus, juſtitia injurioſis. p. 263.

Regem humiliter rogabat, ut tales exceſſus corrigere feſtinet, per quos Coronæ ſuæ, & Regni ſubverſio imminebat, affirmabat inſuper quod ſi hoc emendare diffugeret, ipſe, & cæteri de Regno Magnates, tamdiu ſe ab ipſius conſilio ſubtraherent, quamdiu alienigenarum conſortio fruerctur. M. Paris p. 264.

preſſion of his natural People, and of their Laws and Liberties, and that if he would not reform them, they would withdraw themſelves from his Counſel.

Whereunto the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* replys, *That it was lawful for the King to call what ſtrangers he liſted about him for Defence of his Crown and Kingdom, thereby to compel his proud and rebellious Subjects to their Obedience*; with which Anſwer they were ſo incenſed, that *they promiſed each other in this cauſe, which concerned them all, they would ſpend their lives.*

Firmiter promiſerunt ad invicem quod pro hac cauſa, quæ omnes tangebat, uſque ad diviſionem corporis & animæ viriliter decertarent. Matth. Paris ibid.

Then the King Summons them to a Parliament at *Oxford*, to which they would not come, and after this to another at *Weſtminſter*; they ſending him this Meſſage, That he ſhould ſuddenly remove *Peter* Biſhop of *Winton*, and his *Poictovins*; and that if he would not do this, *they all, by the Common Counſel of the whole Kingdom, would expel him with his evil Counſellors out of the Kingdom, and conſult about the creation of a new King.*

Sin autem nollet, ipſi omnes de communi conſilio totius Regni ipſum, cum iniquis conſiliariis ſuis, à Regno depellerent, & de novo Rege creando contrectarent. M. Paris p. 265.

A. D. 1234. A Parliament is Aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, in which indeed the Biſhop of *Cheſter* Excommunicates all them who were deſigning *alium*

alium Regem creare, to create another King; yet doth the Archbiſhop Elect, and his Suffragans roundly declare againſt the cruel and dangerous Practices of *Peter* Biſhop of *Winton*, and *Peter de Rivalis*. *Firſt*, Becauſe they ſuggeſted, *that the* Engliſh *were Traytors*, and alienated the Kings heart from the Marſhal, *who was the beſt Man in the Land.* So that, in their judgment, they that fought, and were then in Arms for their Laws and Liberties, were ſo far from being Traytors, that they were *the beſt Men of the Nation. Secondly*, That *there was cauſe to fear the Ruine both of King and Kingdom, ſince they had got ſuch an Aſcendent over him, that he ſeemed rather to be under their power, than they under his.* Which alſo ſeems to have been the caſe betwixt King *James* and his *Jeſuites*. *Thirdly*, That *they confounded, and perverted the Law of the Land ſworn to, and confirmed, and ſtrenghned by Excommunication, and with that all Juſtice; by reaſon of which, and many other grievances, they humbly beſought him to govern his People, according to the example of other Nations, by the ſworn Natives of his Kingdom, declaring that if he did not correct theſe miſcarriages in a little time, they would proceed by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure both againſt his Counſellors and himſelf.*

M. Paris p. 271.

Vocantes eos proditores, & facientes omnes ſic vocari — qui melior eſt homo terræ veſtræ. p. 271.

Timendum eſt tam de vobis, quam de Regno, cum videamini magis eſſe in eorum poteſtate, quam ipſi in veſtra. Ibid.

Item *legem terræ* juratam, & confirmatam atque per excommunicationem roboratam, pariter & juſtitiam confundunt, & pervertunt. Ibid.

Niſi, infra breve tempus, iſta correxeritis, in vos, & in omnes alios contradictores, per cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam procedemus. p. 272.

Edmund Archbiſhop Elect of *Canterbury*, being ſoon after conſecrated, comes to the King with his

his Biſhops and Prelates, relates again the ſame grievances, *declaring to him, That if he would not correct, and pacifically compoſe theſe things with his Liege People, he, with his Prelates, would denounce the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him and all the Enemies of this Concord.* Upon which the King is, at laſt, prevailed with to remand the Biſhop of *Winton* to his Cure, to baniſh *Peter de Rivalis* from the Court, and the *Poictovins* from the Kingdom.

Denuntiavit etiam ipſi expreſſe quod, niſi Clericus errorem demitteret, & cum fidelibus Regni ſui pacificè componeret, ipſe — cum omnibus Prælatis qui aderant, in ipſum Regem ſententiam ferret excommunicationis, & in omnes alios hujus pacis contradictores. Ibid.

One thing more is obſervable in this matter, that as the War of the Marſhal was generally thought juſt, ſo the Marſhal juſtifies himſelf to have been no Traytor, as being *always ready to ſtand to the judgment of his Peers*, and being exiled, and deprived of his Offices and Lands againſt Law, *for which cauſe*, ſaith he, *I ceaſed to be the Kings Liege Man, and was abſolved from my Homage not by my ſelf, but by the King.*

Unde homo ſuus non fui, ſed ab ipſius Homagio non per me, ſed per ſeipſum licenter abſolvebar. p. 273.

A. D. 1237. A Parliament is held at *London*, in which the King requeſts, in regard of the great expence for his *Siſters Marriage*, the thirtieth part of all Moveables both of the *Clergy* and the Laity. After great oppoſition made to this demand, and the recital of many ſuppoſed miſcarriages, the King diſavowing, and proteſting againſt his former Revocation, *and freely granting*

ing the inviolable obſervation of the Liberties, under pain of Excommunication, hath yielded to him the thirtieth part of all moveables.

Spontanea promiſit voluntate libertates M. Chartæ ſuis fidelibus Regni ſui ex tunc inviolabiliter obſervare, &c. Matth. Paris p. 298.

In the year 1240. the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and many of the Nobles, aſſembled at *London*, grievouſly complain of divers Injuries, Oppreſſions, and Deſolations which befell the Church by the evil Counſel of the King, violating his *Charters*, and his *Oaths*, *after he had ſo often ſworn that he would preſerve the Eccleſiaſtical Rights inviolated, and himſelf held a Candle when the Biſhops in his hearing pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication againſt all the Violaters of the Eccleſiaſtical Liberties, he then extinguiſhing his Candle with the reſt.*

Reponentes querimoniam graviſſimam coram Rege, in curia ſua, ſuper variis injuriis, & oppreſſionibus, & quotidianis deſolationibus illatis Eccleſiæ per iniquum Regis conſilium, contra Chartas ſuas, & juramenta temere veniendo, — cum ipſe Rex toties juraverat ſe jura Eccleſiaſtica illibata conſervare, ipſomet audiente, & Candelam tenente, quod omnes Epiſcopi in violatores libertatum Eccleſiaſticarum ſimul ſententiam fulminabant, in cujus ſententiæ conſummatione, Rex, ut alii, ſuam Candelam extinxit inclinando. M. Paris p. 354.

In the year 1242. the King requeſts farther Supplies of his Parliament held at *Weſtminſter* for his intended expedition into *France*. But they reſolutely deny to give him any, for that, in order to the obtaining former grants of Money, *he*

Et præterea conceſſit eis tunc quod omnes libertates contentæ in M. Charta ex tunc in antea plenius tenerentur per totum Regnum ſuum, & inde fecit eis quandam parvam Chartam quam adhuc habent, in quâ eædem continentur — & quia dominus Rex nunquam poſt triceſimam datam Chartam ſuam de libertatibus tenuit. Ibid. p. 394.

had

had promiſed and granted to them that all the Liberties contained in Magna Charta, *ſhould from thence be fully obſerved through the Kingdom, and had given them a little Charter in which they were contained*; *and yet, after all, he never was true to his word, but oppreſſed them ſtill more.*

In the year 1244. he deſires new Supplies, which for a time they refuſe, pleading that *the Charter of Liberties which the King had granted, and the Archbiſhop had upan Oath in the King's name promiſed to them, was not obſerved.* Though at laſt, upon the King's faithful Promiſe to keep and obſerve the Liberties unto which he had ſworn at his Coronation, and whereof he had granted his *Charter*, and upon the appointment of *four Noble Men* to be of the *King's Council*, who ſhould be *conſervatores libertatum, Keepers of their Liberties*, they grant him new Supplies; *the King then promiſing himſelf to obſerve them, and requeſting that for the defence of their Liberties, all the Biſhops in their Dioceſſes ſhould pronounce Sentence againſt him, and all who violated the ſaid Liberties in any Article of them.* And thus they agreed to grant him a Supply.

Et quia Charta libertatum quas dominus Rex olim conceſſerat, & pro cujus conſervatione Archiepiſcopus Cant Edmundus juraverat, & fide-juſſerat, & certiſſime pro Rege promiſerat, nondum exiſtit obſervata. Matth. Paris p. 432.

Rex tam in propria perſona, tum per internuntios ſolennes, promiſit ſe libertates quas juraverat in Coronatione ſua, ſuper quibus Chartam fecerat, integerrime ſervaturum, ad quarum etiam tuitionem rogavit ut ſinguli Epiſcopi, in Diœceſibus ſuis ſententiam ferrent in ipſum, & omnes qui contra memoratas libertates venirent in aliquo Articulo. M. Paris p. 435.

In the year 1252. he holds a Parliament at *London*, and requires more Money; and they, after ſome conſultation anſwer, *that though the King had much oppreſſed both Church and Kingdom, they would*

would doe their utmoſt to ſatisfie his deſires, provided that, as he had often promiſed, he would now at laſt inviolably obſerve the Charter of their Liberties, ſo often covenanted and ſworn to. Other things they demanded then, which the *King* would by no means agree to, ſwearing horribly, that whilſt he lived * *he never would be reduced into ſuch ſlavery:* And ſo the *Aſſembly* breaks up, producing nothing but the *King's* Wrath.

quantumcunq; Eccleſiam Anglicanam, & Regnum ſuum Angliæ oppreſerit; & afflixerit quod poſtulat à nobis adhuc impendemus, & deſiderio ſuo, pro poſſe, obſecundabimur, ſi, quod multoties promiſit, velit Chartam toties pactam, totieſq; debitam, Libertatum nobis juratarum inviolabiliter poſthac obſervare. *p.* 568. Nunquam in talem mergeretur Servitutem. *Ibid. p.* 570.

In the Year 1253. was aſſembled a very great *Parliament*, in which the *Arch-Biſhop*, and ſome *Biſhops*, are ſent to induce the *King* to permit *H. Church* to enjoy her Liberties, as he had oft promiſed upon Oath, and declaring, that if he would correct this, and other of his miſcarriages, according to the Tenor of *M. Charta*, they would incline to his Petition, how burthenſome ſoever it might be to them: This the *King* promiſeth to doe, and deſires them to aſſiſt him in it; ſo the *Clergy* grant him a Tenth, and the *Knights Scutage*, *viz*, three *Marks* of every *Knights Fee* for that year, and the *King* promiſeth faithfully, and without cavil to ratifie

Quod ſi hunc, & alios errores, ſecundùm M. Chartæ de Libertatibus confectæ tenorem emendaret, ipſi, uſque ad gravamen magnum, Petitionibus ſuis inclinarent, *&c.* p. 579.

Rex bonâ fide, & ſine aliqua cavilatione, promiſit, ſe Chartam Magnam, & omnes ejus Articulos fideliter obſervaturum, quam Rex Johannes tenere juravit, & ſimiliter qui præſens eſt, in ſuſceptione Coronæ, & poſtea multoties. *Ibid.*

Magna Charta, and faithfully to obſerve all the Articles of it, which *King John*, and he, at his *Coronation*, and often ſince, had ſworn to obſerve. And this is done in the moſt ſolemn and ceremonial manner that could be deviſed; for the *King*, with all the great *Nobility* of *England*, all the *Biſhops* and chief *Prelates* in their *Ornaments*, with burning Candles in their hands, aſſemble to hear the terrible ſentence of *Excommunication* upon all the Infringers of the ſame; and at the lighting of thoſe Candles, the *King*, having one in his hand, gives it to one of the *Prelates*, ſaying, *It becomes not me, who am no Prieſt, to hold this Candle; my Heart ſhall be a greater teſtimony; and withall laid his hand on his Breaſt the whole time the ſentence was read, which was thus pronounced: In the name of the Omnipotent God, &c.* Which done, he cauſed the *Charter* of *King John* his *Father* to be read: In the end, having thrown away their Candles, they cried out, *So let them who incurr this ſentence be extinct, and ſtink in Hell.* And the *King* with a loud voice ſaid, * *As God help me, I will, as a Man, a Chriſtian, a Knight, a King Crowned and Annointed, inviolably obſerve all theſe things.* But notwithſtanding all this, in the very next year *the King, by the counſels of ſome wicked men, is wrought upon to infringe again this Charter, hoping for a gift to obtain an abſolution from his Oath.*

Nondecet me Candelam talem tenere, ſum non enim Sacerdos; Cor autem majus perhibet Teſtimonium; & ex tunc tenuit manum expanſam ad Pectus, donec tota ſententia finiretur. p. 580.

* Dixit ipſe Rex, Sic me Deus adjuvet, hæc omnia illibata obſervabo fideliter, ſicut ſum homo, ſicut ſum Chriſtianus, ſicut ſum miles, & ſicut ſum Rex Coronatus & Inunctus, &c. *M. Paris.* p. 580. Idem Rex, conſiliis malignorum præventus, eaſdem infringendo contra venire non formidavit, credens pro munere abſolvi à trangreſſione. p. 597.

In

In the next year a *Parliament* is called, which yeilds nothing but grievous Complaints for breach of *M. Charta*, and Promiſes of ſupply provided it may be again confirmed, and the electing the *Juſticiar*, the *Chancellor*, and *Treaſurer* put into their hands; to which the *King* would not yield: But though the *King* would not obſerve it, *M. Paris* ſaith, *It was cryed in all Countries, and denounced in all Synods, Churches, and publick reſort, that* M. Charta *ſhould be inviolably obſerved. and the ſentence of Excommunication is denounced againſt all the violaters of it.* Page 608.

Diebus autem iſtis acclamatum eſt in comitatibus, & annunciatum eſt in Synodis, in Eccleſiis, & ubicunq; locorum homines convenerant, ut M. Charta inviolabiliter teneretur, quam R. Johannes conceſſerat, & iſte Rex præſens multoties conceſſit; & lata eſt ſententia ſolenniter in omnes ejuſdem violatores. *Ibid.* p. 609.

In the Year 1256. Proviſion is again made *ſub pœna horribilis Anathematis, under the penalty of an horrible Anathema,* that *the* M. Charta *of King* John *ſhould be obſerved.* Page 619.

In the Year 1257. The *King* requeſts an Aid for his Son *Edmund*, for the acquiring the *Kingdom* of *Sicily*, and after many excuſes, *upon condition that the King would obſerve* M. Charta *ſo often promiſed, and bought, they tender* 52000. *Marks, with which the King was not ſatisfied.*

Et tamen conditione additâ, ut M. Chartam, toties promiſſam, emptam, & redemptam, ex tunc inviolabiliter obſervaret, *&c.* p. 637.

In the Year 1258. was held the *Parliament* at *Oxford* where the *Nobles enter into an unchangeable*

Parliamento incipiente, ſolidabatur Magnatum propoſitum & conſilium immutabile, exigendo conſtantiſſimè ut Dominus Rex Chartam Libertatum Angliæ, quam Johannes Rex Anglis conceſſit—fideliter teneat, & conſervet——exigebant inſuper ſibi fieri Juſticiarum, &c.——Quod Rex recognoſcens, graviter juravit conſiliis eorum obſecundare, & Edvardus filius ejus eodem eſt juramento adſtrictus. p. 653.

League to require that the King ſhould faithfully obſerve the Charter of King John, *which he had ſo often ſwore to perform, they require alſo the chief Juſticiar, Chancellor, and Treaſurer to be ordained by publick choice, and the twenty four Conſervators of the Kingdom to be confirmed, twelve by the Election of the Lords, and twelve by the King, who ſwears to the confirmation of theſe things, and cauſes the Prince to take the ſame Oath.* Walſingham adds, *that all after him did ſwear almoſt the ſame thing.*

Rex coactus eſt corporale præſtare Sacramentum, cum omnibus ferè poſt jurantibus illud idem. *Hyp. Neuſtr.* p. 467.

Rogabant humiliter ut communiter præſtitum juramentum inviolabiliter obſervare vellet. *Contin.* M. Par. p. 567.

But notwithſtanding this, the *King* gets an abſolution from his Oath of the *Pope*. Of this the *Barons* hearing, *humbly beſeech him to perform the Oath publickly ſworn*; but the *King* anſwering them with threats, the buſineſs is deferred till the coming of *Prince Edward*; who coming, ſides with the *Barons*, according to his Oath, and a League is made betwixt them to apprehend the *King's Evil Counſellors*, and their *Abettors*, and to endeavour to remove them from the *King*.

Ibid.

Hoc excepto, quod Antiquæ Chartæ R. Johannis Angliæ Univerſitati conceſſæ, per illam ſententiam in nullo intendebat penitùs derogare. p. 668.

In the Year 1263. The conteſt betwixt the *King*, and the *Barons* is referred to the mediation of the *French King*, who annuls the *proviſions* of *Oxford*, but with this exception, That *the Ancient Charter of King* John, *granted to the Community, ſhould in nothing be thereby impaired.*

Then

Then began the *Barons* Wars under *Simon of Monfort*, who ſucceeded ſo far in them, as to take the *King* and his Son *Priſoners*. But afterwards the *Prince* eſcaping out of Priſon, fights with *Simon*, and overthrows him at *Eveſham*, where he was ſlain.

And here it is to be obſerved, that none of the *Hiſtorians* of thoſe times will permit this *Simon* to be called a *Rebel*, or a *Traitor*, but they ſtill repreſent him as *a moſt devout ſervant of God and the Church, and a moſt faithfull Protector, Shield, and Defender of the Kingdom of* England, and even a *Martyr* for the *Liberties* of *Church*, and *State*.

Sciendum, quod nemo ſani capitis debet cenſere, neq; appellare Simonem nomine Proditoris; non enim fuit Proditor, ſed Dei Eccleſiæ in Anglia devotiſſimus Cultor, & fideliſſimus Protector, Regni Anglorum Scutum & Defenſor. *Chron. de Mailr. p.* 228.

After the end of theſe Wars, in the Year 1269. the *King* calls a *Parliament* to be held at *Marlborough*, where the *Statutes* called *the Statutes of Marlborough* were Enacted, in the *Fifth Chapter* of which it is decreed, That *the Great Charter, and the Charter* de Foreſta *ſhall be obſerved in all their Articles, both concerning the the King, and his Subjects*. And here, ſaith the *Lord Coke*, it is to be obſerved, that *after this Parliament neither* M. Charta, *nor* Charta de Foreſta *was ever attempted to be impugned, or queſtioned, whereupon Peace and Tranquillity have ever ſince enſued*.

M. Par. *Cont.* p. 677.

Magna Charta in ſingulis ſuis Articulis teneatur, tam in his quæ ad Regem pertinent, quàm quæ ad alios: Similiter Charta de Foreſta.

Inſt. l. 2. p. 102.

Edward

Edward the *Firſt*, in the twenty fifth year of his *Reign*, confirms the ſaid *Charters* of the Liberties of *England*, and of the *Foreſt*, and declares 'they 'are to be holden for Common Law, requires that 'they ſhould be held in every point, that they ſhould 'be ſent under the Great Seal, to all his *Juſtices*, 'as well of the *Foreſt* as others, proclaimed by the 'Sheriff of the *County*; and that all *Juſtices*, *Sheriffs*, 'Mayors, and other *Miniſters*, which under the 'King had the Laws to guide them, ſhould allow 'the ſaid *Charters* in all their points, which in any 'Plea ſhall come before them in Judgment, and that 'the ſaid *Charters* ſhould be ſent to all the *Cathedrals* 'within the *Realm*: and ſhould be read twice a 'year before the People, and that the *Arch Biſhops*, 'and *Biſhops*, ſhould denounce the Sentence of 'Excommunication againſt all them who, in Word, 'or Deed, did act againſt the ſaid *Charters*, and theſe 'Sentences ſhall be pronounced, and publiſhed 'twice in the year by the ſaid *Prelates*.

Confirm. Chart. c. 1.

Chap. 3.

Chap. 4.

And becauſe, in the *ſixth Chapter* of the ſaid Act, there was added this clauſe, *Saves les auncient aides & priſes, dues & accuſtomes*, which gave ſome colour for the *King's Officers* to make an Evaſion, the *Lords* of *Parliament*, met in the *twenty eighth year* of his *Reign*, do importune the *King* again to confirm the ſaid *Charters*, which he promiſed to doe; but when it came to be ſet down in form of an Act, the *King* would have added, *A ſaving of the Right of his Crown*, which the *Lords* did mainly inveigh againſt, and preſſed the *King* with his promiſe to confirm

confirm them as abſolutely as his *Father Henry* 3. had done; which, in the end, he yeilded to, as appears by the *Act*, called *Articuli ſuper Chartas*, where theſe *Charters* are again confirmed; and 'tis provided that they ſhall be read *four times every year before the People in every County after the Feaſt of St.* Michael, *and after the Feaſt of the Nativity of our Saviour, after* Eaſter, *and after the Nativity of St.* John *the* Baptiſt. Chap. 1.

When the *King* had ended his Wars in *Scotland*, he refuſed to ſtand to the confirmation which he had made to his *Barons*, of ſuch Laws and Liberties as he before had granted, pretending that they had forced his conſent, *and he obtained of the Pope an abſolution from the Oath which he unwillingly had taken to obſerve them.* But when great murmuring, and diſcontent followed hereupon, and for his levying Taxes without conſent of *Parliament*, in his *thirty fourth year* he makes *the Statute de Tallagio non concedendo*, for the quieting of the *Commons*, and for a perpetual Law for ever after; declaring, That no Aid or Taxes ſhall from thence-'forth be levied without their conſent, and ma-'king a general reſtitution to the Subjects of all 'their Laws, Liberties, and free Cuſtomes, as freely, 'and wholly, as at any time before in the better 'and fuller manner they uſed to have the ſame; and 'and ſo ended all the diſputes touching theſe *Char-'ters.*

Obtinuit Rex à Domino Papa abſolutionem à juramento, quod invitus præſtiterat ſuper obſervantia Libertatum alias à Comitibus & Baronibus exactarum. *Walſingh. p.* 92.

Walſingham

Page 71, 72. *Walſingham* ſaith, that *the Grievances which the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Abbats, Priors, Earls, and Barons, with the whole Commonalty, remonſtrated to the King were theſe,* viz.

Firſt, *That they were not dealt with according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Land, according to which their Anceſtors uſed to be governed.*

Secondly, *That the Articles of* M. Charta *were neglected, to the great damage of the whole Community.*

Thirdly, *That the Aſſize, and Charter of the Foreſt was not obſerved*; and then he adds, that *the Nobles would conſent to no other form of Peace with the King, than that which he eſtabliſhed in the Statute, de Tallagio non concedendo,* and which I have now ſet down.

There is one thing more very obſervable in the Reign of that *King*, that when the *Pope* had ſummoned him before him to anſwer touching his Right to the *Kingdom* of *Scotland*, a *Parliament* then held at *Lincoln*, anſwer the *Pope* thus, That *their King ſhould not anſwer judicially before the Pope, nor undergo his Judgment for his Rights of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *or any other Temporal Rights,*

Papa R. Edvardum primum in judicium vocante, reſpondet Parliamentum Lincolniæ habitum, quod præfatus Dominus noſter Rex, ſuper juribus Regni Scotiæ, aut aliis ſuis temporalibus, nullatenus reſpondeat judicialiter coram vobis, nec judicium ſubeat quoquomodo — cùm præmiſſa caderent manifeſtè in exhæredationem juris

becauſe

becauſe this manifeſtly tended to the diſinheriſon of the ſaid Crown, and the R. Dignity, and the ſubverſion of the ſaid Kingdom, and of the Liberties, Cuſtoms, and Paternal Laws, to the defence of which they were by their Oath obliged, and with their whole power would defend; and were the King never ſo willing, they, as they ought not, ſo they would not permit the King to attempt the Premiſes. When *King Richard* the *Second* asked of Sir *Robert Triſilian*, and his other *Lawyers, whether he might not Diſannul the Decrees of the laſt Parliament*, and they had anſwered that *he might, BECAUSE HE WAS ABOVE THE LAWS*, as one of them confeſſed, *he deſerved death for that Anſwer*, ſo all them, that could be caught, ſoon after found it.

Coronæ Regni Angliæ, & R. Dignitatis, ac ſubverſionem Statûs ejuſdem Regni notoriam, necnon in præjudicium Libertatis, Conſuetudinum, & Legum paternarum ad quarum obſervationem, & defenſionem, ex debito præſtiti juramenti, adſtringimur, & quæ manu tenebimus toto poſſe, & totis viribus, cum Dei auxilio, defendemus; nec etiam permittimus, aut aliqualiter permittemus, ſicut nec poſſumus nec debemus, præmiſſa tam inſolita, indebita, præjudicialia, & alias inaudita, prælibatum Dominum. Noſtrum Regem, etiamſi vellet, facere, ſeu modo quolibet attemptare. Walſingh. *Hiſt.* p. 85. *Hyped. Neuſtr.* p. 496. Speed p. 731

Farthermore, Let it be obſerved, that the *Nobility* of *England*, as the *Lord Coke* obſerves, *have ever had the Laws of* England *in great Eſtimation and Reverence, and would never ſuffer them to be changed.* This made *King Henry* the *Firſt*, ſaith he, to write to *Pope Paſchal* thus: *Let your Holineſs know, that, by the help of God, whilſt I live, the*

Inſtit. l. 2. p. 97.

Notum habeat Sanctitas veſtra, quod, me vivente, auxiliante Deo, Dignitates & Uſus Regni noſtri Angliæ non imminuentur; & ſi ego, quod abſit, in tanta dejectione me ponerem, Optimates mei, & totus Angliæ populus, id nullo modo pateretur. *Charta* Henr. *primi.*

Dignities, and Customs of our Kingdom of England *shall not be diminished; and if I, which God forbid, should so far deject my self, my Nobles, and all the people of* England *would never suffer them to be altered.*

When the *Bishops*, in the twentieth year of *Henry* the *Third*, would have *those Children who were born before Matrimony Legitimate, as to Hereditary Succession, as well as those who were born after Matrimony*, all the *Earls* and *Barons* answer with one voice, *We will not have the Laws of* England, *which have hitherto been used and approved, to be changed.*

Et omnes Comites & Barones unâ voce respondêrunt, quod nolunt Leges Angliæ mutare quæ hucsque usitatæ & approbatæ sunt. *Stat.* Mert. c. 9. Bracton. *l.* 5. *c.* 19. *F.* 417.

In the *Letters* which all the *Nobility* of *England*, by Ascent of the whole *Commonalty*, assembled in *Parliament* at *Lincoln*, wrote to *Pope Boniface*, we find these words. *By virtue of our Oath we are bound to the Observation and Defence of the Liberties, Customs, and Paternal Laws, which by the help of God we will defend with our whole Power; nor do we, nor will we permit our Lord the King, though he were willing, to attempt things so unusual, undue, and prejudicial to the Royal Dignity*: and this was Sealed by 104 *Earls*, and *Barons* in the name of all the *Commonalty* of *England*.

Ad Observationem & Defensionem Libertatum, consuetudinum, & Legum paternarum, ex debito præstiti Sacramenti adstringimur, quæ manu tenebimus toto posse, totisq; viribus, cum Dei auxilio defendemus, nec etiam permittimus, nec aliquatenus permittemus, sicut nec possumus, nec debemus, præmissa tam insolita, indebita, præjudicialia, & aliàs inaudita, Dominum nostrum Regem, etiamsi vellet, facere, seu quomodolibet attemptare. *Rot. Parl.* 28, Ed. I, *apud* Lincoln.

What

What they affirm touching their Oaths to defend their Laws, is an unqueſtionable truth; for beſides what hath been noted of this kind allready, in the twenty fifth year of this King, it was eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, that if any Statute were made contrary to *Magna Charta*, or *Charta de Foreſtis*, it ſhould be holden for none; and the Nobles, and the great Officers were ſworn to the Obſervation of them: Yea, by the Royal Command of *Henry* the *Third*, Oaths were taken to tye all men to the ſtrict Obſervation of them.

25. *Ed.* 1. *c.* 3. 42. *Ed.* 3. *c.* 1.

Speed p. 583.

SECT. IV.

That we find throughout the Hiſtory of our Kings, that their Election, or elſe their Compact with the People, hath generally been conceived a thing proper to ſtrengthen their Title to the Crown, or at the leaſt to ſatisfie their People.

4*ly*, IT may be farther worthy of our conſideration, that we find throughout the *Hiſtory* of our *Kings* that their *Election*, or elſe their Compact with the people, hath generally been looked on, as a thing proper to ſtrengthen their Title to the *Crown*, or at the leaſt to ſatisfie the People. For inſtance,

Dunelm. *p.* 195. Hoved. *F.* 258. Ab omnibus tam Normannorum, quam Anglorum Proceribus Rex eſt electus.

First, Of the *Conqueror S. Dunelmenſis*, and *Hoveden* inform us, that *Fœdus pepigit, he made a Covenant with the people*: *Gulielmus Gemiticenſis*, and *Walſingham*, ſay, that *he was choſen King by all the Nobles of* England *and* Normandy.

Gemit. *de Ducibus* Norm. l. 6. c. 37. Walſing. *Hypod. Neuſt.* p. 436.

Daniel *p.* 52. Polyd. Virg. *Hiſt. l.* 10. *p.* 164. Volentibus omnium provincialium animis in Regem acceptus. M. Par. *p.* 10. *Chron.* Joh. Brompt. *p.* 983, 984.

Secondly, *William* the *Second* held the poſſeſſion of the *Crown* of *England by the Will of the Kingdom, the Succeſſion in Right of Primogeniture being none of his.* The *Hiſtorians* ſay, that *the Nobles met in Council at* Weſtminſter, *and after long Conſultation made him King*; that *by the willing minds of all he was accepted for their King*, and the *King* himſelf declares, *quod ipſum in Regem creaverant*, that they had created him King.

Thirdly, *Henry* the *Firſt* was inveſted in the *Crown* by the Act of the Kingdom. The *Hiſtorians* tell us that *a Council of the whole Community rejected* Robert, *the eldeſt Son of the Conqueror, and would not have him for their King*; *but with unanimous conſent, they advanced his Brother* Henry *to the Kingdom, who was by all Elected, and Conſecrated King at* Weſtminſter, *after the death of* William Rufus, *as being the firſt born of the Conqueror, after he was King of* England. *William* of *Malmsbury* ſaith, *he was Conſecrated within four days after his Brother's death, leſt the Rumour of* Robert's *coming to* England,

Unanimi aſcenſu ſuo ipſum refutavêrunt, & pro Rege omninò recuſavêrunt, & Henricum fratrem in Regem erexêrunt, Knyght. *de Event.* Angl. *p.* 2374. In Regem electus eſt frater ejus Henricus, & conſecratus eſt Rex Angl. M. Weſtm. *Hiſt. p.* 235. In Regem electus eſt, aliquantis tamen controverſiis inter Proceres excitatis, & Sopitis. W. Malmsb. *l.* 5. *F.* 88. J. Brompt. *Chron. p.* 997. Walſing. *Hypod. Neuſt. p.* 446. Rich. Hagulſt. *p.* 310.

Ne mentes Procerum electionis quaſſarentur pœnitudine, *F.* 88.

gland, *ſhould move the Nobles to repent of their Election:* And in his *Charters*, the *King* himſelf writes thus; *Know you that I was Crowned King of* England *by the Common Council of the Barons of the Kingdom:* And 'tis obſervable, that his Elder Brother *Robert* being abſent at the Holy Wars, they choſe *Henry* King, *becauſe they were affraid to be long without Government.*

Sciatis me Dei miſericordiâ, & communi conſilio Baronum Regni Angliæ, ejuſdem Regni Regem eſſe coronatum. M. Paris, *pag.* 38.

Fourthly, *Florence* of *Worceſter*, *William* of *Malmsbury*, *R. Hoveden*, and *R. Hagulſtadenſis*, do expreſsly ſay, that *Stephen was choſen King by the Primates of the Kingdom, with the favour of the Clergy, and Laity*; and that he took upon him the Kingdom *with their General conſent*; and his own *Charters* ſay the ſame thing, as they had reaſon to do, *he having no Title at all, but as one of the Bloud, by mere Election advanced to the Crown.*

A Primoribus Regni, cum favore Cleri & Populi, electus. R. Hagulſt. *p.* 312. Flor. Wigorn. *p.* 665. Hoved. *F.* 215. Malmsb. *F.* 101. *B.*

Aſcenſu Populi & Cleri in Regem electus. Malmsb *Hiſt. Nov. l.* 1. *F.* 101. B. R. Hagulſt. *p.* 314.

Daniel, p. 69.

Fifthly, *Radulphus de Diceto*, Saith of *Henry* the *Second*, That *he was Elected by all, and annointed by* Theobald, *Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury.

Ab omnibus electus. *p.* 529.

Sixthly, And of *Richard* the *Firſt* he ſaith, That *being to be promoted to be King by right of Succeſſion, after the ſolemn and due Election, both of the Clergy, and Laity, he took a Threefold Oath. Hoveden* adds, that *he was Conſecrated, and Crowned King of* England, conſilio & aſſenſu, *by the Council and aſſent of the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Counts, and Barons.*

Poſt tum Cleri & Populi Solennem & debitam Electionem. *p.* 647. *F.* 374.

Seventhly,

p. 127. Archiepiscopus dixit, quod nullus prævia ratione alij succedere habet Regnum, nisi ab universitate Regni unanimiter, Spiritus Sancti invocata gratia, electus, & secundùm morum eminentiam prælectus, omnes hoc acceptabant, ipsumq; Comitem in Regem eligentes, & assumentes, exclamant, dicentes, Vivat Rex. Matth. Paris, p. 138.

Seventhly, King *John* received the *Crown* by way of Election; *as being chosen by the States*, saith *Daniel*. *Matthew Paris* saith, That *all consented to the Speech of the Arch-Bishop, that none ought to Succeed another in the Kingdom, unless he were elected by the Community, and thereupon they elected the Count, and took him for their King.*

In Regem eligitur. p. 474.

Eightly, The *History* of *Croyland* saith, That *after the death of King* John, Henry, *his first born, was elected King.*

Non tam jure hæreditario quam unanimi assensu Procerum, & Magnatum. Edward Franc. *An.* 1602. p. 95.

Ninthly, *The Succession of* Edward *the* Second, saith *Walsingam, Was not so much by right of Inheritance, as by the unanimous consent of the Peers, and great Men.*

Walsing. *Hist.* Angl. p. 126. *Hypod. Neust.* p. 508. 509. H. *de* Knyghton, p. 2550.

Tenthly, *Edward* the *Third* was elected *with the Universal consent of the People upon his Father's Resignation:* The *Parliament* then met at *London*, declared *by common consent*, That *Edward* the *Second* was unworthy of the *Crown*, and for many Causes to be deposed, and that his first born Son *Edward* should unanimously be chosen *King*; then the Election is publickly declared in *Westminster-hall*, some of both Houses are sent to *Edward* the *Second*, *qui nunciarent Electionem filij sui, who should acquaint him with the Election of his Son, and require him to resign the Crown*; Electioni consensit populus universus,

verſus, *all the people conſented to the Election*; ſo did *all the Prelates, and the Arch-Biſhop, who made an Oration on thoſe words,* Vox populi vox Dei, *and exhorted all to pray for the King Elect.*

Eleventhly, *Richard* the *Second* ſucceeded *Edward* by right of Succeſſion, ac etiam voto communi ſingulorum, *and by the Common ſuffrage of all.* H. *de* Knyght, *p.* 2630.

Twelfthly, *Henry* the *Fourth, Fifth,* and *Sixth* were only *Kings* by Act of *Parliament.*

Thirteenthly, *Edward* the *Fourth,* at his entrance on the Government, makes a ſolemn Declaration of his Right to the Crown of *England,* challenging it to belong unto him by a double Right, the firſt *as Son and Heir to* Richard *Duke of* York, *the Rightfull Heir of the ſame*; the ſecond *as elected by the Authority of the Parliament, upon King* Henry's *forfeit of it.* Truſſel. 179.

Fourteenthly, The *Parliament Roll* publiſhed in *Speed's Chronicle* often ſaith, That *they had choſen* Richard *the* Third *for their King, and that the Crown belonged to him as well by Election as Succeſſion.* *p.* 913, 914.

Fifthteenthly, And *Henry* the *Seventh,* to all his other Titles *by Marriage, Conqueſt, and from the Houſe of* Lancaſter, adds that of *the Authority of Parliament.* Bacon. *Hiſt. of Hen. VII. p.* 12.

SECT.

SECT. V.

That we find mention in History of divers Acts of Parliament, or of the Nobles of the Kingdom, continuing the Name and Honour of a King to him, who, by their own confession, had not the immediate Title to the Kingdom, and only Proclaiming him, who had the Right by Proximity of Bloud, Heir Apparent to the Crown.

5*ly*, MOreover we read of divers Acts of *Parliament*, or of the *Nobles* of the *Kingdom*, continuing the Name and Honour of a *King* to him, who, by their own Confession, had not the just Title, and only Proclaiming him, who had the Right by *proximity of Bloud*, *Heir apparent* to the *Crown*: For instance,

The Contest betwixt *Robert* the Eldest Son of the *Conquerour*, and *William Rufus* his younger Brother, ended thus, That *if* Robert *dyed without a Lawfull Son*, *King* William *should be his Heir, and if King* William *dyed without issue*, Robert *should be his Heir*; *and this was Sworn to by twelve Barons of each side.*

Ad hæc etiam inter se constituerunt, ut si comes absq; filio legali in Matrimonio genito moreretur, hæres ejus esset Rex; modoq; per omnia simili, si Regi contigisset mori, hæres illius fieret Comes, hanc conventionem, 12 ex parte Regis, & 12 ex parte Comitis Barones Juramento firmavêrunt. Flor Wigorn. *p.* 644.

In

In the conteſt betwixt the ſame *Robert*, and his younger Brother *Henry*, the *Princes*, ſay ſome of our *Hiſtorians*, *the wiſe men of our Kingdom*, ſay others, *made a Mutual, and general League of Concord, by their Pious, and Wiſe Council*; *That* Henry *the* Firſt, *being inveſted with the Crown by Act of the Kingdom, ſhould enjoy the ſame during life, and that by reaſon of the manifeſt Right which* Robert *had to the Kingdom*; Henry *ſhould pay him* 3000 *Marks yearly, and that the longeſt liver ſhould be Heir to the other, if he died without a Son*; by which Acts, if *William Rufus*, or *Henry* had Sons, they were to Reign, though the manifeſt Right was in *Robert*, and his *Heirs*.

Principes, M. Paris, *p.* 40. Hen. Hunting. *F.* 216. *B.* Joh. Bromp. *p.* 998.

Sapientiores utriuſq; partis, Dunelm. *p.* 226. Flor. Wigorn. *f.* 650. R. Hoveden, *F.* 268. *B.* Daniel *p.* 61.

Amici utriuſq; fœdus inter eos ſtatuerunt ſic, quod Rex propter manifeſtum jus quod habuit ad Regnum poſſidendum, Roberto ſingulis Annis tria millia Marcarum Argenti daret ab Anglia, & quis eorum diutius viveret, Hæres eſſet alterius, ſi abſq; filio moreretur. M. Weſtm. *p.* 236. Henr. Huntingd. *Hiſt. l.* 7. *F.* 216. *B.* M. Par. *p.* 40.

And here it is obſervable, that though the greateſt part of the *Nobles* did upon ſome diſlike to *Rufus*, to whom they had ſworn Allegiance, favour his Brother *Robert*, *deſiring to advance him to the Kingdom, and to deſtroy* William, *or deliver him alive to his Brother*; yet do all our *Hiſtorians* declare, that they who ſided with *William*, *were faithfull to their Earthly Lord*, and the other party were *Traiterous*, *Perfidious*, and *Perjured Perſons*, and that the thing it ſelf was *an execrable fact*.

Maxima pars Nobiliorum Normannorum favebat Roberto, cupiens hunc ſibi aſciſcere in Regem, fratremq; aut fratri tradere vivum, aut Regno privare peremptum; hujus execrandæ rei principes extitêre Odo, &c. hoc execrabile factum clam tractaverunt in quadrageſima. Florent *p.* 642. Dunelm. *A. D.* 1088. Hoved. *par.* 1. *F.* 264. Radulph. *de* Diceto *p.* 489. Proditores vocat H. Huntingd. *Hiſt. l.* 7. *F.* 213. Perfides, W. Malmsb. *Hiſt. l.* 4. *F.* 68. Conjurationis & perfidiæ Socios. Florent. *p.* 643. Perjurij Reos, Matth. Paris, *f.* 10.

L. 5. de Henr. primo. F. 88.

And in like manner they who ſtood for *Henry* againſt the ſame *Robert*, who had manifeſt right, are ſaid by *W.* of *Malmsbury*, juſtas partes fovere, *to be of the right ſide*, and they who fought againſt him, to be *fidei Regi juratæ transfugæ*, violaters of their Oath, and yet this *Henry* was advanced to the Throne, not becauſe he had Right during the life of his Elder Brother; but becauſe *Robert* being gone to the Wars at *Jeruſalem*, *they knew not what was become of him, and were affraid to be long without Government.*

Quia ignorabant quid actum eſſet de Roberto fratre primogenito, & timuerunt diu ſine Regimine vacillare. Matth. Paris p. 38.

But to proceed to other inſtances of this Nature from *Hiſtory*. In the conteſt between King *Stephen*, and *Henry* Duke of *Normandy*, the Son of the Empreſs *Maud*, and the Right Heir of the Crown, *Theobald* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Henry* Biſhop of *Winton*, made peace betwixt them upon theſe conditions; That *King* Stephen *from that time, ſhould entirely enjoy the Kingdom, as lawfull Prince, with the Glory and Honour of it, and* Henry *ſhould ſucceed him in the Kingdom as lawfull Heir.* This peace was thus made, *by the Counſel of the Wiſe Men, and the intervention of the Nobles, and Friends of both parties, and was declar'd to be honeſt and profitable*, and ſaith *M. Paris*, *it was concluded in a publick Convention of the Biſhops, and Nobles of the Kingdom.*

Rich. Hagulſt. p. 330. H. Huntind. l. 8. F. 228. Joh. Brompt. Chron. p. 1097. Gervaſ. Chron. p. 1375. Chron. de Mailros. p. 167.

R. Stephanus Ducem Hen. cognovit in conventu Epiſcoporum, & aliorum Regni Optimatum, quod jus Hereditarium in Regnum Angliæ habebat, & Dux benigne conceſſit, ut R. Stephanus tota vita ſua, ſi vellet, Regnum pacifice poſſideret. M. Paris p. 61. M. Weſtm. p. 246.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, Thus was it alſo in the Caſe of *Richard* Duke of *York*, and *Henry* the *Sixth*, for though *Richard* was the Right Heir to the Kingdom; yet the *Parliament*, held *A. D.* 1460. decreed that *Henry the Sixth ſhould reign, and be King during his Life, and that the remainder ſhould reſt in* Richard *Duke of* York, *and the lawfull Heirs of his Body, in general tail.* Speed. p. 846.

Quod Dux & filij ſui, Edvardus Comes Marchiæ, & Edmundus Comes Rutlandiæ, qui ambo diſcretionis annos attigerant, jurarent ipſi Regi fidelitatem, quodque ipſum recognoſcerent eorum Regem quamdiu ageret in humanis, id enim Parliamentum ipſum decreverat, addendo, de ipſius Regis conſenſu, quod quamprimum Rex ipſe in fata deceſſerit, licebit dicto Duci ſuiſque Hæredibus coronam Angliæ vendicare, & poſſidere. *Hiſt. Caryl.* Ed. Oxon. p. 550.

SECT. VI.

The Inferences from the Reſolutions of the beſt Caſuiſts, to prove that the Oath of Allegiance, *and of the Coronation, are reciprocal; and conſequently that the obligation of the Oath of* Allegiance *doth ceaſe, when the Original Compact is Fundamentally violated.*

NOw the Inferences which naturally flow from this *Hiſtorical* Account of the *Kings* of *England*, and their *Government*, are theſe:

Firſt, That the *Kings* of *England* were *Kings* by virtue of an *Original Compact*, made between them

and the People; this is apparent by the Contract made by the *Conquerour* with the *Barons*, and the *Nobility*, and *Commonalty* of *England*; and the ſo frequent repetition of that, or a like Contract by the following *Princes* of this Realm, by the Oaths they took at their Coronation, to preſerve to the People their *Ancient Rights, and Liberties*, their *Original Cuſtoms and Laws*; and by the continual claim the people made to the Laws of their *Country*, the Laws of *King Edward*, and the *Magna Charta* as their Right.

Chap. 9. 13. Accordingly the *Lord Chancellour Forteſcue*, having declared that our *Kings are Political Kings, who received their Power from the People*; he adds, Chap. 14. p. 34. That, non alio pacto, *by no other Contract did ever any Nation willingly incorporate it ſelf into a Kingdom; but that they by that means might more ſafely than before enjoy Themſelves, and their Goods, of which intent that Nation would be defrauded; if having thus ſubmitted to the Government of a King, he might ſpoil them of their Goods, which before it was not Lawfull for any man to do.*

Secondly, That this Compact was, That the *King* ſhould govern them according to the Tenor of ſuch *Ancient Laws*, and *Original Cuſtomes* as were received among them, according to *the Good, Approved, and Ancient Laws of the Kingdom*, ſaith *M. Paris, the Liberties in which the Nobles confided*, ſaith *M.* of *Weſtminſter*; *the Laws of their Country*, ſaith *W.* of *Malmsbury*; *the Laws of* King Edward, ſay the forementioned *Authours*; *the Proper Laws, and*

and Ancient Customs in which their Fathers lived, say *Hoveden,* and the *Chronicle of* Lichfield; *the Laws of* England, *the Ancient Laws of this Realm originally established,* say our *Statutes*; *the Laws of the Land, the good Laws of the Land,* saith the Oath of *Richard* the *Second*; *the Charters of the Liberties of* England, *the Common Liberty,* say the contenders for them with *King John* and *Henry* the *Third*; *the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom,* saith *King James*: Let it be observed, Stat. Merton. c. 9. 25. H. 8. c. 21.

First, Out of *Fortescue,* That *our Kings rule not by Royal only,* that is, Absolute, but by *Political Power*; and that therefore a *King of* England *cannot change the Laws of the Body, nor invade their Properties, but as they do consent,* that *he is advanced to the Throne for the safety of the Law, and his Subjects in their Goods, and Bodies, and derives even this Power from the People; and therefore cannot Lawfully Rule over them otherwise.* Ch. 9. p. 25, 26. Ch. 13. p. 32. Ch. 13. p. 32. c. 14. p. 34.

Secondly, That this is the difference betwixt a *King* Governing *Absolutely,* and by *Political Power,* that the *first can change the Laws of his Kingdom, impose Taxes, and other burthens without consent of his Subjects*; whereas a King who Rules *Politically* over his People *can neither change the Laws, without consent of his Subjects, nor charge them with strange impositions against their Wills*; That a *King* ruling only by Power *Royal* may easily become a Tyrant, but *whilst the Kingly Power is restrained by the Political Law,* he cannot govern his People *Tyrannically*: That the Contract made with a *King* governing F. 25. B. 26. A. F. 26. B.

F. 35. A.

ning *Abſolutely*, is, that *his Will ſhall be the Law*; whereas a *Political King* cannot govern his People by any other Power than that of the Laws.

And from theſe Principles it clearly follows, That a *King* Ruling Arbitrarily, and Fundamentally, overturning the Laws, is no ſuch *King* as our Conſtitution knows, or ever did admit of; That therefore no *Obedience*, or *Allegiance* can be due to him by Law, nor be intended in any *Legal Oath*, unleſs we can ſuppoſe men at the ſame time intended to preſerve their Conſtitution, and yet deſigned to engage themſelves, and others to be aſſiſtant to ſubvert it.

Thirdly, Let us conſider the Rules laid down by the exacteſt *Caſuiſts*, touching the Caſes in which the obligation of an Oath ceaſeth, and apply them to the preſent Caſe. Thus then they ſay:

Firſt, That *when the Matter of an Oath ceaſeth, the Obligation of it ceaſeth alſo*, and that *the Matter of it muſt then be judged to ceaſe, when the ſtate of things betwixt the time of Swearing, and of fulfilling the Oath, is ſo changed, that if it could have been foreſeen by him who took the Oath, at the time of his Swearing, he would not have taken the Oath. When the Root of the Obligation is taken away, the Obligation thence*

Tunc enim demùm materiam cenſendum eſt, cum rerum ſtatus inter tempus jurandi & tempus adimplendi, ita immutatus eſt, ut ſi quo tempore jurabatur, prævideri potuiſſet is qui poſtea inſecutus eſt rerum ſtatus, non omnino juraturus fuiſſet. Jung. *de Juramento Prael.* 7. §. 7.

Quia Radice obligationis ſublatâ, tollitur unà pullulans inde obligatio; fuit autem materia, quæ cauſam dedit jurationi, Radix ejus obligationis, quæ ea illa juratione inſecta eſt. *Ibid.*

ariſing

arising must be taken away with it; now that which gave the ground for taking the Oath, is the Root of the Obligation, which followed upon the Oath.

Among the conditions which are *de jure communi* to be understood in all Oaths, though they be not expressed; this, saith the *Reverend Bishop Sanderson*, and many of the *School-men*, is one, *viz. That things continue, and remain in the same state they were at the time of swearing; whence he that swore to restore a Sword, is not bound to do it to a mad-man; and he that swore to marry such a Woman, is not bound to do it, if he finds her afterwards with Child by another: these, and such like conditions, though they be not expressed, are to be understood in all Oaths; and he that should exclude any of them, would too rigidly interpret his Oath.*

Subingtelligendum quarto, rebus stantibus, i. e. si res in eodem statu permanserint quo nunc sunt, unde qui juravit reddere gladium, non tenetur reddere furioso, & qui juravit ducere aliquam uxorem, non tenetur ducere, si deprehendat eam esse ex alio viro gravidam: has, & ittiusmodi conditiones in omni juramento subintelligi fas est, etsi non exprimantur; & rigidus nimis esset juramenti Interpres qui istarum aliquam excluſum iret. *Prael.* 2. §. 10.

Secondly, *Amesius* adds, that *in an Oath all those conditions are to be understood, which by the received Customs and Manners of a Nation, are presumed to be conceived as conditions belonging to it.*

In Juramento subintelligi debent conditiones illæ, quæ ex more & consuetudine receptæ concipi præsumuntur ab iis ad quos juramentum spectat. *De Cas. Consc. l.* 4. *c.* 22.

And that *when the formal reason of an Oath is taken away, the Oath ceaseth*, and that *this is the Case*

Quum auferetur ratio formalis juramenti, juramentum cessat ratione eventûs, qui ejus est eorum qui jurârunt se obedituros domino aut principi alicui qui postea cessat esse talis. *Ibid.* § 36. Nec tenebitur, si cesset qualitas sub qua alicui juravit, ut si Magistratus desinat esse Magistratus. Grot. *de Jure Bel. & Pac. l.* 2. *c.* 13. §. 18.

of

of them who ſwear to a Prince, or to a Maſter, who after ceaſeth ſo to be.

Thirdly, The *Caſuiſts* farther tells us, that a *promiſſory Oath*, made purely on ſuch a Motive, and Foundation, ſuppoſeth the continuance of that Foundation, as the condition of its Obligation; and therefore ceaſeth to oblige, when he to whom, and for whoſe ſake it was made, tollit fundamentum illud quo nitebatur, *removes the Motive and Foundation of it.* For inſtance, *Chremes the Maſter ſwears he will give to* Soſia *ten Crowns* per annum, *and* Soſia *the Servant ſwears to ſerve him eight years, if* Soſia *will not ſerve him the third year,* Cremes *is not obliged to pay him ten Crowns at the years end; or if* Cremes *will not pay* Soſia *at the years end,* Soſia *is not bound to ſerve him eight years; becauſe this payment was the Sole foundation of* Soſia's *ſervice, this ſervice the Sole motive of* Chremes's *Oath.*

Saunderſ. *de juramento prælect.* 4. p. 99. Tombs *lect.* 18. p. 23.

Fourthly, They add, That without which it cannot in equity, and reaſon be ſuppoſed that any reaſonable man would, or any honeſt man ſhould take an Oath, muſt be ſuppoſed as a tacit condition in the taking of it; ſo that no perſon is to be ſuppoſed to ſwear to doe any thing, but with this proviſo, as far as it is conſiſtent with equity and juſtice: Thus though *Solomon* promiſed to his *Mother* not to ſay nay to her requeſt, yet when ſhe asked *Abiſhag* the *Shunamite*, to be given to Wife to *Adonijah*, becauſe the Marriage would have been inceſtuous, or would have given him a pretence

tence for diſturbing of the *Kingdom*, *Solomon* breaks his promiſe, and thereby ſhews that it was made with this proviſo; if I may ſafely and equitably do it. Hence they inſer that the Laws of Nature, and Self-Preſervation muſt give tacit limitations to our promiſſory Oaths, where they are general, and not expreſſive of Life and Death; becauſe we have an Obligation to them antecedent to all Oaths; nor can it rationally be ſuppoſed that a man would promiſe to ruine and deſtroy himſelf, where the publick good did not make it neceſſary ſo to doe.

If then the *Kings* of *England* be *Kings* by virtue of a Compact, originally made betwixt them, and the people; if the Tenor of that Compact be on the *King's* part, that he would *govern them according to the Tenor of their Ancient Laws, Liberties, Charters*, and *Cuſtoms*; or as the Coronation *Oath* now runs, that *he will confirm to the people of* England *the Laws and Cuſtoms to them granted by the Kings of* England; that *he will grant to hold, and keep the Laws, and rightfull Cuſtoms which the Commonalty of his Kingdom have, and to defend, and uphold them as much as in him lieth*; that *he will preſerve, and maintain to the Biſhops, and the Churches committed to their Charge, all Canonical Privileges, and due Law and Juſtice, and will be their Protector and Defender to his Power*, and this *Oath*, and *Compact* be on the part of the Subject the very ground for his entring into a Promiſe, and *Oath* of *Allegiance*, the very formal Reaſon of it, the Motive, and Foundation upon which it is built: When any

King of *England* afterward makes void his *Oath* by an entire virtual diſſolution of thoſe Laws he had by *Oath* engaged himſelf to keep and confirm, and plainly ſets himſelf to deſtroy that *Church* he ſwore to protect and defend, and to deny them all due Law and Juſtice; he ſeemeth by juſt conſequence to have made void the Motive, and Foundation of that *Allegiance* they ſwore to him.

Grotius informs us, that *the promiſe of a King to his Subjects gives them a right to the thing promiſed, that being the Nature of all Promiſes and Contracts*: And this it doth more certainly when it is only a promiſe of what was *originally* their Right confirmed by his *Oath*, and the very condition upon which they accepted of him or his *Progenitors* as their *Kings*, for as he rationally adds, *if a People make a King by ſuch Laws, they make void what he doth contrary to Law, becauſe as to ſuch things they have reſerved the Right unto themſelves*, or at the leaſt they have limitted his Right; but to what end is all this, if by their *Oath* of *Allegiance* afterwards they virtually diſannull that Right they had reſerved to themſelves, take off all limitations of the *King's* Right, and put it in his power to break all his promiſes without controll, by binding themſelves to the ſame *Allegiance* to him when he doth ſo, as when he ruleth them by Law, and obſerves his promiſes and contracts? If therefore that muſt be

Dicimus ergo ex promiſo & contractu Regis, quem cum ſubditis iniit, naſci veram & propriam obligationem quæ jus dat ipſis ſubditis, ea enim eſt & promiſſorum, & contractuum natura. *De jure Bel. & pacis, l.* 2. *c.* 14. §. 8.

Plane ſi populus Regem fecerit non pleno jure, ſed additis legibus, poterunt per eas leges contrarij actus irriti fieri aut omnino, aut ex parte, quia eatenus populus jus ſibi ſervavit. *Ibid.* §. 2.

be ſuppoſed as a tacit condition of an Oath without which it cannot in equity and reaſon be ſuppoſed that any reaſonable man would, or any honeſt man ſhould take an Oath; if it cannot rationally be ſuppoſed that any rational body would promiſe, or ſwear to ruine and deſtroy themſelves, their lives and fortunes, it cannot be ſuppoſed that they would conſent to ſuch an *Oath* of *Allegiance*, as doth entirely oblige them to ſuffer themſelves and their Conſtitution to be ruined; and to be aſſiſtant to it, and therefore the tacit condition of that Oath muſt be, provided that the Commands of their Superiour be according to Law, and he doth govern them by Law.

Again, if according to *Forteſcue* our *Kings* Rule not by *Abſolute*, but by *Political Power*, and therefore *cannot change their Laws*, or *invade the properties of the Subject* but by their conſent; if *he be advanced to the Throne for the ſafety of his Subjects in their goods and bodies*; if this be the difference betwixt an *abſolute*, and a *political King*, or *King* of *England*, that the Will of the firſt is his Law, but the Law is the Rule of the Will of the Second; the firſt can change the Laws of his Kingdom without the peoples conſent, the ſecond cannot; the firſt may eaſily be a *Tyrant*, the ſecond cannot govern his people *Tyrannically*; and if from hence it follows, that a *King* ruling Arbitrarily, and Fundamentally overturning the Laws, is no ſuch King as our Conſtitution owns, or ever did admit of; and therefore that no *Allegiance* can be due to him by Law whom the Law knows not, nor ever

did ſuppoſe, but rather always did exclude: Then he who, being a *Political King*, makes himſelf abſolute, requiring in one of his *Kingdoms* to be obeyed *without reſerve*, in another ſetting up *Governors* and *Viceroys* diſabled by Law to be ſo, in a third part of his *Dominions* virtually diſſolving all the Laws againſt *Popery*, by admitting a *Pope's Nuncio*, diſpenſing with the Laws, forbidding them the exerciſe of their *Religion*, and the taking upon them *Offices Civil* and *Military*, and by juſt conſequence, all the Laws of the *Kingdom*, by claiming an *unlimitted Power of Diſpenſing with them*: He who was entred into a League with a *Potent Monarch, to ſet up Popery and Arbitrary Power in* England; he who was bound by the *Principles* of his *Religion* to deſtroy the *Church* of *England*, and to give up *Proteſtants* to ſuffer the puniſhment decreed againſt *Hereticks* by the *Romiſh Church*, and had begun to diſſolve her *Colleges*, and ſilence her *Biſhops* by an *Illegal Arbitrary Commiſſion*, and was ſo wholly given up to the will of the *Jeſuits*, that nothing elſe could be expected from him, he certainly muſt be none of the *Kings* to which we ſwore *Allegiance*; and by refuſing to be a *political King*, the only *King* our Laws will own, he muſt have abſolved his Subjects from that *Allegiance* which is due only to ſuch a *King*: If *Rebus ſic ſtantibus* be, as the *Reverend Biſhop Sanderſon* ſaith, a condition of all Oaths; if the *matter of the Oath muſt be then judged to ceaſe when things ſo change, that if the change could have been foreſeen, the Oath would not have been taken*; then much more muſt the Obligation of it ceaſe, when ſo great a change is made as from a

political

political to an *abſolute King*, from a *King* ruling by Law, and protecting the *Church* to a *King* ruling againſt Law, and ſubverting the *Church* againſt both his Oath, and Law.

The ſame learned *Biſhop* ſaith, That *if a Soldier ſwears obedience to a General, or Commander of an Army, when he ceaſeth to be General, his Oath ceaſeth to oblige; and if a Father ſwear never to change his Will in which he hath made ſuch a Son his Heir, he is abſolved from that Oath, if his Son afterward endeavour to poiſon him, that an Oath to deliver a Sword binds not to deliver it to a mad man, who may* deſtroy himſelf or me with it: *And an Oath to marry a Woman binds not to do it, if ſhe prove with Child by another*; why therefore ſhould an Oath of *Allegiance* made to a *politick King*, ruling by Law, bind us to pay that *Allegiance* to a *King* thus ruling *Arbitrarily*; he ceaſing as much to be that *King* we ſwore to, as a *General* plainly going about to deſtroy his Army ceaſeth to be their *General*, and being as much different from his former ſelf, as a *Woman pregnant* from a *Virgin*; and as like to be pernicious to the Government, as a Son attempting to poiſon his *Father* would be to him, or a *Madman* to them who ſhould give him a Sword; and all this ſeems plainly to be contained in thoſe excellent words of *King James*, that *the King was lex loquens, after a ſort, binding himſelf by a double Oath to the Obſervation of the Fundamental Laws of his Kingdom, tacitly AS BI BEING A KING, and ſo bound*

Si quis ergo miles juret Obſequium belli Imperatori, finito demum bello, cum ipſe deſierit eſſe Imperator, non ultra tenetur ex juramento Obſequium ei præſtare; & ſi Pater aliquis juraret ſe Teſtamentum in quo filium inſtituiſſet Hæredem nunquam mutaturum, comperto tamen poſtea filium Hæredem inſtitutum Patri venenum miſcuiſſe, Pater non ultra tenetur juramento. *Præl.* 7. §. 7.

Fourth Speech at Witehall A D. 1609. p. 530, 531.

bound to protect as well the People, as the Laws of his Kingdom, and expreſly by his Oath at his Coronation, ſo as every juſt King in a ſetled Kingdom IS BOUND TO OBSERVE THAT PACTION MADE TO HIS PEOPLE BY HIS LAWS, *in framing his Government agreeably thereunto; and therefore a King Governing in a ſetled Kingdom* LEAVES TO BE KING, AND DEGENERATES INTO A TYRANT, *as ſoon as he leaves off to rule according to his Laws:—Therefore all Kings that are not Tyrants, or purjured, will be glad to bound themſelves within the Limits of their Laws, and they that perſuade them to the contrary are* VIPERS *and* PESTS, *both againſt them, and the Common-wealth.* Where it is granted,

1. That there be *Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.* And

2*ly.* That our *Kings*, even *by being Kings*, do *tacitly bind themſelves to protect the People, and the Laws of their Kingdoms.*

3*ly.* That the *King makes a Paction with his People by his Laws*, which Paction he is bound to obſerve. And,

4*ly.* That as ſoon as *he leaves off to rule according to his Laws, HE LAVES TO BE A KING*, and then certainly we muſt leave to be of right his Subjects, or to owe him *Allegience.* And though, even in this caſe I cannot yet approve of Subjects taking up *Offenſive* Arms againſt a *King* on this account, becauſe I know not what power of Avenging themſelves

themſelves they have, or how the Sword is put into their hands to doe it, nor who hath made them Judges in their own cauſe, yet if Providence is pleaſed to ſend a Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, another *Prince* to free us from a King who hath thus violated his Compact, and not only thus *leaves to be King*, but doth it alſo by deſerting us, and ſo far *abdicating the Government*, which is our preſent caſe; then I am apt to think we may honeſtly accept of this deliverance, as being formerly abſolved *de jure* from our *Allegiance* to ſuch a *King*.

And laſtly, let it be Obſerved that all our *Kings* if they were capable, were Crowned ſoon after their coming to the Throne, or the deceaſe of their *Predeceſſors*, the Ceremony till of late being only omitted in the caſe of *Henry* the *Sixth*, a Child of *nine months old*; that at their *Coronation* they generally took their Oaths to *preſerve their Peoples Rights and Liberties, and govern them by their Old and good Laws and Cuſtoms*; and that they received *Homage* of their Subjects at the ſame time. That the uſual cuſtom was, and ſtill is, firſt, That they take their *Coronation* Oath, and then the *Arch-Biſhop* ask the People *whether they be willing to ſubject themſelves, and pay their due Allegiance to a King ſo ſworn*; That if any of them at their *Coronation* refuſed to promiſe theſe things, they endeavoured *to hinder their Coronation* till they had ſatisfaction in that point; that ſometimes the *Biſhops*, before their *Coronation, acquaint the People with the Conſtitution of the King and Kingdom, how the King ſhould behave himſelf to them, and in what things*

they

they were to obey him, on which the practice of the *Bishops* in the case of *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foresis*, gives us a sufficient Comment, sometimes the *Arch-Bishop* at their *Coronation adjures them by God not to take the Crown upon them, unless they uprightly intended to Observe their Oaths.* Sometimes they promised *Homage* and *Allegiance* only *conditionally*, provided that their Laws might be granted, and that *the King would be true to his engagements*, as in the case of *Henry* the *first*, and of *King John.* Sometimes upon the attempts of their King's wholly to violate their *Rights*, Liberties, and Properties, they *give them back their Homage, and resign it to them, and declare themselves no longer obliged to it, nor guilty if they do not pay it*: So that if there were no such evidence of a contract as we have given, if the nature of a *Political Government* did not require, and suppose it, If * Sir *H. Spelman* had not so expressly said, that *the Oath of Allegiance is reciprocal betwixt King and Subject*, yet these things plainly seen to prove the Oath of *Allegiance* is, or was at least by our *Fore fathers* thought to be reciprocal and if so; then have the generallity of *Casuists* plainly determined, that it must cease on the one part, when the very substance of it is plainly and perseveringly violated on the other: For both * *Papists* and *Protestants* unanimously agree

Of *Hen.* 1 *M. Paris p.* 38. Sub tali igitur conventione i pradicti Comites & Barones juraverunt Johanni Duci Normanniæ fidelitatem & fideli servitium contra omnes homines. *Annal.* Mon Burton. *p.* 257. M. Paris *p.* 1,7.

* Ligantia est vinculum arctius inter subditum & Regem utrosq; invicem connectens, hunc ad protectionem & Justum Regimen, illum adtributæ & Justum Subjectionem. *Glossar.*

* Cum aliquid promissum est ob causam quæ subesse putabatur, & non subest, ut si juraveris te facturum aliquid eo quod beneficium aliquod te impetraturum sperabas, quod tamen non impetras, tunc ad implendum promissum non teneris, quia conditio illa tacitè in Juramento fuit incausa, si beneficium impetravero, conditione autem non impletâ, promissio ipsa, licet jurata, obligare cessat. Baldwin *de Cas. Conse. l.* 2. *c.* 9. *Cas.* 17. *Rivet explic.* [illegible] Tombs *Cas.* 18. *p.* 123, 124. *Bp.* Sanderson *de juram. prælect.* 4. § 8. *p.* 99.

in

in this, that when an Oath is reciprocal, or conditional, if one part break the Covenant, and violate the condition, the other is free from the Obligation of the Oath: For as a *conditional Propoſition*, ſay *Logicians*, *puts nothing in being*, but when the condition is put, it becomes abſolute; ſo a conditional Obligation becomes then only abſolute, when, and whilſt the condition is put, and therefore ceaſeth when it is removed. Beſides, the Engagement on the one ſide would not have been, without the engagement on the other; and therefore the performance of it muſt depend on the performance of the other. And 3ly, Otherwiſe theſe Oaths would ſerve only for a ſnare to honeſt men, as *v.g.* 'Put the caſe the Governors of two Ar-'mies mutually ſwear not to fight in ſo many days, 'if one party breaking his Oath, and fighting, the 'other be obliged by his Oath not to fight, it 'would be all one as if he had ſworn to deliver up 'himſelf, and his Army to be butchered; which is 'contrary to the law of Nature: So in like manner, if a *King* hath ſo far violated his Oath, as to ſet himſelf directly to overthrow thoſe Laws, and to deſtroy that *Church* he bound himſelf by Oath to defend; If he hath not only engaged himſelf in a *Religion*, which binds him upon pain of damnation to overthrow all the Laws made to keep it out, and to give up all his Subjects to ſuffer all the puniſhments decreed by the *Roman Church* againſt *Hereticks*, that is, *the loſs of Goods and Life*; If he hath entred into a League with another *potent Monarch to ſet up Popery, and Arbitary Government* in *England*, and yet his Subjects muſt be obliged

to bear Allegiance to him by virtue of their *Oaths*; then muſt they be enſnared ſo far by them, as to deliver up their Laws and *Church* to be deſtroyed, if not to aſſiſt their *Prince* in doing of it.

I am not ignorant that *Biſhop Sanderſon* puts the caſe thus, *A King one time ſwears ſimply, and without reſpect to the fidelity of his Subjects, to govern the Kingdom juſtly, and according to the Laws; the Subjects at another time ſimply, AND WITHOUT RESPECT TO THE PRINCE'S DUTI, ſwear to yield him due Fidelity and Obedience, they are both obliged faithfully to doe what is their duty, though the other party fail of his; ſo that neither is the King abſolved from his Oath, if the Subjects do not yield him their due obedience, nor are the Subjects abſolved from their duty, though the King deviate from the way of Juſtice.* By this deciſion I was a long time diverted from ever thinking that the Oath of *Allegiance* was Reciprocal, or made by the Subject with reſpect to the Duty, or the Oath of the *King*, or the nature of our *Kingly Government*, though upon peruſal of our *Hiſtories* I find that all our *Anceſtors* thought otherwiſe, or at leaſt acted as if they really believed the Oath was reciprocal, and made with reſpect to the Obligation which was upon their *Sovereign, tacitly as by being a King, and expreſly by his Oath at his Coronation, to protect as well as the People as* the

Rex aliquis ſimpliciter, & citra reſpectum ad fidelitatem ſubditorum, jurat ſe Regnum adminiſtraturum juſtè, & ſecundùm Leges, ſubdui alio tempore ſimpliciter, & citra reſpectùm ad Principis Officium, jurant ſe ei debitam fidelitatem, & obedientiam præſtituros, utriq; obligantur quod ſui eſt Officii fideliter facere, etſi defecerit altera pars à ſuo Officio, ita ut neq; Rex ſolutus ſit ſuo juramento, ſi ſubditi debitum Obſequium non præſtiterent, nec ſubditi ſuo, ſi Rex à juſtitiæ tramite deflexerit. *De juramento præl.* 4. §. 8. *p.* 100.

the Laws of the Kingdom. Nor is there any thing in theſe words, beſides the *Authority* of that great man, to ſhew the contrary. For,

1. When the *King* ſwears to protect his People, this ſure doth not oblige him to protect an *Out-Law*, or a *Rebel*; 'tis therefore plain, that this part of the Oath reſpecteth the fidelity of his People.

2. Whereas he ſaith, *the King ſimply, and without reſpect to the fidelity of his Subjects, ſwears to govern the Kingdom juſtly, and according to the Laws*; 'tis very reaſonable he ſhould do ſo; becauſe he is a *King* only by, and according to the Laws, and becauſe the Laws have provided him a remedy againſt the undultifulneſs of any of his Subjects: If any particular Subject offend againſt his *Government*, he can puniſh him by Law; if any number of them prove *Rebels*, he can cut them off by Law; if all of them prove ſo, when he hath power ſufficient he hath them all at his mercy by Law, and they have forfeited both Lives and Fortunes to him, and what could he deſire more? Whereas, if the Subject be bound to yield *Allegiance* to the *King*, though he deviate never ſo much from the way of Juſtice, though he uſurps as much upon their Lives and Fortunes, without their violation of the Law, as if they were the worſt of *Rebels*, they are left in a very deplorable condition, nor is it any advantage to them that they have *fundamental Laws* by which they ought to be governed, or that the *Government is Political*, and tyed to the obſervance of

of the Laws, and not abſolute, or that the *Governor* is ſworn to rule according to Law, ſeeing upon his Suppoſition, they are as much enſlaved by their Oath of *Allegiance*, as they could be, were their *King* abſolute, tied to no Oaths or Laws, but free to deal with them at his pleaſure.

Nor doth it alter the caſe at all, that the *King* ſwears to govern by Law *at one time*, and many of them ſwear *Allegiance at another*: For beſides what I have ſhewed, that the cuſtom antiently was, and ſtill is, at *the very time of his taking his Coronation Oath, for the Subjects to declare their acceptation of him, thereupon as their King, and for ſome of all Orders to doe him immediate Homage in the name of the Reſt*, which ſeem to be evident marks of *Stipulation*, and *Mutual* Engagement: I ſay, beſides this it ſeems not at all material to the buſineſs, when the Oath is taken, provided that the Ground, Reaſon, and Foundation or chief Motive of it, whenſoever it be taken, is the aforeſaid contract of the *King* to govern them by Law, either already made, or at his *Coronation* to be made.

FINIS.

Ὁ Ἀντίχριστος. Wm Clarke

THE GREAT

ANTICHRIST REVEALED,

Before this time never so fully Discovered.

A TREATISE

In three BOOKS:

Wherein is Opened all the Prophesies in the Scriptures concerning the Great ANTICHRIST, compared with the Expositions of Ancient FATHERS and Modern Authors, both *Protestants* and *Papists* of all sorts: And from thence (besides other Points of moment) these Particulars following TREATED of:

LIB. I. *To what end Christ foretels the Afflictions of his Church under the Great Antichrist. That the Pope is an Antichrist and a very great one, yet not the transcendent one prophesied of. That the great Antichrist should arise out of the best Reformed Church on earth. That the Church of* England *in the time of King* Charles *the first, was the best Reformed Church. That the Antichrist is no single Person or succession of men, but a collected multitude. What that Sin is which is the proper sin peculiar to the Antichrist and none else, deduced from* 2 Thess. 2. 3. *That the Antichrist is a seeming Saint; but indeed is the greatest Hypocrite. What is the great Lye of the Antichrist.*

LIB. 2. *Of the two Witnesses, who they are. Their time to prophesie. How killed. How revived, and how long after their killing revived. Of the Beast signifying the great Antichrist, and a confederacy of men. Of his seven heads, ten horns. His blasphemies. His victories. End, and Downfall.*

LIB. 3. *Of the Beast of the Earth. Of the Prophet of the first Beast. Why the Beast of the earth is worse then the first Beast that arose out of the Sea. Of the Number 666. and how applicable to several in* England.

In each Book it is enquired, Whether it doth not appear by matters of Fact, That the prevalent party of the Long Parliament and their adherents have acted what was foretold should be done by the *great Antichrist*; Killing the two Witnesses, and thereby did become the visible Body of that great Antichrist: and Whether the Assembly of DIVINES, together with the *Independents, Anabaptists* and *Lay Preachers*, be not the false Prophet, and mystical Soul of the same *Antichrist*.

The Author determineth not, but requesteth all Christians first to Reade, and then Judge, with consideration had of his Protestation in the next Page.

By *Gr. Williams* L. Bishop of OSSORY.

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